## Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

### Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from

## ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, Chronological and Other Tables.

#### VOL. VI.

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M.DCC.XLII.

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## UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

## The ROMAN History.

#### C H A P. XX.

From the death of Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæsars, to the death of Trajan, who brought the empire to its utmost grandeur and extent.

a AVING delivered in the foregoing volumes, pursuant to our plan, the history of Rome, from Romulus to the commonwealth, from the commonwealth to the empire, and continued it to the death of Domitian, the twelfth emperor, and the last of those princes, who are commonly styled the twelve Casars; we shall now proceed to the history of the other emperors, from the reign of Domitian, to the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, thence to the division of the empire, and from the division to the history of both empires; of the western, to the taking of Rome by Odoacer, when with Augustulus sell the very name of an empire in the west; of the eastern, to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, to its recovery by the Greeks; and finally, to its utter destruction by the Turks, whose history, from the first notice we find of them to the present time, will follow, as in its proper place. These are the subjects which we design to pursue in the present volume, not doubting but this will prove as useful and entertaining as any of the preceding volumes, notwithstanding the extraordinary success which they have met with both at home and abroad, and which we had not vanity enough to have promised ourselves in so difficult an undertaking. The foregoing volume we closed with the death of Domitian, who was succeeded by Nerva, as was Nerva by Trajan. The reigns of these two excellent princes will supply us with matter for the present chapter.

The death of Domitian was no sooner divulged, than the senate assembled, and M. Cocceius with one voice declared M. Cocceius Nerva emperor. He was a native of Narnia in Nerva emperor. Umbria; but his family came originally from the island of Crete, so that he was nei-ror. ther by birth a Roman, nor descended from an Italian samily. However, his sather, His samily. grandsather and great-grandsather had been honoured in Rome with the consular dignity. His grandsather, M. Cocceius Nerva, one of the most learned civilians in Rome, was consul in the eighth year of Tiberius's reign, and twenty-second of the chistian Vol. VI. No 1.

æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with the fadness of the a times, chose, when in perfect health, a voluntary death 2. His father, who bore

His preferments.

Narrowly escapes death under Domi-

Is acknowledged emperor by the fenate and soldiery.

the same name, was consul in the fourth year of the reign of Claudius, and fortieth of the christian æra b. His mother, by name Plautilla, was descended from an illustrious family, being the daughter of one Lanas a confular . The emperor was born, according to Dion Cassius a, on the seventeenth of March, in the eighteenth year of Tiberius's reign, and thirty-second of the christian æra, and was by Nero, in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the prætorship, and a statue in the palace , having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the best poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inscribed to him some of his poetical pieces f. Pliny speaks of his epigrams, and commends them g. He was conful with Vespasian b His humanity, in the year 71, and with Domitian in 90 h. He is commended by all the ancients as generosity, &c. a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generosity, and one who looked upon himself as raised to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happiness and welfare of those who lived under him were, during the short time he reigned, his only end and pursuit. He seems to have been naturally timorous; and some writers charge both him and Trajan with excessive drinking . Apollonius Tyaneus was the first, if Philostratus is to be credited, who folicited him to assume the sovereignty, or at least to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Domitian. Nerva hearkened to him; but his courage failed him when the defign was to be put in execution. Apollonius however did not scruple denying c the whole to Domitian, affuring him, that Nerva, tho' equal to the greatest honours, was fo far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading nothing fo much on account of his infirmities, and his love of retirement, as being any-ways concerned in the administration of public affairs m. However, Domitian, either acquainted with Nerva's design, or giving credit to the aftrologers, who advised him to beware of Nerva, since his nativity seemed to promise him the empire, confined him to Tarentum in the year 94; and would have put him to death, had not a more kind astrologer assured the emperor, that Nerva, who was of a weak constitution, and subject to many infirmities, would die in a few days ". Aurelius Victor writes, that Nerva, dreading the cruelty of Domitian, had retired to d Gaul, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own assumption to the empire o. On the other hand, Dion Cassius takes no notice of his banishment; but supposes him to have been at Rome when Domitian was murdered: for he tells us, that Parthenius, and the other conspirators, offered the empire, before the affaffination of Domitian, to feveral perfons; who looking upon fuch an offer as a fnare laid for their destruction, declined it; but that at length Nerva, who daily expected to be facrificed to the jealoufy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the fovereign power, as the only means of preferving his life P. Domitian therefore being killed on the eighteenth of September of the year 96, Nerva was the same day declared emperor by the senate, and, as such, acknowledged by the e prætorian guards, notwithstanding their concern for the death of the late emperorywhich they would have revenged, had they not been restrained by Petronius Secundus, one of their captains, and by Parthenius, Domitian's chief chamberlain 4. Nerva had scarce assumed the sovereignty, when a salse report was spread, that Domitian was still alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to discover the designs of such as he sufpected: hence dread seized all, and the concourse about the new emperor dispersed in a moment. Nerva himself, naturally wary and timorous, was struck speechless, betrayed great difmay in his countenance, and fallen from the highest hopes, waited for present death, till Parthenius assured him, that the report was quite groundless. Hereupon recovering his former temper, he went first to the camp of the prætorian f guards, and thence, after he had fecured them by a promise of the usual donative, to the senate, where he was received with the greatest marks imaginable of esteem and affection. Many congratulatory speeches were made to him on this occasion; but that of Arrius Antoninus, grandfather to the emperor T. Antoninus by his mother,

<sup>\*</sup> Тасіт. annal. iv. с. 8. Aur. Vіст. epit. Eutrop. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. Front. aquæduc. p. 119. в Онирн. ibid. Gruter. p. 246. в Оно, l. lxviii. p. 771. ONUPH. in fast. p. 198. f Martial. l. viii. epigr. 70. & l. ix. epigr. 27. & Pi Aur. Vict. in vit. Trajin. k Idem ibid. m Idem ibid. c. 14. & l. viii. c. 3. n Dio, l. lxviii. p. 1 lxvii. p. 767. 9 Plin. panegyr. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769, B PLIN. I. iii. cpift. 8. TACIT. annal. xv. C. 7. h FRONT. 2quæd. p. 219. n Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. 1 PHILOST. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. vii. c. 3. P Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. Vicr. in opit.

a was of a different nature from the rest; for embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, I am come, faid he, with the rest, to congratulate the senate, the people of Rome, and the provinces of the empire, upon your advancement to this high post; but cannot pay the same compliment to you, who, after having, by your wisdom and virtue, happily escaped the rage of so many wicked princes, plunge yourself into new dangers and troubles, being exposed to the censure and hatred both of your friends and foes, especially of the former, who will not fail, if any of their fuits are denied, to become your most implacable enemies r. Nerva, now confirmed in the fovereignty both by the fenate and foldiery, blended together two things, fays Tacitus s, once thought irreconcileable; public liberty, and fovereign The Romans b power: for under him the Romans enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil happy under effects of the latter '. He immediately delivered from their fears, and fet at liberty, him. all those who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treason, and recalled fuch as had been banished under colour of the same crime a, causing their lands and inheritances to be restored to them, without the least deduction. Pliny mentions many illustrious persons, who returned from banishment on this occasion w; and a medal struck the following year, which has reached us, bears the following legend; exules Romæ redditi, that is, the exiles restored to Rome x. However, he would not fuffer Licinianus, who had been banished for debauching a vestal, to return to Italy; but gave him leave to pass the remainder of his life in Sicily y. He enacted more Punishes all inc severe laws against informers, than Titus had done, who abhorred that race of men; formers. and caused all the slaves and freed-men to be put to death, who had informed against their masters and patrons. Besides these, many other informers were publicly executed, and among them a philosopher, by name Seras. At the same time he published an edict, forbidding, agreeable to the ancient laws of Rome, a slave or freed-man to appear against his master in any accusation whatsoever; and ordering, that no person should, for the future, be accused of violated majesty, or prosecuted Abolisher the for living after the manner of the Jews 2, by which words Dion, without all doubt, law of majefly. meant the Christians. He solemnly swore, that no senator should ever by his orders be put to death; and religiously observed his oath, tho' some of that body conspired d against him, as we shall relate anon. All the goods and effects belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he ordered to be immediately restored to the pro-Redresserprietors; lessened the taxes; delivered the Jews from the cruelties and oppressions ances. of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great fatisfaction of the Romans, annulled the law of Augustus, ordering the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid into the exchequer. He allowed no gold or filver statues to be erected to him, retrenched all superfluous expences, abolishing for that purpose divers facrifices, and public shews; and as he still wanted money wherewithal to relieve the necessitious citizens, and reward his friends, he at last sold great part of the gold and His generosity e filver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own house, and of the imperial palace, with towards the feveral houses and estates. In selling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but people. feemed overjoyed to have so favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vast sum upon a purchase of land, to be divided amongst the poor of Rome, appointing some senators of known integrity, and among the rest one Corellus, highly esteemed by Pliny a, to divide it amongst the most indigent b. From several medals of this year it appears, that he twice divided confiderable fums among the people, besides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn c. The children of such as were poor he caused to be brought up, in all the cities of Italy, at the public expence. He eased not only Italy, but all the provinces, of the heavy impositions with which f they had been burdened by Vespasian and Domitian; and utterly abolished the tribute upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an infufferable grievance: hence the senate caused several medals to be struck, to perpetuate by that means the remembrance of so great a favour d. Of the many instances of his disinterestedness His disinterest. taken notice of by the ancients, we shall only relate the following: Atticus, a citizen edness. of Athens, father to the famous Herodes Atticus, of whom we shall speak in the reign of T. Antoninus, having discovered in his house a large treasure, wrote to Nerva, desiring to know how he should dispose of it. The emperor, who had no biass to

avarice.

Some of his laws.

His too great lenity and indulgence.

avarice, answered, Utere, Use it; but Atticus, not thinking himself yet secure, wrote a to him a fecond letter, acquainting him, that the treasure was too great for a private person, and that he was thence afraid to use it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, Ergo abutere, Then abuse it, signifying thereby, that the treasure was his without reserve, and that he might dispose of it as he thought fit d. Nerva renewed the law of Domitian, forbidding the castration of children e; and by one edict confirmed all the grants of that prince. He published a law, forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was first allowed in the reign of Claudius f; applied himself with great care to the reformation of manners; was affiduous in the administration of justice; and, in short, behaved in such manner towards all, that he used to say, He believed he might refign the empire, and return with fafety to a private life, not being b conscious to himself of having done the least thing that could give any man just motive of offence 8. He was perhaps too kind to fuch as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave occasion to some persons to complain of his lenity and indulgence. Having one day invited to his table, befides many other persons of distinction, Junius Mauricus, who had been banished by Domitian, and Fabricius Veiento, a confular, who, with his fecret informations, had occasioned the ruin of many illustrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the guests happened to mention Catullus Meffalinus, a noted informer under Domitian, when the emperor, hearing him named, What would Catullus do, faid he, were be alive now? If he were alive now, replied Mauricus with great freedom, he would be at table with us; which was a gentle reflec- c tion on the emperor's lenity and kindness to Veiento, and others, whom he ought rather to have punished than caressed b. As soon as by the death of Domitian, and assumption of Nerva, public liberty was restored, to use the expression of Pliny', all who had fuffered by false accusations, flocked to the senate, demanding, that condign punishment might be forthwith inflicted on such as had informed against them. The senate hearkened to their request, and punished some with death, others with banishment; but not without great partiality, sparing those of their own body. Hereupon Pliny boldly undertook the accusation of Publicus Certus, who was not only of the fenatorial order, but had been by Domitian named to the confulfhip with Vestius Proculus. The fenate, having first attempted in vain to persuade Pliny to drop the prose-d cution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himself with confirming the confulfhip to Vellius, and naming another to that dignity in the room of Certus, who died soon after of grief k. Nerva did not think it adviseable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed, because he lived in great friendship with the governor of Syria, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no small umbrage to Nerva. Besides, in the heat of the first prosecutions, some perfons, among the rest the philosopher Seras, had been punished with death as informers, and afterwards found innocent; which gave the good-natured emperor great uneafiness m. On the calends of January, Nerva entered upon his third consulship, which was the

first after his accession to the empire, and chose for his collegue L. Virginius Rusus, to whom the foldiers had often offered the empire. As Virginius was rifing, after he had assumed the sasces, to pronounce a speech in praise of the emperor, according to the custom which then obtained, he let a book drop out of his hand, and as he stooped to take it up, fell himself, and had the missortune to break his leg; which, as he Virginius Ru- was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occasioned his death. He was, by the emperor's orders, buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and Cornelius Tacitus, the historian, whom Nerva named to the consulate in his room, pronounced his funeral oration n. Pliny wrote another panegyric upon him in a letter which he fent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illustrious citizen °. This f year Calpurnius Crassus, descended from the ancient and illustrious family of the Crassi, conspired with some others against Nerva; who, being immediately informed of their wicked defigns, fent for them, and carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next to himself, and presented to them, as Titus had done on the like occasion, the swords of the gladiators, which were always brought to, and viewed by the emperor P. We are not told what effect this instance of generosity had upon the conspirators. All we know is, that Crassus, having owned his crime, was, with his

fus dies.

Calpurnius Craffus conspires against Nerva.

d Philost. in vit. fophist. p. 546.

\* Vict. epit. Plin. l. iv. epist. 22.

1 Plin. l. ix. epist. 13.

\* Idem ibid. Bidem ibid. Dio, p. 769.

1 Plin. l. ix. epist. 13.

\* Idem ibid. Dio, p. 769.

1 Plin. l. ii. epist. 1.

\* Idem ibid. Dio, p. 770. Vict. ibid.

a wife, banished to Tarentum. The senate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death; but the emperor, alledging the oath he had taken not to spill Who pardons the blood of any senator, checked their zeal. Whereupon Fronto, to whom Nerva bim. had refigned the fasces, offended at the prince's unseasonable clemency, as he styled it, said boldly, that it was a great missortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but a still greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed 9. The emperor was so far from refenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with somewhat more severity, taking for his counsellors such of the fenators as were persons of great experience, and known integrity, and dispatching, with their advice, all matters of confequence. The fame year the prætorian The pratorian b guards, headed by Ælianus Casperius their commander, occasioned disturbances in the guards raise a city, under colour of revenging the death of Domitian; flew to the palace, and there besieged Nerva, demanding with great boldness, that all those who had been anyways concerned in the affaffination of the late emperor, might be forthwith delivered up to them, or publicly executed. Nerva, the naturally timorous, behaved on this occasion with incredible firmness; for, offering his bare neck to the incensed foldiery, he begged they would be fatisfied with his life, and spare those, to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But his resolution was to no effect; he was in the end constrained, as Pliny writes r, to condemn those, whom he studied to preserve at the expence of c his own life; for the foldiers, without being in the least awed or moved by him, cut in pieces Petronius Secundus, Parthenius, and the other conspirators, as we read in Victor the younger, or, as he is by some styled, Victorinus. Neither did the mutinous foldiery stop here, but obliged the emperor to return them public thanks be- Nerva is obfore the people for putting to death the worst and most wicked of ment. This liged to comply with their suninsolence and boldness of the soldiery proved in the end very advantageous to the just demands. empire; for Nerva, finding himself despised on account of his infirmities and old age, resolved to name some person for his successor, who should be able, both to support him, and to govern with equity and moderation after his death. He was not without many relations and friends of his own; but as he had more at heart d the welfare of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked them, and chose Ulpius Trajan, the greatest and most deserving person of that age, for his successor, and at the same time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a loud voice thus: With my hearty wishes for the prosperity of the senate He adopts Uland people of Rome, and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myself, I pius Trajan. declare Marcus Ulpius Trajan my son. He afterwards gave him the title of Casar, with that of Germanicus, which he himself seems to have assumed about this time, invested him with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of emperor; fo that he created him not only his successor, but his partner in the empire: at the same time he named him conful for the ensuing year ". The adoption e of Trajan, which was received with great joy both by the senate and people, put a stop to the disorders committed by the soldiery, who immediately returned to their duty. As Trajan was then at the head of a powerful army in Lower Germany, Nerva fent him a diamond of great value, and wrote to him with his own hand, acquainting him with his preferment, and leaving to him the revenging of the affront put upon him by the prætorian guards and their commander. Some time after, Trajan sent for Casperius, and those of his party, under colour of employing them in some expedition; but instead of making use of them, discharged them all with ignominy w, or, as some write, put them to death. Towards the close of this year, Nerva took upon him the title of imperator on account of a

ticulars. THE following year he entered upon his fourth confulship, having Ulpius Trajan, now the second time consul, for his collegue; but died soon after, according to The death of some, on the twenty-first, according to others, on the twenty-seventh of January. Nerva. For having heated himself in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer Aquilius Regulus, he was seized with a sever, which, as he was weak, and stricken

f victory gained over the Germans in Pannonia x, of which we know not the par-

9 Dio, p. 769.

F PLIN. pangyr.

Vict. in epit.

SID. car. vii. ver. 114.

PLIN. panegyr.

Dio, l. lxix. p. 770. 1 Vict. in epit. t Idem ibid. VICT. ibid. w Dio, ibid. \* PLIN. panegyr. Birog. numifin. p. 145.

Is ranked amongst the in years, foon put an end to his life, after he had reigned fixteen months, and eight, or, at most, nine days. He had lived, according to Dion Cassius, sixty-five years, ten months, and as many days; according to Eutropius, seventy-one; and according to St. Jerom, seventy-three years. He died in the Salustian gardens, whence his body was carried by the senate to the tomb of Augustus. He was ranked amongst the gods, and Trajan out of gratitude caused several temples to be erected to him both in Rome and the provinces. He was, no doubt, a prince of great wisdom, generosity and moderation; but some of the provinces were more grievously oppressed in his reign than in that of Domitian, the governors, who dreaded Domitian, presuming upon the lenity and goodness of his successor, to inrich themselves at the expence of the unhappy people committed to their care. b These grievances Nerva would not have failed to redress, had he lived long enough to know them.

Trajan was a Spaniard both by birth and extraction, descended rather of an an-

cient than an illustrious family, born in Italica, near Seville, now known, according to fome, by the name of Old Seville, according to others, by that of Alcala del

Trajan.

His family, ancestors and preferments. Rio b. His father, named also Trajan, had been honoured with the consulship, distinguished with triumphal ornaments, and raised, no doubt, by Vespasian, to the rank of a patrician c. Trajan, commander of the tenth legion, who signalized himself at the taking of Japha, as we read in Josephus d, was, we conjecture, father to the present emperor, who was born, according to most writers, in the twelsth c year of the reign of Claudius, and fifty-second of the christian æra c. He followed the prosession of arms from his early youth, and served ten years in quality of tribune s. He checked the pride of the Parthians, says his panegyrist, while he was yet very young, and deteated their measures with the bare same of his name s. But he then commanded, in all likelihood, under his father, to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of Parthicus, as appears from various medals b. He was prætor in the year 86, and conful in 91, with Acilius Glabrio. Soon after his confulsion, he with drew to Spain, dreading the cruelty of Domitian, and there led a

prætor in the year 86. and consul in 91. with Acilius Glabrio. Soon after his consulship, he withdrew to Spain, dreading the cruelty of Domitian, and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of Lower Germany; which must have been after the revolt and deseat of Antoninus in 88. d for had he had any share in that victory, Pliny would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of Germany, he performed nothing which his panegyrist thought worth mentioning, since he only says, that while he governed Germany, he gained the affections of the soldiery; but notwithstanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the least thought of revolting from the worst of princes, to whom he had sworn allegiance, and seizing, as he might, the empire for himself k. He was still governor of Germany, when Nerva adopted him for his son, appointed him his successor, and took him for his partner in the empire,

as we have related above. To this choice Nerva was directed by the extraordinary merit of Trajan, and a fincere desire of continuing to all the nations subject to the e empire that happiness which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly Trajan possessed in an eminent degree all those qualities which form a great, an excellent prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-second, or as some will have it, the forty-sisten year of his age, and consequently neither subject to the vices of youth, rashness and precipitation, nor to the weakness and indolence attending old age. His body was robust, and inured to satigue; his countenance comely and

age. His body was robult, and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majestic; his stature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging. He was not himself a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but savoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himself wanted. As to military affairs, he was, without dispute, the best commander of f

his age, and equal to the greatest generals of antiquity. In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor, and crossed immense countries without ever once mounting on horse-back, or suffering himself to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress he little varied from a common soldier. Upon consultations and dispatches

cellent commander.

Is adopted by Nerva.

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, ibid. F Euseb. chron. Vict. epit. Plin. panegyr. Eutrop. Sid. car. vii. ver. 113. Vide Baudr. p. 394. Plin. pan. Eutrop. Goltz. Gruter. &c. f Plin. pan. Ldem ibid. Spanil. l. vii. p. 851. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Spartian. p. 1, 8. Plin. pan. R Idem ibid. Plin. ibid.

a he bestowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent till he had visited the whole camp, and was always the first in the field when the usual exercises were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old foldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly conversed with them; but at the fame time knew how to keep them to their duty m. He was great in war, and equally great in peace. When he first assumed the sovereign power, he publicly professed, that he did not think himself in that high station more exempt from the observance of the laws, than the meanest of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiously observed; and thence Pliny says, that all the emperors before him had made the fame professions, but their professions b were not believed. What they had promised to be, Trajan was; for he possessed His moderathe place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exercise of lawless power n. He tion, affability, delighted to fee his people happy, and had nothing fo much at heart as to make other virtues. them so. To accomplish this, he chearfully lessened his revenue, lessened his authority, and restrained his prerogative, where it seemed in the least to interfere with the interest and happiness of his people. He was aware, that over-bearing pride was not the means to win affection or esteem, and that condescension in a prince is not irreconcileable with his dignity, but rather a fure way to raife it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his subjects. He advanced none but the most virtuous and worthy; and c fuch as were otherwise, he chose to reform and reclaim rather with gentleness and clemency, than with rigour and severity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full fenate, that no good man should ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a folemn oath, and religiously observed it. He suffered but few statues to be erected to him, checked such as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was constantly open to persons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindness, heard with great patience, and strove, as far as in him lay, to dismiss none from his presence diffatisfied; looking upon himself as raised to that high post, not for his own advantage, but for that of others. To his other great d qualities, he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negotiations, and with private men, without those little artifices which wise men despise, and none but the apes of wife men practife. He would never fuffer any one to be condemned upon sufpicions, however strong and well-grounded, faying, it was better a thoufand criminals should escape unpunished, than one innocent person be condemned P. When he appointed Suburanus captain of his guards, in prefenting him, according to custom, with a drawn sword, the badge of his office, he used these memorable words; Pro me; si merear, in me: Employ this sword for me; but turn it, if I deserve it, against me q. He allowed none of his freed-men any share in the administration, telling them, that he, and not they, was invested with the sovereign power, and e therefore warning them not to assume any authority inconsistent with their rank. Some persons having a suit with one of them, by name Eurythmus, and seeming to fear the imperial freed-man, Trajan affured them, that the cause should be heard, discussed and decided according to the strictest laws of justice; adding, For neither is be Polycletus, nor I Nero. Polycletus, of whom we spoke in the reign of Noro, was that prince's favourite freed-man. Trajan is faid to have excelled even Nerve himself in generosity, and all the preceding princes in the largesses with which he relieved, not only the citizens of Rome, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire: whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and as such loved and revered. However, he was not without some faults: he was His faults. f addicted to wine. This fault Dion Cassius owns, but adds, that he never drank to excess. On the other hand, Aurelius Victor affures us, that he injoined all his officers not to put in execution such orders as he should give at or after his banquets; and Julian, surnamed the apostate, writes, that Trajan had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himfelf with success to that study, had he not by immoderate drinking impaired his natural capacity ". Pliny extols his chaftity w, but Dion

O Idem ibid. Dio, p. 773. Vict. in epit.

B. Aur. Victor. P. Dio, & Plin. ibid. PLIN. ibid. O Idem ibid. Dio, Q Dio, p. 778. Aur. Victor. m PLIN. ibid. Dio, I. Ixviii. p. 772. P PLIN. pan. Vict. epit. Dio, p. 771. 

Q Dio, p. 772.

t Aur. Vict. in Adrian. p. 2. Dio, p. 772. t p. 36. \* Dio, ibid. " JULIAN. CÆSAR, p. 39. w PLIN. path.

owns, that he abandoned himself to the most infamous and unnatural practices 1

and agrees therein both with Spartiany, and the emperor Julian 2, who likewise a charges him with laziness for suffering Sura to write most of his letters 2. He loved gay amusements and diversions; but from hence arose no neglect or relaxation in his conducting public affairs. He was somewhat ambitious, and more desirous of extending the confines of the empire, than was confistent with justice. When he affirmed any thing for certain, he used to add; So may I see Dacia reduced to a province, and pass the Euphrates and the Danube on bridges built by myself'. He suffered his name to be placed on the buildings, which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him. Whence he was nick-named parietarius, which name is common to all plants growing on walls. How his lenity, mildness and good-nature so much cried up by all the ancients, were consistent with his persecut- b ing the christians, is what we cannot easily conceive. He suffered himself to be styled lord, as appears from Pliny's epistles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and Augustus himself, had constantly refused, and he seems at first to have declined d. He likewife allowed facrifices to be offered to his statues, and people to swear by his life and eternity, as most facred things. We shall now pursue

Trajan commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in Lower Germany, when he was adopted by Nerva, and declared his successor, which happened

the history of his reign, according to the order of time.

about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at first accepting that high post, but was foon prevailed upon by the officers of his own army, and the deputies c dispatched to him from the armies in Upper Germany, and in Masia, to yield, and He accepts the assume the title of Casar. He did not seem in the least elated with his new dignity, title of Casar, chusing rather to be looked upon by his soldiers as their general, than their empeand the empire. ror f. Nerva dying foon after, that is, on the twenty-first or twenty-seventh of January of the following year, tidings of his death were first brought to him by Adrian his cousin: Hereupon Trajan, who was then at Cologn, immediately assumed the title of Augustus, and was acknowledged as such by the armies in Germany and Masia, who with great joy swore allegiance to him s. He had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to the senate, assuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity should ever by his orders be either put to death, or injured d in his fortune h. He did not immediately leave Germany, but continued there all this and part of the following year; for the time of his consulship was expired, as Pliny informs us , before he fet out for Rome. All the German nations fent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his accession to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and used, during the winter, to pass that river on the ice, and commit great devastations on the Roman territories, hearing that Tra-The barbarians jan was created emperor, refrained from all hostilities, not daring to provoke so great a commander, now at liberty to chastise them k. Tacitus the historian, in his book of the customs of the Germans, marks the years to the second consulate of

awed by his presence.

The Bructeri-

Trajan; whence some have concluded, that the said book was composed this year, e Trajan being now conful the second time. He speaks there of the expulsion of the Brusterians by the Chamavians and Angrivarians, as a thing lately happened; and ans driven out adds, that the gods vouchfafed to gratify the Romans with the fight of a battle by other German nations. fought by the barbarians, in which, says our historian, there fell above fixty thoufand fouls, without a blow struck by us; and, what is a circumstance still more glorious, they fell to furnish us with a spectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes Tacitus, perpetuate amongst these nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, since they cannot more signally befriend us, than by fowing divisions amongst our foes! The Brueterians, who were thus expulsed, and, as Tacitus writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited f the country about Rees and Emmerik in the dutchy of Cleves m. However, the Bructerians were not utterly exterminated, as Tacitus seems to suppose; but being driven with great flaughter from their ancient habitations, they fettled in the present county of Nassau, where they gave the Romans no small trouble, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history. Pliny tells us, that Trajan caused a statue to be erected to Vestricius Spuriuna for having constrained the Brusterians, notwithstanding their

Y SPART, in Adrian.

Idem, l. xxvii.

Idem, l. x. epift. 53.

Julian, ibid. p. 12.

PLIN. panegyr. p. 4, & 106.

Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771. e Idem, l. xxvii. F Idem, l. x. epift. 53.

Buch. Belg. l. v. c. 1.

Idem, p. 38. b Ammian. I. xxiv. e PLIN. l. x. epist. 102, & 89. f PLIN. pan. 1 TACIT. i Pein. pan. k Idem ibid.

a fierceness and arrogance, to receive their king ", whom, it seems, they had driven out. But this must have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by Tacitus.

THE next consuls were Aulus Cornelius Palma, and Caius Sosius Senecio, to whom Plutarch inscribed several of the lives he wrote, and some of his moral works. The fenate had offered the confulate to Trajan; but he declining it, tho' all the emperors, ever fince the time of Claudius, had assumed that dignity the year after their accession to the empire, Palma and Senecio, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room. This year Trajan left Germany, and fet out for Rome: his march Trajan fees out proved no-ways burdensome to the provinces through which he passed, no man being for Rome. b injured either in his person or fortune by the emperor, or his numerous attendance, He caused the expences of his march, and that of Domitian when he went into Gaul,

to be computed, and inferted in the public registers, that his successors might thence learn how to conduct themselves on the like occasion P. He entered Rome on foot, and was there received by persons of all ranks with the greatest demonstrations of How received joy imaginable, the people of Rome promising themselves complete happiness under there. fo good and so great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him, and would not be treated by them as their sovereign, but as a friend, affuring them, that fuch they should find him on all occasions. He went strait to the capitol, attended by the senate and the whole city, and thence to the palace 4:

c His wife Pompeia Plotina, who accompanied him, turning to the people as the His wife Pome mounted the steps of the palace, I bope, said she, to come out the same as I go in: peia Plotina. and truly, during the whole time of her husband's reign, her conduct was without reproach; nay, she acquainted the emperor with several disorders, occasioned by his too great indulgence; and by that means put a stop to them. She is mightily cried up by Pliny on account of her modest behaviour, and extraordinary kindness to the emperor's fifter , by name Marciana, as appears from several ancient inscriptions. The senate offered to both the title of Augusta, which they declined so long as Trajan refused that of the father of his country, which he seems to have accepted towards the end of this year, the second of his reign. Plotina proved ald ways very favourable to Adrian; for by her means, and at her recommendation, he

was adopted by Trajan . In an inscription of the year 116, which was the nineteenth of Trajan's reign, Marciana is styled goddess; whence it is evident, that the was then dead . From her the metropolis of Lower Mafia took the name of Marcianopolis. She had a daughter, named Matidies, mother to another Matidies, and to Julia Sabina, the wife of the emperor Adrian, Pliny observes, that Silius Italicus, who had withdrawn into Campania, did not quit his retirement to come to Rome, and congratulate the emperor upon his arrival; which, fays that writer, greatly redounded to the glory of both, of Trajan for granting him that liberty,
of Silius for daring to demand it. The fenate decreed the emperor foon after his The sitle of
arrival the title of Optimus, which he willingly accepted, and feemed to value above Optimus del

all those which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories y. emperor. However, we do not find it in any inscription amongst his other titles till the year 110. the thirteenth of his reign z. This year he paid part of the donative, which he had promised, according to custom, to the soldiery, and made large distributions both of money and corn amongst the Roman people, extending his generosity to such as were absent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any share in such largesses till eleven years old a. By means of these largesses, which His largesses. he frequently renewed, he is faid to have supported near two millions of souls b.

f He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to Rome alone, but appointed very confiderable fums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not without great difficulty bring up and support. To this unbounded generosity allude, no doubt, several medals struck this or the following year, which represent Trajan distributing corn to children with the following legend, He nourishes Italy . He took great care that Rome should be

BIRAG. numism. p. 166.

BIRAG. p. 38, 39. \* Dio, t Birag. numism. p. 166. \* PLIN. l. iii. epist. 7. - SPART. in pan. p. 44. Birag. p. 149. SPART. p. 16. numilm. p. 202, 205. b Vide Spart. not. Cafanbon. p. 122. F Occonis

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supplied with plenty of provisions, especially with corn, which, during the whole a time of his reign, was fold at a very low rate: he exhibited feveral shews, and a combat of gladiators, to fatisfy the populace, fond of fuch diversions; but drove out of Rome the players, who had been banished by Domitian, but, at the request of the people, recalled by Nerva. He published several laws against informers, and confined to the island such of that tribe as had been spared by Nerva, utterly abolishing the so much hated law of majesty. He repaired, at a vast charge, several old buildings, and inlarged the circus; but would not suffer the people to return him thanks for his public works; nay, he issued an edict, forbidding his name to be mentioned either in the circus or the theatre, which, till then, had refounded, fays Pliny, with the praises of wicked princes. All these things are related by b Pliny as happening in the second year of Trajan's reign, before the time appointed for the electing of consuls. The people had, it seems, recovered their ancient privilege of creating magistrates; for Trajan, whom the senate had pressed to accept a third consulship, appeared amongst the other candidates, begging like a private citizen the suffrages of the tribes. He chose for his collegue Fronto, according to some; Frontinus, according to others; for both M. Julius Fronto, and Sextus Juhius Frontinus, who wrote a treatise on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the same affembly, Pliny, and Tertullus Cornutus, were appointed to succeed Trajan and Fronto or Frontinus, and others to succeed them; for at this time few consuls held that dignity above three months. In the beginning of the year, Trajan had no fooner c affumed the fasces, than he ascended the rostra, and, in the presence of the people, bound himself by a solemn oath to observe the laws, declaring, that what was forbidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are oath to observe not above the laws, are no less bound than the meanest of the populace, to conform to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year offered for the health and prosperity of the emperor, he added these conditions; If be observes the laws; if he governs the republic as he ought; if he procures the happiness of bis people e. Before Trajan resigned the sasces, the cause of Marius Priscus, accused by a city of Africa, and by several particular persons, of extortion during his proconsulate, was heard by the emperor and senate. Pliny, and Tacitus the d Marius Priscus historian, pleaded for the Africans; and the trial lasted three days, the emperor hearkening the whole time with great attention to the reasons alledged on both sides, without ever betraying the least biass to either. In the end, Priscus was degraded from the rank of senator, and banished Italy: at the same time Hostilius Firminus, his lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire f. This is, no doubt, the Marius, who, in spite of the angry gods, enjoyed, as we read in Juvenal's, even in exile, the immense wealth which he had accumulated by the most wicked means; while Africa bewailed, without redress, the losses it had sustained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation an empty judgment. The condemnation of Marius Priscus was followed by that of Classic C cus, proconful of Batica, or rather of his accomplices; for Classicus, finding himself accused of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himself before the time appointed for his trial. However, the province pursued their action against his accomplices, who had shared in his rapines, and they were, by means of Pliny, who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The estate, which Classicus possessed before he was sent into Spain, was adjudged to his daughter; but the rest was distributed amongst those whom he had plundered during his administration: Bæbius Probus and Fabius Hispanus, the ministers of his rapines, were banished for five years, tho' they alledged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to obey the orders of the proconful. Stillonius Priscus, who had commanded a cohort f under Classicus, was banished Italy for two years: the daughter of Classicus was likewise accused by the province; but Pliny, judging her innocent, declined pleading against her; whence the profecution was dropped h. Norbanus Licinianus, who had been lieutenant to Classicus, but his declared enemy, was at the same time condemned for other crimes, not mentioned by historians, and confined to one of the islands in the Archipelago.

d PLIN. ibid. p. 120. e PLIN. ep. 9. g Juvenal. fat. 1. e Plin. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epist. 83. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 709. d Plin ibid. p. 134. f Plin. l. x. epist. 4. l. ii. ep. 11. l. vi. ep. 29. l. iii. ep. 9. ver. 49. & fat. 10. ver. 120. h Plin. l. iii. epist. 4, & 9. i Idem, l e PLIN. 1 Idem, l. iii. epift. 9.

For what we have hitherto related of Trajan's administration, we are chiefly indebted to Pliny, from whose panegyric on that prince we have copied it. Pliny pro-Pliny pronouns nounced his speech in the senate when he entered upon his consulship, having composed ces his panegyit before at the request of the senators. After he had delivered it in full senate, he ric in the senate, he nate. added, as he himself informs us, many things to it, that it might serve as a model for other princes. Before he published it, he rehearsed it before some of his friends, who for three days together heard him with great attention; which he ascribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being persuaded, that the praises which he bestowed on Trajan, were a sincere encomium on that prince, and altogether free from flattery. Pliny himself assures us, that such passages in his discourse as b were the least studied, pleased most; which gave him no small satisfaction: for thence he began to entertain hopes of feeing the true taste revive, and the masculine eloquence of the ancients again admired. He sent his discourse, which he styles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he disliked in it, that he might by that means be fure he approved of the rest k. About this time Largius Macedo, Largius Macedo who, for his extraordinary parts, had been raised from a very mean condition (for he do murdered was the fon of a freed-man) to the prætorian dignity, was inhumanly murdered by by his flaves. his slaves, whom, forgetful of his origin, he treated with the utmost severity. They fell upon him while he was bathing at one of his country-houses, and left him for dead; but he afterwards returned to himself, and lived a few days, during which he e had the satisfaction of seeing all those crucified, who had been any-ways concerned in the attempt 1. Towards the end of this year Julia Sabina, grand-daughter to Mar-Adrian marciana the emperor's fister, was married to Adrian, the son of Elius Adrian Afer, cousin ries Julia Sabito Trajan. This match, which in the end proved unhappy to both, was concluded na. by the empress Plotina, who had a particular kindness for Adrian, the emperor himfelf rather consenting to it, than approving it ". THE following year Trajan, at the earnest request of the senate, entered upon his

fourth consulship, having for his collegue, according to some n, Sextus Articuleius Patus, according to others o, P. Orsitus. The same year Babius Macer, Capio Hispo, Valerius Paulinus, and Caius Cacilius Strabo, were honoured with the confular dignity P. d Adrian was this year quæstor, and charged with the care of the registers of the senate q; which employment he foon refigned, to attend the emperor in the war he undertook against the Dacians. Decebalus, king of the Dacians, obliged Domitian, as we have Trajan's first related in the foregoing volume, to purchase a peace with a large sum; which he en- war with the

gaged to pay yearly to Decebalus. To this tribute Trajan would not submit, alledg- Dacians. ing, that he had not been conquered by Decebalus. Besides, the Dacians grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good understanding with Pacorus king of the Parthians, whom Decebalus had presented with one Callidromus, who had been made prisoner in Masia by Suzagues, one of his lieutenants, during the war with Domitian. The good understanding between these two powers gave Trajan no small

jealousy. Whereupon the Dacians, having passed the Danube, and committed some hostilities in the Roman territories, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whose power he began to fear. Having therefore drawn together a mighty army, he marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the Danube, passed that river without opposition, Decebalus not being apprised of his arrival, and entered Dacia, committing every-where dreadful devastations. Decebalus however was not in the least difmayed; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the Romans, pitching his camp at a small distance from their intrenchments. Trajan immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large mushroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in Latin cut upon it: Your allies, especially the Byrrhi, advise you to conclude a peace with the Dacians, and to retire. Tra-

jan, despising that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he discovered Decebalus, at the head of a powerful army, coming full march to meet him. He then halted to encourage his men, which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to found the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of The Dacians the enemy fell, and that the Romans gained the victory; which however cost them defeated. dear, the wounded on their fide being fo numerous, that they wanted linen to bind

up their wounds; whereupon Trajan tore his own robes, to supply that want. Such Trajan's hu-D IDAT. in fast. wounded.

1 Idem ibid. epist. 14. k Idem, l. iii. epist. 13, 18. m Spart. in Adrian. ONUPH. in fast. P PLIN. l. iv. epift. 3. 12. 17. 9 SPART. in Adrian.

as fell in the battle he caused to be interred with great solemnity, and ordered an altar a

of the Dacians sues for peace,

ed him upon hard terms.

who triumphed over the Dacians.

Licinius Sura

to be built on the spot, and sacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceased. Trajan, pursuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy close; and without giving them time to levy new forces, harasted them without intermission to such a degree, that Decebalus, reduced almost to despair, sent some of the chief lords of his court with proposals of peace. Trajan appointed Licinius Sura, and Claudius Libianus, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, Trajan continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Zermizegethusa, the metropolis of Dacia. On the other side, Maximus, one of the Roman generals, made himself master of several strong-holds, in one of which he took the sister of Decebalus prisoner, b and recovered a Roman standard, which had been lost when Fuscus was defeated and Decebalusking killed in the reign of Domitian. At length Decebalus, no longer able to withstand the Romans, and dreading the destruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loss of his whole kingdom, dispatched anew embassadors to Trajan, offering Whichis grant- to accept fuch conditions as he should think fit to impose. Accordingly Trajan granted him a peace upon the following terms: 1. That he should surrender the territories which he had unjustly taken from the neighbouring nations. 2. That he should deliver up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who made them, with all the Roman deserters. 3. That, for the future, he should entertain no deserters, nor take into his service the natives of any country subject to Rome. 4. That he c should dismantle all his fortresses, castles and strong-holds. And, lastly, That he should have the same friends and soes with the people of Rome. With these articles Decebalus complied, tho' much against his will; and having sworn to observe them, he was introduced to Trajan, before whom he threw himself on the ground, acknowledging himself his vassal. Trajan commanded him to send deputies to the senate for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, Trajan, having placed garifons in most of the cities of Dacia, returned to Rome; which he entered in triumph, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the follow-Trajan the first ing year, and took the surname of Dacicus, being the first Roman who had ever triumphed over that nation'. His triumph was followed by a combat of gladiators, d and the diversions of the stage, in which one Pylades gained the applause of the people. and the emperor's favour. Trajan had but two years before driven all the players out of Rome; but as he took great pleafure in such entertainments, he recalled them on this occasion, tho' he did not abandon himself to these amusements in such manner, as to neglect the dispatch of business; for he discharged with great care and application all the duties of a prince, was assiduous in the administration of justice, and affisted in person at all the causes of any importance, that were pleaded either in the senate or the forum . This year Julius Bassus, who had been accused under Trajan, and, after a long trial, declared innocent, was again accused of extortion by the Bithynians; for he had been by Nerva appointed proconful of Bithynia. Pliny, who pleaded e in his behalf, owns, that he failed rather through imprudence than avarice, in accepting some presents, which was, by some late laws, forbidden to all governors of provinces, under severe penalties. However, Pliny prevailed upon the senate, inclined to condemn him as guilty of extortion, to be satisfied with obliging him to restore the value of the prefents to those, of whom he had imprudently accepted them ".

The following year one Suranus, of whom we find no farther mention in history, and L. Licinius Sura, or, as some style him, Suras, were chosen consuls. Sura was chieffavourire. Trajan's chief favourite, and had employed all his interest with Nerva in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after Nerva, Trajan acknowledged himself indebted for his adoption and preferment w. He was, as Gruter conjectures from several ancient f inscriptions x, a native of Spain, born either in Tarragon or Barcelona, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of Trajan's friends, who, by false insinuations, strove to estrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil designs. But Trajan, who reposed an intire confidence in him, instead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to sup with him, without being invited; and dismissing his guards. ordered Sura's surgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; trusted himself to his barber. who shaved him; then bathed, and supped with Sura, without ever betraying the

DIO, p. 710. SPART. in Adrian. GOLTZ. p. 646. EUSEB. in " PLIN. L iv. epist. 9, 1. vi. epist. 29. & l. x. epist. 14. chron. p. 341.
w Vict. in epit. \* GRUTER. P. 249.

a least diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told those about him, who were always suggesting something against Sura, It he entertained any evil designs against me, he would have put them in execution last night y. Sura was still alive in the year 109, the twelfth of Trajan's reign, when Adrian, whom he had always favoured, was consul; but died soon after, having assured Adrian before he died, that Trajan would in the end adopt him 2. Trajan caused his funerals to be performed with the utmost magnificence, erected a statue to him, and called certain splendid baths, which he built, after his name. This year Trajan, at the request of the senate, and at the motion of Nigrinus, tribune of the people, published an edict, subjecting such pleaders as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law against extor-Pleaders forb tion; and Licinius Nepos prætor, upon his taking possession of that office, procured a bidden to redecree from the senate, commanding the parties, before their cause began to be tried, to swear, that they had neither given nor promised any see, present or reward to those who were to plead in their behalf. Pliny takes notice of this law, and deelares, that he was pleased to see that forbidden to others, which he had never practised himself . Towards the end of the year Trajan assumed twice the title of emperor b, for victories which were gained by some of his lieutenants, (for he himself continued the whole year at Rome) but are not mentioned by any historian.

THE next confuls were Trajan the fifth time; and Lucius Appius Maximus, who had fignalized himself in the Dacian war. This year Trajan began, and finished two years c after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at Centumcella, now Civita Vecchia; The port of which he called after his own name, the barbour of Trajan. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, and described by Rutilius in his poem d. Pliny was this year sent to govern Pliny appointed Pontus and Bithynia, not in quality of proconsul, as others had been, but of lieute- Pontus and nant and proprætor, with confular authority; that is, he was not appointed gover-Bithynia. nor of that province by the fenate, but by the emperor, tho' the province of Pontus and Bitbynia belonged to the fenate. As there were many abuses in that province to reform, the emperor fent Pliny thither with an extraordinary authority as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the senate to appoint the governors as formerly, Adrian being the first who took the province of *Pontus* and *Bitbynia* from the fenate, and gave d them Pamphylia in the room of it. Pliny was particularly commissioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his jurisdiction, and to retrench all unnecessary charges 1, but the emperor would not impower him to recal such as had been banished by other governors 8, nor even those whom he himself should think fit to banish b. Pliny wrote an account of his journey to the emperor, whence it appears, that he arrived in Bithynia on the seventeenth of September, and Servilius Pudens his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of November i.

THE following year L. Licinius Sura and M. Marcellus being confuls, Sauromates, king of Bostorus, sent a solemn embassy to Trajan, and entered into an alliance with him and the Roman people k. Soon after, Decebalus king of the Dacians, not Decebalus vioe able to live in subjection and servitude, (for so he called the peace which Trajan had lates the artigranted him) began, contrary to the late treaty, to raise men, provide arms, enter-cles of the treattain deferters, fortify his castles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him against the Romans as a common enemy. The Seythians hearkened to his solicitations; but the lazyges refusing to bear arms against Rome, he invaded their country, and seized that part of it which bordered on the Danube. Hereupon Decebalus was by the senate declared an enemy; and Trajan, not caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched against him in person. Decebalus, not finding himself in a condition to withstand him by open force, had recourse to deceit and Histreachery. treachery, sending assassins, under the name of deserters, to murder him; but one f of these being apprehended upon suspicion, and put to the torture, discovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately feized, and executed. Decebalus, failing in this attempt, invited Longinus, one of Trajan's favourites and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he deligned to put an end to the war, by fubmitting to the articles of the former treaty, with some small alteration. Longinus, not suspecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But Decebalus immediately seized him; and after having attempted in vain to make him discover the designs

PEIN. 1. v. epist. 14. GOLTZ. P. CALLELL. P. 132. C Dio, in excerpt. Valesii. 

Trajan builds

a bridge over

the Danube.

of the emperor, he wrote to Trajan, offering to fet Longinus at liberty, upon condi- a tion that he would grant him an honourable peace, reffore the country bordering on the Danube, and detray all the charges of the war; adding, that if these conditions were not complied with, he would instantly put Longinus to death. Trajun returned him a judicious answer, neither seeming to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet make such account of it, as to purchase it at too high a rate. But while Decebalus was deliberating with himself, and in suspense about the measures he should pursue, Longinus, by a dose of poison, which was privately conveyed to him by a freed-man, put an end to his life. Decebalus immediately dispatched to Trajan a centurion taken with Longinus, offering him the body of the deceased general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freed-man, whom Longinus had fent, before he took the b poison, to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty; but Trajan would neither hearken to the proposal, nor even suffer the centurion to return. In the mean time Trajan, that his troops might with more ease pass the Danube, built a bridge over that spacious river, which, by the ancients, is styled the most magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the most stately fabric of that nature in the universe. It was all of square-stone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and fixty feet in breadth, all distant from each other one hundred and seventy feet. It was built where the river was narrowest, and confequently where the stream was strongest and most rapid; which renders the fabric still more stupendous and amazing, on account of the almost unsurmountable c difficulties they must have met with in laying so large a soundation. The architect employed on this occasion was one Apollodorus of Damascus, who, it seems, left a description of this great work m. Trajan ordered two castles to be built to guard the bridge, one on the Roman, the other on the Dacian fide of the river. Pliny mentions this bridge in the short account he gives us of the Dacian war "; and several medals representing it have reached our times o. It was built in the Upper Masia, which, in the time of Aurelian, began to be called Dacia P. We are told, that some remains of it are still to be seen near Zeverin in Lower Hungary 9. Trajan built it, that the Roman forces might with ease and readiness pass the Danube, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country; but Adrian, fearing the barbarians might make use of d it to invade the Roman territories, broke down the arches; but the piers were still standing in Dion Cassius's time; that is, one hundred and twenty years after, tho they ferved then only to shew, says that writer, the utmost extent of human power. When they were by time intirely demolished, the river was so choaked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another chanel s. This stupendous fabric was begun and ended this fummer; but Trajan, not thinking it adviseable to enter Dacia upon the approach of winter, contented himself with making the necessary preparations for vigorously attacking the enemy early in the spring.

Dacians.

to great dangers.

In the mean time the following consuls were chosen at Rome, Tiberius Julius Candidus, and Aulus Julius Quadratus, both the second time. This year, the eighth of e Trajan's reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in Asia the cities of Elea, Myrine, Pitame and Cuma; and in Greece the cities of Opus and Oritat. Adrian discharged for some time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend Trajan in the Trajan mar- war against the Dacians. The emperor early in the spring passed the Danube on the this against the bridge he had built, and entering the enemy's country, pursued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expose his men to unnecessary dangers . He often incamped, fays Pliny w, on steep and barren mountains; was obliged to Exposes himself nor well accorded mould from the and perform things, which, were they not well attested, would seem altogether fabulous. He gave many signal instances of his personal courage, and the soldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardships of a laborious warfare \*. Among the rest, one of his horsemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dreffed, when he there understood, that his life was despaired of, and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his spirits failed him, performed great feats, and expired fighting with incredible bravery!. Several inferiptions are still to be met with, mentioning persons whom Trajan rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war

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n PLIN. l. viii. c. 4. Occo, p. m Procop. de ædificiis Justin. l. iv. c. 6. 1 Dio, l. lxviii. p. 776. co, p. 204. BARON. annal. ad ann. 105. FABRETTI de colum. Trajan. c. 301. 204. Dro, ibid. Procop. ibid. Euseb. chron. Dro, ibid. epift. 9. Dro, p. 776. Idem, p. 777. w Plin. I. viii.

a with the Dacians 1. In this war Adrian commanded a legion, and, in the many battles that were fought, distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; whence the emperor, highly pleafed with his gallant behaviour, prefented him with the diamond, which Nerva had fent him, as we have related above, when he adopted and named him his fuccesfor. This present Adrian looked upon as a pledge of his future adoption a. Some infcriptions have reached our times, in which Dacia is faid to have been added to the empire by the courage and valour of Adrian b. At length Make: himself Trajan made himself matter of the capital of Dacia, and almost of the whole master of the capital of Dacountry; infomuch that Decebalus, feeing himself stripped of his dominions, and cia, which is dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, chose rather to put an end to his reduced to a b life, than to live in subjection, or acknowledge himself overcome. His head was im-Roman promediately brought to Trajan, and by himsent to Rome. He had concealed his treafures in a deep pit, which he caused to be dug in the bed of the river Sargetia, now Istrig, having for that purpose turned the stream into another chanel, and asterwards brought it to its former course. As for his rich moveables, he secured them in deep caves, which he caused to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not discover the fecret; but Bacilis, one of his chief favourites and confidents, being taken in this war, discovered the whole to Trajan, who feized both the treasure and precious moveables of the deceased prince . We are told, that notwithstanding this discovery, great riches were found in those places c many ages after, which had escaped Trajan a. The famous column of Trajan, of which we shall speak anon, is thought to have been raised for a lasting monument of the victories gained by that prince over the Dacians and their king; at least, many of the remarkable events of this war are expressed, as Ciacconius and Fabretti inform us, in the baffo-relievo of that pillar. Dacia being thus intirely subdued, Trajan reduced it to a Roman province, which was, according to Eutropius, a thousand miles in compass. The Romans held it, as Festus Rusus informs use, to the reign of the emperor Gallienus; during which time it was governed by a Roman magistrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from some ancient inscriptions . Trajan built seve- Many colonies ral castles in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in cia. d awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of Rome, and of the other towns of Italy, who were willing to settle in Dacia. The Hungarian writers mention several cities in their country, which were on this occasion built or peopled by the Romans; but the most celebrated of all was Zermizegethusa, which, in several ancient inscriptions, is styled Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacia Sarmiz. It was established by M. Scaurianus proprætor of Dacia, and continued subject to the Romans at least to the death of the emperor Severus. At prefent it is but a poor village in Transylvania, known by the name of Gradisch k. In Masia and Thrace several cities borrowed their names from Trajan; for we find the city of Trajanopolis in Thrace mentioned by the ancients; that of Ulpia in Upper Massia, e now Servia; the cities of Plotinopolis, which, no doubt, was so called from Plotina, Trajan's wife, and Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Masia, which took its name from Marciana, the emperor's fifter, and was, according to Jornandes, built by Trajan. The same writer adds, that upon the banks of the river later, or latrus, he founded another city, which he called Nicopolis, or the city of victory, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the Sarmatians, or rather Dacians; for Jornandes frequently confounds these two nations ". This city is by Ammianus Marcellinus called fometimes Nicopolis, fometimes Ulpia, and placed, not on the latrus, but on the Neffus or Neftus; and truly, from several inscriptions produced by the learned Holstenius", it appears to have stood near the conflux of the Nestus and the Danube. f We must not confound, as some writers have done, Nicopolis in Dacia with another of the same name upon mount Hamus in Thrace. Trajan, upon his return to Rome, Trajan's second triumphed over the Dacians a second time; caused several medals to be coined in me-triumph over mory of his victories, many of which are still to be seen o, entertained the people the Dacians. with public banquets, with shews, in which ten thousand gladiators entered the lists; with combats of wild beafts, of which above ten thousand were killed, and all kinds

Spart, in Adrian. Dio, I. lxix. p. 787. FAB.

Idem ibid. FEUTROP, p. 236. Ruf.
BAUDR. p. 348. FABR. colum. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238, 241. 18, 241.

d FAB. ibid.

ldem ibid.

ldem, p. 63.

Dio, l. lxviii. p. 1040.

k
ldem ibid. c. 18.

n Holst. ad Steph. p. 225. ibid. p. 242. 6 Dio, 1014.

h Gruter, p. 354.

1 Lieni, p. 
1 L Dio, ibid. JORN. de reb. Goth. c. 16.

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of diversions, which lasted one hundred and twenty-three days P. Canius, at the a request of *Pliny*, described this war in verse q; and *Trajan* himself is said to have written an account of it in several books. This war broke out in the beginning of the preceding year, but was not ended till the latter end of this; for we are told, that he took for the fifth time the title of imperator about the latter end of the ninth year of Arabia Petrza his tribunitial power, which was the eighth of his reign. The same year is remarkable for the intire reduction of Arabia Petraa by Aulus Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, after it had been long governed by its own kings. The inhabitants of Petra and Bostra reckon their time from this year, in which their country was first annexed to the Roman empire v. Trajan reduced, together with the Dacians, several nations in alliance with them; so that the same of his conquests reaching the most distant b countries, and even India, embassadors were sent from thence to congratulate him

upon the success which had attended his arms w. THE next confuls were Cerealis and L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, the father of L. Ælius Verus, as is commonly supposed, who was by Adrian created Casar. During their administration, the capitoline sports, established by Domitian, were exhibited the fixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named L. Valerius Pudens Y. This year Trajan made, at a vast charge, a road through the Palus Pontina, or Pontine Marshes, whereof the remains are still to be seen 2; and this, no doubt, is the Via Trajana, or Trajan's Highway, mentioned in several ancient inscriptions produced by Occo and Gruter b. Dion Cassius adds, that he ordered all c the diminished coin to be melted down, and mentions several magnificent buildings, with which he embellished Rome: but of these we shall speak hereaster; for Trajan must have only begun them this year, since he left Rome in the month of Ostober, and A conspiracy a- was at Antiocb in the very beginning of the ensuing year c. However, before he set sainst Trajan. Out for the east, a conspiracy was formed against him by Crassus, and several other His moderation persons of the first quality; but seasonably discovered. The conspirators were tried, on that occasion not by him, (for he declined being judge, and at the same time a party) but by the fenate, who, it feems, condemned them to banishment; for, upon the emperor's death, one Crassus Frugi endeavoured to make his escape from an island, to which he is said to have been confined for aspiring at the empire; but was killed by one of Adrian's d officers, without the emperor's knowledge, as if he had attempted his escape with a design to raise new disturbances d. The true motive of Trajan's journey into the east,

Designs to make war upen the Parthians.

the east.

was a defire of glory, as Dion Cassius informs us e, which he hoped to reap from a war with the Parthians, who, we may say, rivalled the Romans themselves in power, and had given them several great overthrows. The pretence he alledged for quarrelling with that nation, was, that the king of Armenia, by name Exedures, had received his crown at the hands of the king of Parthia; whereas the Roman emperors claimed a right of disposing of that crown ever since the reign of Nero, who, in the year fixty-fix, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at Rome Tiridates king of Armenia. What happened after that time in Armenia, we find no-where recorded; c we only know, that Tiridates was still on the throne in seventy-two, the third of Vespasian's reign. As for the affairs of the Parthians, Vologeses, brother to Tiridates, was in the year eighty succeeded by Artabanes, and he by Pacorus the friend of Decebalus f, who reigned while Pliny governed Bithynia 8. Pacorus was father to Parthamasiris, and probably to Costhoes, who reigned at this time in Parthia b. Aurelius Victor calls him Cosdroes, and Dion Cassius, Hosroes. Trajan, who wanted only a pretence to make war upon the Parthians, pretended to be highly affronted at the Parthian king's giving the crown and royal enfigns to Exedures, and demanded satisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refused to comply with his just demands. Costoboes And sets out for despised his menaces; whereupon Trajan, who had already made the necessary preparations for this expedition, immediately left Rome, and crossed over into Greece. When Cosrboes found he was in earnest, he began to abate of his pride, and sent deputies to him with rich presents, begging that he would not, upon such sight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and destructive war; at the same time he acquainted him, that Exedures, finding himself neither acceptable to the Romans nor

P Dio, ibid, p. 777. PLIN. l. viii. ep. 14. P Voss. hist. Lat. c. 30. Vide Noris. epist. consu'. p. 47, 48. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 777. Euseb. in chron. p. 206. W Dio, ibid. Noris. epist. Idat. in fast. Spart. in Ælii vit. Y Onuph. in fast. p. 216. Dio, ibid. Occo, p. 209. Grut. p. 199. Grat. acta, p. 2, 3. Usser. notæ, p. 35. Dio, ibid. p. 778. Idem ibid. Zonar. in vit. Tit. Plin. l. x. epist. 8. Dio, p. 779.

a to the Parthians, had abdicated the crown, and befought Trajan to dispose of it in favour of Parthamasiris. The embassadors met Trajan at Athens, and there deli- Embassadors vered their message; to which the emperor replied, that friendship was shewn by sent to him by actions, and not by words; that he was going into Syria, and that there he should the king of the take such resolutions as he should think proper. He then dismissed the embassadors, without deigning to accept any of their presents. He then pursued his journey through Afia Minor, Cilicia, and the other provinces, to Seleucia in Syria, and from thence to Antioch, the capital of that province, which he entered crowned with a Arrives at branch of an olive-tree on a Thursday, which, that year and the following, happened, Antioch.

and never more during his reign, to be the seventh of January k.

THE following year's confuls were Lucius Licinius Sura the third time, and Caius Sosius Senecio the second, who refigned the fasces to Suranus and Servianus!, in whose confulfhip Adrian was prætor, and exhibited most magnificent shews ; for he did not attend Trajan into the east. When the time of his prætorship expired, he was Adrian comfent to command the armies in Lower Pannonia, where he maintained with great mands in Lowfeverity the military discipline, and kept in awe the Sarmatians, whom Eusebius and er Pannonia. St. Jerom count among the nations subdued by Trajan v. Servianus, who was conful with Suranus, is called in feveral ancient inscriptions Julius Servilius Ursus Servianus, the same, no doubt, who married Paulina, sister to Adrian, and the emperor's cousin o. Pliny wrote some letters to him as an intimate friend, and by his means obtained seve-

c ral favours of the emperor P. When he speaks of him to others, he calls him a person of great accomplishments a. He was governor of Upper Germany in the year 98, the first of Trajan's reign, and from thence was sent into Pannonia r. Trajan entertained a mighty opinion of his talents, and used to say, that among the great men who might aspire at the empire, he was the most capable of discharging that high trust with reputation. He was no friend to Adrian, and is supposed to have opposed his adoption; for that prince, a little before he died, in the year 138, ordered Servianus, then ninety years old, to be put to death, that he might not furvive him, tho' he had, during the whole course of his reign, treated him in a very friendly manner, and preserred him to the first employments. He is often called by the Greek writers Severianus

d instead of Servianus: But to return to Trajan: he made his entry into Antioch on the seventh of January, as we have related above. During his stay in that city, Abgarus, or, as some call him, Augarus, prince of Edessa in Mesos otamia, sent him Abgarus king presents, and, by his embassadors, declared his sincere desire of living in friendship of Edess, and with him and the people of Rome; but as he equally seared the Romans and Parthians, other princes, send presents to and was defirous to please both, he declined waiting upon him in person. The other Trajan. petty princes in that neighbourhood came personally to offer their service to the emperor of Rome, and brought with them, according to the custom of the eastern countries, rich presents. One among the rest presented him with a stately courser, who, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, e and adored him, as he had been taught before-hand. Trajan received all the princes who came to attend him, with great demonstrations of kindness, accepted their presents,

and pretended to repose an intire confidence in them. Having made the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, he left Antioch, bending his march towards Armenia, when Parthamasiris, who had wrote to him before, and in his letter styled The king of Arhimself king of Armenia, sent him a second letter, (for Trajan had returned no answer menia writes to the first) wherein he omitted the title of king, and desired, that M. Junius, gover-who seizes senor of Cappadocia, might be appointed to treat with him. Trajan fent only the fon veral places in of Junius, and in the mean time pursued his march, making himself master of several that kingdom. places, without meeting with the least resistance. At Sata, or rather Satala, a city f in Armenia Minor, the emperor was met by Anquialus king of the Heniochi, a people of Circassia on the Euxine sea, and of the Mabeloni, of whom we find no further mention in history. Trajan received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness,

and made him rich presents, in order to attach him to his interest. Upon his arrival at Elegia in the Greater Armenia, Parthamasiris came to wait upon him, and beg of The king of Arhim the crown of Armenia. Trajan received him feated upon a throne or tribunal, and menia waits attended by the chief officers of his army. As Parthamasiris approached the throne, uson him in ferson.

<sup>\*</sup> Usser, not, in act. Ignat. p. 35. Lond. ann. 1647.

Spart. in Adrian.

Hier. in chron.

Spart. in Adrian. p. 1, 2.

Idem, l. viii. epift. 23.

Spart. in Adrian. p. 1.

Idem 1 Idem, p. 778. m Spart, in Adrian.

1 Hier, in chron, 27.

2 Idem, L viii. epift. 23.

7 Vide Spart, cum not. Cafiubon. ONUPH. in fast. P PLIN. I. iii. epift. 26, 27. ibid. & Dio, I. lxix. p. 795. Vol. VI. No 1. he

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Trajan refuses

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he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a fingle a word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time the foldiers, pleased to see the king of Armenia, tho' supported by the whole power of the Parthian empire, obliged to submit, and resign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud shouts of joy; which so terrified Parthamasiris, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but finding himfelf furrounded on all sides, he desired to speak to Trajan in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but Trajan not liking his propofals, and refuling to comply with them, he left the tent in a great passion, and endeavoured to make his escape out of the camp. But Trajan having ordered him to be stopped, and brought back, ascended his tribunal anew, and desired the prince to repeat in the hearing of b all, the proposals he had made to him in private, and his answers, that persons who were ignorant of what had paffed between them, might not give false accounts of it, and missepresent it to the world. Upon this Parthamasiris, no longer able to contain himself, told Trajan, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken prisoner; that he came thither voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he should réceive his kingdom of Trajan, as Tiridates had done of Nero. Trajan replied, that Armenia belonged to the Romans, and that it should receive a Roman governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that as for Parthamasiris, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleased. Accordingly he dismissed him, and the Parthians who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be infulted c by the foldiery, or raise disturbances; the Armenians he detained, as subjects of the Roman empire, and ordered them to return to their respective dwellings. Parthamasiris endeavoured to maintain himself in his kingdom by force of arms; but lost his life in the attempt, so that Trajan made himself master of Armenia, which he reduced duced to a Ro- to a Roman province. As to the other particulars of this war, we find them no-Several kings where recorded. Upon the reduction of Armenia, several princes submitted of their submit to Tra- own accord to Trajan, amongst whom are mentioned the kings of Iberia, Sarmatia, Bosporus, and Colchis w. He named a king to rule over the Albanians, and appointed one Julianus prince of the Apfiles, whose country bordered on the Euxine sea, having for its metropolis the city of Dioscuris, afterwards called Sebastopolis. Arrian, who d wrote under Adrian, speaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the Roman empire x. The Romans had, before Trajan's time, a garison in Melitene or Melitine, a castle of Lesser Armenia, which Trajan made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence in process of time it became one of the most populous and wealthy cities in the east v. The emperor, having left garifons in all the strong-holds of Armenia, advanced to the city of Edeffa in Mejopotamia, where he was received in a very friendly manner by Abgarus king of that diffrict. Abgarus had before fent him feveral prefents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in person. However Trajan, by the mediation of Abgarus's fon, by name Arbandes, a very comely youth, received his excuses, and e admitted him to his friendship. Abgarus made a great entertainment for the emperor, and the chief officers of his army, at which Arbandes, who was perhaps too much beloved by Trajan, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country z. Manes, the chief of one of the Arabian nations, Sporaces, prince of Anthemusia, a province of Mesopotamia, Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene, and Manisares, king of some district in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join Trajan; but in the mean time delayed meeting him, to that the emperor began to distrust them, especially after the treachery of Mebarsapes; who having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, against the Parthians, put most of them to the sword, and kept the rest in captivity. Amongst the latter was a centurion, f named Sentius, who, as Trajan, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great strength, called Ademystres, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the affistance of his fellow captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the Romans. Trajan, now master of so strong and important a place, advanced boldly into Mesopotamia, and reduced great part of it by the bare fame of his name. As the greatest part of Adiabene lay beyond the Tigris,

Enters Mclopotamia.

The treachery of the king of Adiabene.

Trajan builds a bridge over the Tigris.

Trajan built a bridge over that river, which is represented on several medals that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dio,l. lxviii. p. 779. Arrian. in perip. pont. Euxin. p. 7. Eutrop. in vit. Trajan. id. \* Arrian. ibid. \* Procop. de ædific. Justin. l. iii. c. 4. \* Dio, ibid. p. \* Dio, ibid. p. 780. ibid. a Idem. p. 781.

a have reached our times b. The cities of Nisibe and Batue made a vigorous desence; but in the end were obliged to yield. If the city of Nisibe belonged, as Josephus writes, to the king of Adiabene, it was at this time, as is manifest from Dion Califus ", in the hands of the Parthians. As for Cofrhoes, we know not what measures he took, or what attempts he made to stop the progress of Trajan's conquests. In Dion Cassius we read, that Manifares offered to yield to the Romans for ever all Armenia, and that part of Melopotamia, which they had already conquered. Whence we conjecture, that the name of Manifares has crept into the text initead of Cofrhoes, who alone could make fuch an offer, and between whom and Trajan a treaty was, it seems, concluded, Atreaty befince Aurelius Victor Writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hostages. What treem Trajan and the king of treaty this was, or on what occasion, or by whom it was violated, (for the war broke the Parthians. b out anew) we are no-where told. To this treaty perhaps allude the medals, which were struck about this time, with the following legend, Peace established; the king of the Parthians restored ". The power of the Parthians was, as Dion Cassius informs us greatly weakened at this time by their intestine wars; so that Costboes was perhaps obliged to recur to Trajan, and implore his protection against his own subjects. This is all we know of Trajan's wars in the east, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We should be able to give a better account of all these transactions, if the Parthian history, composed by Arrian, who flourished at this time, on purpose to fet forth the exploits of Trajan, and by him divided into seventeen books, had reached us P; but c that history being long since lost, and many other histories of these times, (for under no prince there flourished a greater number of celebrated historians than under Trajan) we are with no prince's exploits less acquainted than with Trajan's. Not to mention the many historians who have described the Parthian war, in which Trajan distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, both as a soldier and a general, Marius Maximus, Fabius Marcellinus, Aurelius Verus, Statius Valens, Ammianus Marcellimus, and Dion Cassius, wrote his life, either by itself, or in the body of the Roman history. But none of the works of these authors are now remaining; so that we are obliged to recur to the abridgment of Dion Cassius by Xipbilin, and to the still more compendious and undigested writings of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. We cannot d even learn of any writer, whether Trajan ever returned to Rome after he set out from thence to conquer Armenia. However, we cannot persuade ourselves that he continued in the east, without once visiting the metropolis of the empire, for the space of eleven or twelve years; the more, because from some medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to Rome before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the same or the following year 4; which gives a great light to history, and may ferve to justify the acts of the glorious martyr St. Ignatius. Lusius Quietus distinguished Lusius Quietus himself above all the commanders employed by Trajan in this war. He was a Moor distinguishes by nation, and born in a country not subject to Rome; but nevertheless served in the himself in this and Trajan's Roman cavalry, till he was either by Domitian or Nerva for some misdemeanour de-other wars. e graded and difmiffed. Trajan, wanting Moors in his wars with the Dacians, took this prince again into the fervice, with a body of his countrymen and dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, both in the first and second Dacian war. In the Parthian war he ferved with fuch courage and fuccess, that Trajan honoured him with the confulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of Palestine, by way of reward for a signal victory which he gained over the Jews of Mesopotamia. His reducing the Mardi, a people of Asia near Armenia, and not far from the Caspian sea, is mentioned as what most of all contributed to his glory and preferment . Ammianus Marcellinus extols him as one of the greatest captains that ever bore arms for the Romans ". We are told, that Trajan had such a kindness and esteem for him, that he had some thoughts of naming him for his successor, tho' he was not even born a subject of the empire w. We shall have occasion to mention him again in the following reign. In the fix following years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the ancients, (for the works of the ancients themselves have been longfince loft, as we hinted above) except the names of the confuls, the making of the high-way by Trajan from Beneventum to Brundusium; the burning of the pantheon by lightning; the overturning of some cities in Galatia by an earthquake; and dedi-

<sup>1</sup> Occo. p. 205. Birag. p. 157. 

Dio, ibid. Vide Occon. p. 201. 

Dio, p. 783.

Phot. c. 58. 9 Vide Birag. p. 158. PDio, in excerpt. Valef. p. 710. l. lxviii. p. 773. Spart. in Aur. Themist. orat. xvi. Mauric. tactic. l. ix. c. 2. Dio in excerpt. p. 710. Euseb. l. iv. c. 1. Euseb. ibid. Ammian. l. xxix. WEUSEB. & Themist. ibid.

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cating of the great square at Rome, which took its name from Trajan. The consuls a (for of these magistrates we have never yet omitted the names) were Aps ins Annius Trebonianus Gallus, and Marcus Attilius Metellus Bradua; Aulus Cornelius Palma, the second time, and L. Tullus; Priscinus, or Priscianus, and Orfitus; Caius Calpurnius Piso, and M. Vettius Bolanus; Trajan, the fixth time, and Titus Sextius Bolanus; Lucius Publius Celsus, the second time, and Caius Clodius Crispinus; Quintus Ninnius Hosta, and Publius Manilius Vopiscus. These were consuls from the eleventh to the seventeenth year of Trajan's reign inclusively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the christian æra. On some medals, that were coined during Trajan's sixth consulship, Train returns is marked the departure of that prince from Rome \*, no doubt, to return to the east: which we may suppose to have happened the year he was conful, the fifteenth b

to the eaft.

of his reign; for in that year Adrian, who commanded under him in the second Partbian war, was created archon, or chief magistrate of Athens; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he passed through that city with Trajany. THE eighteenth year of Trajan's reign, and 115th of the Christian æra, was re-

markable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the Parthians, and for

which he affumed the title of emperor the feventh, eighth and ninth times?. What-

opolis.

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Tigris on a

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ever give occasion to this war, (for history is filent upon this head) Trajan, before He consults the he left Syria, sent, at the request of his friends, some persons to consult the oracle oracle of He.t. of Heliopolis in Phanicia, to know whether he should return from this war to Rome. The oracle returned an answer, as usual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. Trajan putting the best construction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the spring left Syria, and marched against the Parthians encamped

on the other fide of the Tigris. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy posfessed with a numerous army the opposite bank, he secretly caused a great number of boats to be built in the woods of Nisibis, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-fide, a bridge was fuddenly formed with them over the river, which Trajan passed in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with showers of arrows, till he fent several boats against them manned with

bridge of boats, archers and flingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This so distracted the Parthians, already dis- d mayed and surprised at the light of so many vessels in a country quite destitute of wood, that they gave way, and fuffered the Roman army to pass the river without further molestation. Trajan made himself master of the kingdom of Adiabene, which he had reduced in the former war, but perhaps restored upon the conclusion of the

peace. He likewise subdued the country, which at that time still retained the name of Affyria, and in which stood the city of Ninos or Ninive, and Arbela and Gaugamela, two places famous in history on account of the victories of Alexander the Great. As the Parthians were greatly weakened by their domestic wars, and still divided

among themselves, Trajan advanced, without opposition, to the celebrated city of Babylon, of the power and greatness of which we have read such wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withstand him; and reduced its large territory, where the Foman standards had never before been displayed. By this acquisition, he be-

came master of those rich and noble countries, Assyria and Chaldaa. There he was led by his curiofity, fays Dion Caffius, to vifit the lake of bitumen, which was made use of in building the famous walls of Babylon. But that lake is by Rutilius, and others, placed in Mesopotamia. Afterwards he began a canal between the Euphrates

canal between and the Tigris, in order to convey his vessels out of the former river into the latter, the Euphrates and with them lay a bridge over the Tigris, being resolved to besiege Ctesiphon, and the Tigris, and with them lay a bridge over the Tigris, being resolved to besiege Ctesiphon, but drops that which stood on that river: but being informed, that the bed of the Euphrates was undertaking. much higher than that of the Tigris, he abandoned the design, searing the stream f

> would become too rapid, and confequently unnavigable b. However, Ammianus Marcellinus affures us, that the emperor Julian, having removed the stones, with which the mouth of the canal was stopt, conveyed his vessels through that cut from the Euphrates into the Tigris, a little above Ctesiphon . This canal was called Naarmalca, that is, the river of kings. Trajan, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it adviseable to make use of the canal; but ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages from the Euphrates to the Tigris, these two rivers being

Norts. epist. consul. p. 72. y Vide Norts. ibid. 2 GRUTER. p. 218. GOLTZ. p. 65, 66. <sup>4</sup> Rut. itiner. p. 32. c Ammian. l. xxiv.

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a in some places at a small distance from each other; and having formed a bridge with them, passed his army over the Tigris, and made himself matter of Seleucia, Makes himself and likewise of the great city of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian, and after-master of Sewards of the Persian empire. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed Ctesiphon, the emperor by the army, who with loud shouts of joy confirmed to him the title of mesropolis of Parthicus, which he had first gained by the reduction of Nisibis. At Ctesiphon he the Parthian took the daughter of Cosrboes, and seized the throne of the Parthian kings, which empire. was of maffy gold 1. Costboes himself made his escape, and was still living in the reign of Adrian. Trajan acquainted the senate with the success that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree passed, allowing the conqueror of the b Parthians to enter Rome in triumph as often as he pleased. The taking of Ctesiphon put him in possession of all the neighbouring countries. Eutropius tells us, that he reduced the Marcomades, the Cardueni, Anthemisia, a large province of Persia, says Reduces several that writer, and all the countries lying between Babylon and India. At Babylon he countries. visited the house in which Alexander the Great died, and there performed some ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror f. Ammianus Marcellinus writes, that in his time Trajan's tribunal was still to be feen at a city in the neighbourhood of Babylon, which he calls Ozogardene 8. Trajan reduced Affyria to a Roman province, Affyria made as he had before done Armenia and Mejopotamia; fo that the empire now extended a Roman proto the Tigris, and even beyond that river. How he disposed of the country of vince. c the Parthians, we shall relate anon. He obliged the inhabitants of Mejopotamia, and, no doubt, those likewise of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute . The dialogue between Triepho and Critias, which is falfly ascribed to Lucian, seems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of Susa, formerly the metropolis of Persia. Mention is likewise there made of inroads made by the Scythians, as if they committed great devastations in the Roman territories. Towards the end of the autumn, Trajan returned to Antioch, which was that winter almost intirely ruined by one of the most dreadful earthquakes mentioned A dreadful in history. That city was then crouded with troops, and strangers come from all earthquake at Antioch. quarters, either out of curiofity, or upon business, and embassies; so that there was d scarce a nation or province, but what had a share in the calamity; and all the Roman world, says Dion Cassius k, suffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of thunder, unufual winds, and a dreadful noise under ground: then followed so terrible a shock, that the earth all trembled, several houses were overturned, and others toffed to and fro, like a ship in the sea: the noise of the cracking and bursting of the timber, of the falling of the houses, and a dismal and loud roaring under ground, drowned the cries of the difmayed people. Those who happened to be in their houses, were, for the most part, buried under their ruins; fuch as were walking in the streets, and in the squares, were, by the violence of the shock, dashed against one another, and most of them either killed, or dangerously e wounded. As the earthquake continued, with some small intermission, for many days and nights together, many thousands perished by it, and among the rest the conful Marcus Pedo Vergilianus, with many other persons of great distinction. The most violent shock of all was, as we read in the acts of St. Ignatius, on a Sunday, the twenty-third of December. Trajan himself was much hurt, but nevertheless escaped Trajan himself through a window out of the house where he was. Dion Cassius pretends, that he is hart. was taken out of the window, and carried away by one, who in tallness exceeded the human fize. The same writer adds, that mount Lison, which stood at a small distance from Antioch, bowed with its top, and threatened to fall down upon the city; that other mountains fell; that new rivers appeared; and others, that had flowed f before, forfook their course, and vanished. When the earthquake ceased, the voice of a woman was heard crying under the ruins; which being immediately removed, she was found with a sucking child in her arms, whom she had kept alive, as well as herself, with her milk. Search was made for others; but no one besides was found alive, except a child, that was still sucking its dead mother 1. This dreadful earthquake is mentioned by Eusebius, Aurelius Victor, and Evagrius, who all speak

\* Dio, ibid. Eutrop. in Trajan. 

Spart. in Adr. 

Dio, ibid.

Ammian. I. xxiv. p. 265. 

Eutrop. ibid. Fest. Ruf. breviar. p. 553. Spart. ibid. 

philopatride. dia:090. Et Baron. ad ann. 114. 

E Dio, p. 781. 

Dio, l.1 f Dio, p. 785. 6 AMMIAN. 1. XXIV. p. 265. in philopatride, dia ogo. Et Baron. ad ann. 114. 1 Dio, l. lxviii. p. 781. Vol. VI. Nº 1. m Eusen. chron. p. 208. & l. i. c. 12. THE

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The port of Ancona.

Trajan fails down the Tiris into the Persian gulf.

He reduces Arabia Felix.

THE next consuls were L. Ælius Lamia and Ælianus Verus. From an inscription a of this year, the nineteenth of Trajan's reign, we learn, that the senate and people of Rome returned the emperor folemn thanks for having facilitated the entry into Italy on the fide of the Adriatic sea, by a port made by his orders at Ancona, as he had some years before made one on the Mediterranean, at or near Centumcella, now Civita-Vecchia. Upon the return of the spring, Trajan leaving Antioch, visited the conquered countries; and finding them all in a state of tranquillity, he made various regulations; and then imbarquing on board his fleet, failed down the Tigris, being defirous to view the Persian gulf, which Dion Cassius calls the Red Sea, or Mare Erythraum, supposing it to have taken that name from Erythrus, a prince once very powerful in those parts ". The storms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides, b rendered his navigation both troublesome and dangerous. However, he made himfelf master of Melene, an island formed by the Tigris, and obliged Athambylus, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of Charax Spasinæ, the metropolis of Athambylus's dominions, which most geographers place at the mouth of the Tigris. Dion Cassius tells us, that Trajan sailed into the Ocean, meaning perhaps the Perfian gulf; for it is not probable that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet confifted, he pursued his course beyond Ormuz, where the gulf ends. It was, we conjecture, on this occasion, that he reduced Arabia Felix. Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, had some years before subdued Arabia Petræa, as we have observed above, and reduced it to a Roman province. c But now Trajan made himself master, it seems, of Arabia Felix; for Arrian, in his book on the navigation of the Red Sea, observes, that in the reign of Trajan, there were at Leuca, a borough upon that sea, a centurion, and some troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there o. The fame writer places upon the fouth coast of Arabia, beyond the streights of Bebel Mander, a city called Arabia, and furnamed Eudamon, or the Happy, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, "A little before our time it was destroyed by Cafar, and is at present only "a village P." As he places it in the country of the Homeritæ 4, some writers take it to have stood where the present city of Aden stands. Besides, it appears from several d medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of Trajan's reign, that he reduced Arabia, not by his lieutenants, but in person'. Festus too mentions the conquest of Arabia; and Eutropius seems to reckon the reducing of that country to a Roman province amongst the last actions of Trajan ". A writer, who is supposed to have flourished about this time, after having said, that the power of the Persians and Parthians had yielded, adds, that Susa itself was taken, and that all Arabia would foon submit to the victorious and invincible prince w. This must, without all doubt, be understood of Arabia Felix, which it is thence plain he did not subdue, till after the conquest of Assyria, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the Christian æra. Some read in e Festus, that he conquered the country of the Saracens; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of those times, we readily fall in with those who, instead of Saraceni, read Ofrhoeni, who inhabited one of the provinces of Me-fopotamia, called Ofrhoene, from a king of the country named Ofrhoes. Trajan having reached the ocean, as we read in Dion Cassius, and there discovering a ship bound to India, wished he was young, that he might extend, as Alexander had done, his conquests to that country z. Eutropius tells us, that he had a fleet ready equipped in the Red Sea, with a defign to invade India; that he informed himself of the customs, strength and manner of fighting of the Indians; and that he envied the happiness of Alexander, who had subdued them, and extended his conquests far beyond f the bounds of the Roman empire. The Romans had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought India under subjection, as Eusebius observes a; but by India they perhaps meant Arabia Felix. Trajan wrote to the fenate, acquainting them with the

Alexander, who conquered India.

fuccess of his arms, and naming the several nations, which he had conquered, and Extraordinary which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among honours decreed the rest, that he should, upon his return to Rome, triumph over each particular na-

tion,

P Idem, p. 8. 10cm, p. 10cm, p. 10cm, p. 10cm, p. 10cm, p. 784. • Arrian. in peripl. Erythr. p. 6. P Idem, p. 8.
• Occo. p. 215.

\* Fest. in breviar. p. 551.

\* Fest. p. 551.

\* Procop. l. i. Pers. c. 18. BIRAG. p. 116.
w Lucian. philop. \* Dio, p. 784. <sup>2</sup> Euses. chron. p. 206.

a tion, which he had subdued; which was decreeing him, not one, but many triumphs: a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conquests; and the people of Rome made great preparations to receive him with the utmost pomp upon his return. But to Rome he never returned; nor was the and of his actions answerable to the beginning. For most of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted and shook off the yoke, after having driven out or massacred the garisons that had been left amongst them. The Jews, who had been dispersed The Jews reinto all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the west in several empire, being prompted thereunto by the absence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which, as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfal of the b Roman empire. They rose at the same time in Alexandria, all over Egypt, and in Libya Cyrenaica, against the other inhabitants of those countries, whom historians call Greeks, and against the Romans, who were very numerous in those provinces, which had been long subject to Rome. In Egypt, which was then governed by Lupus, they affembled in vaft crouds, committed dreadful diforders, and falling upon the inhabitants, who endeavoured to suppress the tumult, defeated them at the very first onset with great slaughter. But this advantage cost them dear; for the Egyptians, who had the good luck to escape the general carnage, sheltering themselves in Alexandria, seized and massacred, without distinction of sex or age, all the Jews who dwelt in that city b. The Jews indeed fold their lives dear, but were in the c end overpowered, and all to a man cut in pieces c. The Jews of Cyrene, who were, it seems, the ringleaders of the revolt, finding they could not receive the assistance which they had promised themselves from their brethren in Alexandria, (for they had formed a design of seizing that city) entered Egypt, committing everywhere most dreadful devastations, and unheard-of cruelties. They were headed, And commit according to Eusebius d, by one Lucua, whom he styles king; but, according to Dion unbeard-of Cassiuse, by one named Andrew, whom they had chosen for their leader. However that be, their rage and fury was fo great and boundless, their barbarities so heinous and outrageous, that they are scarce to be matched in history. For not satisfied with inhumanly massacring Greeks and Romans of all ranks, ages and degrees, they ded voured their flesh, washed themselves in their blood, wore their skins, and made themselves garlands with their intrails: some they sawed asunder; others they threw to wild beafts, or obliged them to fight till they killed one another, after they had put them to all kinds of torments. Thus they destroyed in Libya above two hundred thousand persons; an incredible number in Egypt, not specified by historians; and in the island of Cyprus, where they likewise rose, two hundred and fifty thoufand: Salamis, one of the chief and most populous cities of that island, they laid in ashes, after having, with that cruelty which was ever peculiar to the Jewish nation, murdered all the inhabitants, without sparing either women or children f. By these e massacres, the province of Libya was so dispeopled, that it would have been left quite uninhabited, had not the emperor Adrian sent thither a few years after several colonies 8. Trajan, informed of these barbarities, resolved in a great rage to pursue those impious wretches, not as rebels, but monsters, and enemies to mankind. Accordingly he dispatched into Libya, Marcius Turbo, with a strong body of horse and foot, and a confiderable fleet, injoining him to pursue them both by sea and land with revenge answerable to the enormity of their crimes. Turbo defeated them They are dein a pitched battle, and put great numbers of them to the fword, but not without feated in Afrithe loss of many of his best men, the Jews of Cyrene having been joined before the ca by Turbo, battle by those of Egypt h. Neither was the victory complete, nor the battle def cisive; for the war coutinued till the reign of Adrian, who succeeded Trajan on the eleventh of August of the year 117. That prince is said by St. Jerom to have conquered the Jews, who had revolted a fecond time; which Scaliger and others understand with respect to their first revolt under Nero. Besides, Spartian tells us, that Turbo, having, in the very beginning of Adrian's reign, ended the war with the Jews, was sent by that prince against the Moors, who had begun to make incursions into the Roman territories before the death of Trajank. In the island of Cyprus, And all cut to the Jews were, by the Romans and inhabitants, all cut off to a man; and those of to pieces in the

island of Cy-

e Dio, l. lxviii. p. 786. prus. b Euseb. l. iv. c. 2. c Oros. I. vii. c. 12. Dio, ibid, & Oros. l. vii. c. 12. Euseb. in chron. d Eusen. ibid. b Eusen. 1. iv. c. > \* Spart. in Adr. p. 3.

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Trajan gives a king to the Parthians.

He besteges Atra.

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that cruel and treacherous nation forbidden, upon pain of death, ever to fet foot a upon that island; which prohibition the inhabitants extended even to such as were driven thither by stress of weather, and whom consequently they put immediately to death k. They revolted likewise in Mejopotamia, but were there soon quelled by the brave Lusius Quietus, who deseated them in a pitched battle, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest out of the country 1. The example of the Jews was followed by most of the countries which Trajan had conquered by Tra- out the Parent of the inhabitants rifing every-where up in arms, and murdering or driving out the Roman garisons. Against them the emperor dispatched Lusius Quietus, and L. Appius Maximus, who were attended with very different success; for Maximus was defeated and killed; by whom, history does not inform us: but Lufius distin- b guished himself as usual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of Nisibis, besieged, stormed, and laid in ashes the city of Edessa. On the other hand, Erucius Clarus, and Julius Alexander, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of Seleucia upon the Tigris, and several others, which had shaken off the yoke. Lusius was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of Palestine m, no doubt, to keep that province in awe, which was chiefly inhabited by Jews, and seemed inclined, as Spartian informs us ", to revolt, and raise new disturbances in the empire. For these advantages, and the recovery of his conquests, Trajan took the tenth and last time the title of emperor. During these disturbances, Sambelus, king of Mesene, continued faithful to Trajan. Neither did c the Parthians make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But Trajan, fearing they would foon shake off the yoke, thought it adviseable to oblige them, by giving them, instead of a Roman governor, a king of their own nation. With this design he repaired to Ctesiphon; and having there assembled in a large plain the Romans and Parthians, he ascended a high throne, and declared one Parthamaspates king of the Parthians, putting, with great pomp and folemnity, the crown upon his head. Parthamaspates, whom Spartian calls Pfamatesfiris, continued faithful to the Romans; but was despised by the Parthians as a flave to Rome, and had scarce any authority over them P. In several coins, which have reached our times, is represented a king prostrate before Trajan, d with this legend on some, He gives a king to the Parthians; and on others the following, He distributes kingdoms 4.

THE following year, the twentieth and last of Trajan's reign, Niger and Apronianus being consuls, the emperor marched into Arabia, and there made war upon the Hagareni, or Agareni, who had likewise revolted. What part of Arabia they inhabited, we cannot determine, fince we find no farther mention made of them till the times of the Constantinopolitan empire, when the name of Hagareni became common to the Saracens and Arabians in general. The emperor laid siege to their city, which by Xipbilin is called Atra. It was neither great nor beautiful, fays Dion Cassius, but thought to be very rich, by reason the sun was worshipped e there, which drew crouds of people thither with rich presents from the neighbouring countries'. It was situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, well peopled, and surrounded with strong walls ". But its chief strength consisted in the barrenness of the neighbouring country, destitute, to a great distance, of grass, wood, and even of water; so that a great army could not long subsist before it; hence it was neither taken now by Trajan, nor afterwards by Severus, tho' they had both made a breach in the wall. Trajan narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy, knowing him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs, and majestic air, aimed chiesly at him, wounded his horse, f and killed a horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the Romans advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. At the same time, they were in a strange manner insested But raises the in their camp by swarms of sies: so that Trajan was in the end obliged to raise the fiege, and retire. Soon after, as he was stricken in years, and worn out with fo many long marches, he was seized with a dropsy and palsy, which he ascribed

> k Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. 1 Dio, p. 786. Ammian. l. xxix. Euseb. l. iv. c. 2.
> al. p. 720. n Spart. in Adr. p. 6. Goltz p. 86. P Dio, p. 786.
> irag. p. 163. r Idat. & Cassiodor. in Faft. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. m Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 720. P Dio, p. 786. 9 Occo, p. 213. BIRAG. P. 163. F IDAT. O. CALLER BIRAG. P. 163. BERODIAN. I. iii. p. 528, Idem, l. lxxv.

to

a to poison, but others thought natural. However, he was still for returning into Mejopotamia, to reduce some places, which had revolted there. But his distemper Is taken ill, increasing, he left the command of the army to Adrian, whom he had appointed and sets sail governor of Syria, and imbarqued for Italy. It was no sooner known, that he had for Italy set sail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a vast charge, and by exposing himself to innumerable dangers, shook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in spite of the troops which he had left to keep them in subjection. The Parthians drove out Parthamaspates; the Armenians chose themselves a The Parthians king; and the greatest part of Mesopotamia revolted from Rome, and submitted to drive out their the king of the Parthians. Thus all the pains he had taken, all the toils he had king. b undergone, and the immense sums he had expended, proved in the end to no effect. Upon his arrival at Selinus in Cilicia, which was afterwards from him called Trajanopolis, he was seized with a flux, which in a very short time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of August, after having reigned nineteen years, fix Trajan dies at months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of Nerva to the eleventh of Selinus in August, (for we know not the precise day on which he died) when Adrian received at Antiocb the news of his death, which had been concealed for some time, and thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed emperor w. Eutropius, and such as have copied him, tell us, that Trajan died at Seleucia in Isauria. But Seleucia is at a great distance from the sea; and most writers agree, that he was going to Rome by sea. Besides, e it appears from several inscriptions x, from the author of the verses commonly ascribed to the Sibyls, and from the chronicle of Alexandria, that he died at Selinus. Hence Scaliger and Casaubon wonder how any one can call in question a thing so well attested y. His body was burnt at Selinus, and his ashes carried by his wife His ashes are Plotina, and his niece Matidies, or Matidia, in a golden urn, to Rome, where they conveyed to Rome, and deposited under the startly solvens. Rome, and were received with extraordinary pomp, and deposited under the stately column, deposited under which he had erected, tho' it flood within the walls, where no one before him had his column. been buried 2. Sports, called Parthic Sports, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the east a. From an ancient inscription, we learn, that Phidemion, his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and secretary, died a sew d days after him, on the twelsth of August, of grief for the loss of so good a master b. Trajan lest no children c; nor are we told that he ever had any. Some write, that he defigned, in imitation of Alexander the Great, to die without naming a successor; others tell us, that he intended to name ten persons to the senate, leaving it in their power to chuse which of them they judged best qualified for the sovereignty d. We read in Dion Cassiuse, that once at a banquet he desired his friends to name ten persons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the supreme power. Both Trajan himself and his friends seemed, according to Spartian, to judge Neratius Priscus, who was the greatest civilian of his time, the best qualified for succeeding him in the empire f. That writer adds, that one day he addressed him thus: To you, e Neratius, I recommend the provinces, in case I should die. He had likewise some thoughts of leaving the empire to Servianus 8, whose daughter Adrian had married; and to Lusius Quietus, of whom he deservedly entertained a mighty opinion ". But in the end, Adrian was preferred to all the rest; which was rather owing to the favour of Plotina, than to any extraordinary kindness of Trajan towards him. For tho' the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of him; nor did Adrian ever shew any particular affection for Trajan. Hence it was commonly believed, that Trajan did not adopt him; but that Plotina, who was a great friend to Adrian, introduced, after the death of her husband, a supposititious person, who, counterfeiting the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted Adrian. Dion Cassius Whether he f tells us in express terms, that Trajan never adopted Adrian; but that the whole adopted Adrian. affair was managed by Plotina and Atianus, or rather Tatianus, who had been, jointly

with the emperor, Adrian's guardian; and adds, that for this reason the emperor's death was for fome days concealed. This Dion Cassius learnt of his father Apronianus, who, as he had been governor of Cilicia, where the emperor died, had thence

w Dio, p. 786. Aurel. epit. Julian. Cæsar, p. 39. \* Vide P. Pagi a Bon. in Spart. not. C. p. 10. & Scaliger. in Euseb. chron. p. 341. \*

Dio, ibid. b Euseb. chron. p. 208. \* Vide P. Pagi ad ann. 117. 7 Vide CASAU-Dio, L. lxix. p. 788. CIACCON.
8. THEMISTIUS, OFAL. 16. col. Traj. Vicr. epit. a Dio, ibid. b Euse d Spart. in Adri. p. 3. e Dio, l. lxix. p. 795.

MIST. orat. 16. l Dio, p. 795, 788. Spart. ibid. E Dio, p. 795.

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certain intelligence of what had passed at his death. Besides, the letters written to a the senate concerning this adoption were not signed by Trajan, but by Plotina, who had never before signed any of her husband's dispatches k. A modern writer, of no mean character, looks upon what Dion Cassius relates of the supposititious adoption of Adrian as an arrant fable; and pretends, that he was adopted by the emperor a whole year before his death; which, if true, would have left no room even for such a sable. What induced him to embrace this opinion is, that Adrian, as we read in most authors, and as appears from several ancient inscriptions, reigned twenty-two years: on the other hand, it is certain, that he died on the tenth of July in 138. He must therefore have begun to count the years of his reign from the ninth of August of the year 116. that is, a year before Trajan's death; for that b prince died in the beginning of August in 117. he thence concludes, that Adrian must have been adopted a year before; and from the time of his adoption, reckoned the years of his reign. This objection, which we shall endeavour to answer at the end of Adrian's reign, as in a more proper place, is not of such weight with us as to make us look upon the account, which Dion Cassius gives of Adrian's adoption, as an arrant fable. We shall close the history of this great emperor's reign with a fuccinet account of his noble and useful works. Aurelius Vistor will have him to have first introduced the use of post-chaises; but that invention is generally ascribed to Augustus m, and was probably only improved by Trajan, as it was after his time by several other emperors, as appears from Gothofredus, who treats of this subject c at length in his comments upon the Theodofian code ". He made, at an immense charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from the most distant coasts of the Euxine sea, to those of the Ocean in Gaul. He built several magnificent libraries in Rome, and a stately theatre in the field of Mars P. He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, inlarged the circus, repaired a great number of ancient buildings, and supplied with plenty of water those quarters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the most magni-His square and ficent of all his works was the great square, which he made at Rome, and called from his own name, having for that purpose levelled a hill a hundred and sortyfour foot high. In the midst of the square, he erected the famous column, which d is still to be seen, to serve him for a tomb, and at the same time to shew the height of the hill, which he levelled, as appears from the inscription on the basis, dated the seventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the christian The emperor Constantius, when he came to Rome in 357. found nothing in that stately metropolis which he admired so much as Trajan's square 4. The architect employed by Trajan in this inimitable work, as Constantius styled it, was one Apollodorus. Ciacconius tells us, that on the top of the column, which stood in the midst of the square, was placed Trajan's statue, holding a golden apple in its right hand; and adds, that in this apple were deposited the ashes of the deceased prince s. But Eutropius and Victorinus, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried e under the column. During this prince's reign, most of the provinces of the empire fuffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievoully afflicted with a dreadful plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations'. At Rome the Tiber overflowed its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, overturned many houses, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' Trajan caused a great canal to be dug, in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural chanel ". Phlegon tells us, that in Trajan's time a woman was delivered at Alexandria of five children the same day, three males, and two semales, who were brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year the same woman was delivered of three children w. We read in Plutarch, that in Trajan's reign a vestal, f named Helvetia, going on horse back, was struck dead with a slash of lightning, and thrown quite naked on one fide, and her horse on the other; which the soothfayers looked upon as presaging something highly dishonourable to the vestals, and the Roman knights. Accordingly, not long after, the flave of a knight, named Buteces, came of his own accord, and deposed, that his master, and several others

performed by

Trajan.

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, l. lxix. p. 787, 788.

\* Vide Cod. Theodof. tom. ii. p. 510, 511.

\* Aur. Vict.

\* Plin. paneg. p. 96.

Dio, l. lxviii. p. 778.

p. 789.

\* Claccon. de col. Trajan. c. 14.

\* Vict. epit.

m.r. c. 29.

\* Plut. quant. Rom. Dodwell in append. ad differtat. Cyprianic. Oxon. 1684. p. 67.
511.

Goth. in cod. Theodol tom. ii. p. 506, &c.
96. Dio, l. xviii. p. 778.

Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71.

Dio, \* Prin. I. viii. ep. 17.

a of the equestrian order, had for a long time carried on a criminal conversation with three veitals, Emilia, Licinia and Marsia, who were immediately punished, and the Three vestals knights too their accomplices. But the pontiffs, having first consulted the books of punished. the Sibyls, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the forum boarium, or the ox-market, two men and two women, natives of Greece and Gaul; Two men and which was done accordingly, the they had not long before condemned the fame two women buried alive at crime in others. For the Britons having immolated a human victim to their gods, Rome, their magistrates had been ordered to punish them; though they were afterwards pardoned upon their pleading an ancient custom, but at the same time commanded, under the severest penalties, to forbear such facrifices for the suture x. Trab jan, notwithstanding his humanity and good-nature, suffered the christians to be in-Trajan suffers

humanly persecuted in most provinces of the empire. As he published no new the christians edicts against the christian religion, he is not, as Baronius observes y, reckoned by to be perse-Tertullian among the persecutors of the church. But that he was an enemy to the christians, and highly prejudiced against them, is manifest from Pliny's letter to him 2, and his answer to Pliny 2. This may be ascribed to his looking upon the christians, who were already very numerous, and multiplied daily, with a jealous and suspicious eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and enemies

to the gods adored at Rome, and in all the Roman provinces. Besides, he perhaps

accounted them establishers of beteria, or illegal societies, which usually breed factic ons and feditions; whence all focieties, or colleges, not fettled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the senate, were forbidden, and the persons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treason. But after he had been informed by Pliny of their innocence, he could not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his answer, entertain any finister opinion of them. But nevertheless, instead of putting an immediate stop to the persecution, he sent directions into Bithynia, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good sense, and altogether inconsistent with his so much boasted justice, humanity and good-nature. For he commanded, that no inquisition should be made His unjust profor the christians, but that such as were accused should be punished; which was, as ceedings against

Tertullian observes in his excellent apology b, declaring them innocent, and at the them.

d fame time ordering them to be treated as criminals. If they are guilty, says that writer, addressing himself to the emperor, why do you forbid any search to be made after them? If they are innocent, why do you command them to be punished? This ordinance, however iniquitous and absurd, continued in vigour till the persecution of Severus, that is, for almost a whole century. But for a more particular account of the unjust proceedings, even of the best emperors, against the christians, we refer our readers to Tertulian and Eusebius , where they will find, that by fome emperors it was forbidden, upon pain of death, to accuse the christians, who nevertheless were, by a strange inconsistency, to be capitally punished, when accused or discovered e. As Irajan was, what every prince ought to be, a generous encoue rager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and study began to revive is and his reign became famous for a great number of eminent historians, poets, orators,

Idem ibid. y Baron, ad ann. 100. b TERTULL apol. C. 2. C TERTULE. in apol. f PLIN. pan. p. 84. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2, 3.

and philosophers, of whom we shall speak in our notes (A).

\* PLIN. 1. x. ep. 102. 4 Euseb. l. v. c. 21.

\* Idem ibid. ep. 102. \* TERTULL. apol. c. 5.

(A) These were Julius Frontinus, Cornelius Tacisus, Pliny the younger, Pompeius Saturninus, Tisinius Capito, Claudius Pollio, Verginius Romanus, &c. Sextus Julius Frontinus was prætor in the first year of Vespasian's reign, but yielded that dignity to Domitian, after having held it but one day, or two at most (1). Some years after, he commanded in Brisain with great reputation and fuccess, till the ninth year of Velpasian's reign, when he was succeeded by the celebrated Agricola. As that command was given to such only as had been consuls, Frontinus, no doubt, had been honoured with the confulfhip before he was sent into Britain. He is thought to have been consul a second time under Nerva, and a third under Trajan (2). He was likewise augur,

and succeeded in that dignity by Pliny the younger; in the fourth year of Adrian's reign (3); whence conclude, that he died that year, the 100th of the christian zra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly effected by all the men of learning who flourished in his time, especially by Marrial, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his last will he defired, that no tomb might be erected to him, faying, that without fuch monuments the world would remember him, if his life had deserved it (4). Ta-citus, speaking of Frontinus, says, that he was a man as great and able as he found scope and safety to be 5). He was one of the greatest commanders of his time (6), and gave figual proofs both of his bra-

(1) Tacit. l. iv. c. 39. (2) Noris epift. conful. p. 61, 62. (3) Plin. l. iv. epift. 8. vit. Agr. c. 17. (6) Ælian. tall. p. 3. (4) Plin. l. xix. epift. 19. (5) Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 17.

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very and conduct, in utterly subduing the powerful and warlike nation of the Silures, tho', besides the courage of the enemy, he was likewise obliged to flruggle with the difficulties of places and fitua-tion (7). He wrote four books of firatagems, which have reached our times, and are supposed to have been inscribed to Trajan. As he flatters Domitian in feveral places of his work, we may thence con-clude, that it was composed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had studied the military art with great application; and, besides the book of stratagems, written some others upon the same subject. We read likewife in Vegetius, that what Frontinus compendioully wrote on military discipline, and copied in great part from Cato the censor, was greatly esteemed by Trajan (8). Ælian quotes another work done by him, in which he seems to have collected whatever he found in Homer upon the subject of war (9). Nerva committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of Rome; on which occasion he wrote the treatise of aqueducts, which has reached us; as have done fome other small pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which Scriverius has made of the ancients, who have treated of the mi-litary art, and published at Antwerp in 1607. From these pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the Dacians; which some understand of Domitian's war with that people; others of Trajan's (10). As for the treatise of colonies, which Scriverius ascribes to Frontinus, it either was not done by him, or has been fince altered; for mention is there made of Adrian, Severus, Antoninus, Commodus, and other emperors, who reigned long after Frontinus's time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greatest orator, statesman, and historian of his time, was, as is commonly supposed, the son of Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman knight, and procurator of Belgic Gaul. His promotion in the state was begun, as he himself informs us (11), by Vespasian, augmented by Titus, and by Domitian advanced yet higher. He was prætor under Domitian in the year of the Christian æra 88, the seventh of that prince's reign, and consul under Nerva in 97, being substituted to Verginius Rusus, whose panegyric, or funeral oration, he composed and pronounced (12). He married in 77. or 78. the daughter of the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola (13). Lipsius is of opinion, that he lett children by her, fince the emperor Tacitus pretended to be descended from him, or to be of the same family; for he called the historian, as Vopiscus informs us (14), his kinsman; and Sidonius counts him among the ancestors of Polemus, prefect of Gaul (15). He had been four years absent from Rome, when Agricola died (16); which has given occasion to some writers to suppole, without any foundation, that he was banished by Domitian. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been conful; and, by his eloquent speeches, gained the reputation of the greatest orator of his time (17). He was much admired by Pliny, who lived in close friendship with him, and by all men lived in close friendship with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a person of his extraordinary accomplishments (18). He seems to have published some speeches, and likewise verses (19), which have been long since lost. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongst those of Pliny. Tho' he was the greatest orator of his time, he is now known only by his historical works, which can never be sufficiently admired and commended. He seems to have written his description of Germany feems to have written his description of Germany during the second consulate of Trajan, that is, in 98.

His life of Agricola, which Lipfius thinks one of the finest pieces in the Latin tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the first pieces he composed, and probably published in the very be-ginning of Trajan's reign. The work which com-prises the lives of the emperors, from the death of Galba to that of Domitian, ought to be placed next; for in his annals he refers the reader to his account of the reign of Domitian (20). That work which is by Tertullian (21), and other ancients, called the history of Tacitus, comprised the transactions of the Romans, both at home and abroad, from the year 69. to the year 96. of the christian æra; but only his account of the year 69. and part of the year 70. have reached our times. Having ended his history, he began his annals, (for so he himself styles them) from the death of Augustus to the reign of Galba, in which there are many lamentable chasms, as we have observed in the preceding volume. He had referved, as he himfelf tells us (22), for the study and employment of his old age, the reigns of Nerva and Trajan; but that work, it feems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the ancients. He likewise proposed writing the history of Augustus's reign; but St. Jerom knew of no other historical works of Tacitus, except his history and annals, which were in all thirty books (23). Of these are now remaining, not without many chasms, only fixteen books of his annals, and five of his history. As to his style, it is sublime and expressive; his thoughts are great, his phrase elevated, and his words sew. He shews himself, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty, and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every-where recommends them. As no man had seen more, and few thought so much, he draws events from their first sources, takes off every disguise, and penetrates every artifice. He faw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are mafterly and profound, like mirrors, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper fize and colours. His ftyle is a kind of language peculiar to himself, weighty, grave, and well-adapted to his subject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his style; for his history is much more copious and flowing than his annals; so that what has by some been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His Latin is pure and classical; he has few or no words which had not been used by approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is sparing of his words, and after having started the idea, leaves the reader to pursue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obscurity. The emperor Tacitus directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and, for their better preservation, ordered ten copies of them to be transcribed every year at the public expence (24). But notwithstanding this care, many of them have been long fince loft, as we have observed above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by some ascribed to Tacitus, by others to Quintilian, and was written in the fixth year of the reign of Vespasian, Lipsius, from the style, is more inclined to adjudge it to Quintilian than to Tacitus. But of that piece we have spoken in the foregoing volume (25). The unjust censure of Mr. Bayle and others upon Tacitus, as if he derived the actions of his princes, even the most innocent, from wicked counsels and designs, is fully consuted by Mr. Gordon in the discourses which he has prefixed to his

(7) Tacit. ibid. (8) Veg. l. 1. c. 18. (9) Ælian. tacl. c. i. p. 1. (10) Voff. hift. Lat. l. iii. c. 4. (11) Tacit. hift. l. i. c. 1. (12) Plin. l. ii. ep. 1. (13) Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 9. (14) Vopif. in Tacit. (15) Sid. l. iv. epift. 4. (16) Tacit. ibid. c. 44. (17) Plin. l. ii. epift. t, 11. (18) Idem, l. iv. epift. t3, 15. l. ix. epift. 10. (19) Plin. l. ix. ep. 10. (20) Tacit. annal. c. 11. (21) Tertull. ap. c. 16. & lib. de spettac. (22) Tacit. hift. l. i. c. 1. (23) Hier. in Zac. (24) Vopifc. in Tacit. (25) Hift. Univer. vol. V. p. 572.

excellent translation of that historian (26); a translation which has been of great use to us in com-

piling part of the foregoing volume.

Pliny was a native of Comum, now Como, the fon of L. Cacilius, by the fifter of Pliny the elder, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of C. Plinius Cacilius Secundus (27). He was born in the eighth year of Nero's reign, the 61st of the christian ara, and studied eloquence under Quintilian (28) with such success, that he and Tacisus were seckoned the two greatest orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profession of arms (29), was prætor under Domitian, and under Trajan conful, augur, and governor of Pantus and Bithynia. But his chief employment was to plead causes, which he did with great eloquence, and equal difinterestedness, not accepting of his clients fees or presents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them passed in the senate. He published several harangues or speeches, none of which have reached our times, except his panegyric upon the emperor Trajan. An inscription, quoted by Vossius (30), ascribes to him some historical pieces; but of these no mention is made by any ancient writer: nay, Apollinaris Sidonius tells us, that Tacieus did not apply himself to the writing of history, till he had in vain endea-voured to engage Pliny in that province (31). The letter, in which Pliny excuses himself from that task, is still extant (32), but inicribed to one Capito; perhaps in the time of Sidonius, that is, in the fifth century, it passed for a letter written to Tacitus. Some make Pliny author of the lives of illustrious men, which by most critics is ascribed to Cornelius Nepos, but by Vossius to Aurelius Victor (33). Pliny often mentions his own verses; but as they have been long since lost, we can give no account of them. He himself made and published a collection of such of his letters as he thought the most diverting and instructive (34); and of these are still extant ten books, which have been of fignal use to us in deferibing the reign of Trajan. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, difinterestedness, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable instances in his letters. He presented the city of Comum, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchasing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children of his poor countrymen (35). As the citizens of Comum used, for want of proper masters at home, to send their children to be educated at Mediolanum, now Milan, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of professors in all arts and sciences, and was himself at the third part of the charge: he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to disburse two-thirds of the requifite fum, would be thence more effectually induced to chuse professors well qualified for that trust, than if the whole charge were borne by him; in which case, favour, he apprehended, might pre-Besides his countrymen, he vail over merit (36). presented others with considerable sums, namely, Quintilian, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter (37); the poet Martial, when he left Rome, to return to Spain, his native country (38); and one Romanus Firmius, to make up the fum that was requifite for his being raifed to the equestrian order (39). He was not himself possessed of a large estate; but by bestowing little upon himself, he could afford bechildren (40). A lady of merit, named Corellia, for whom Pliny had a particular value, having betrayed to him a defire of having lands on the lake of Come, he generously offered her a small estate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. Corellis refused the present, and desired to know the value of it; when one of Pliny's freed-men, no doubt by private orders from his master, undervalued it, and sold it to her at a very low rate; which Corellis afterwards knew, but Pliny could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (41). He at once discharged all the debts of one of his friends, substituting himself in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter Calvins was for renouncing the inheritance; but Pliny, to fave the reputation of the deceased, generously forbuted a confiderable fum towards her fortune, when the was married (42). The reader will find in Pliny's letters innumerable other instances of his generosity, difinterestedness, and good-nature, which the brevity we have proposed to ourselves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flourished under Trajan, and is highly commended by Pliny, with whom he lived in great friendship, as an excellent orator, poet and historian (43). Pliny published nothing without submitting it first to the judgment of Saturninus (44). This is perhaps the same Saturninus who died in the fifth year of Trajan's reign, and bequeathed part of his estate to Pliny (45). His works have been long fince loft. Titinius Capito is likewise mentioned by Pliny as a writer of no mean character. He described the deaths of illustrious men, amongst whom were fome of his cotemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by Domitian (46). Pliny tells us elsewhere (47), that with excellent verses he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, Nerva or Trajan, to erect a statue in the forum to L. Silanus, who was by Nero's orders put to death in the year 65, the eleventh of that prince's seign. Cataneus, in his notes upon Pliny (48), tells us, that Lactantius quotes a book upon the public flews written by Titinius Capito. Claudius Pollie, who is likewise greatly commended by Pliny (49), wrote the life of Musonius Bassus, his benefactor. Suidas speaks of one Alinius Pollio, who was a native of Tralles in Asia, and a celebrated sophist and philosopher, and ascribes to him several pieces; amongst the rest, one giving an account of the memorable ctions and fayings of the philosopher Musonius; but he adds, that Musonius taught at Rome in the time of Pompey the great (50); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great overlight (51). Pliny likewife mentions and commends one Verginius Romanus, who wrote comedies, and other poetical pieces (52). Under Trajan flourished, according to Voffius (53), two Greek poets, Serapio, an Athenian, Plutarch's friend, and Rufus, an Ephelian, author of the fix books upon simples, known to Galen, and other physicians. Pliny feems to have entertained a mighty opinion of the fophist Icans, who came to Rome, when he was about fixty (54), and there gained, as appears from fuvenal (55), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was a native of Affyria, and in his youth had led a most debauched life; but afterwards, changing his conduct, applied himself to the study of philosophy and eloquence (56). He seems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of Plutarch, Suetonius, Epidetus, and feveral other writers, who lived

(26) Gord. p. 18—23. (27) Plin. prol & l. v. ep. 8. (28) Idem, l. ii. ep. 14. (29) Idem, l. i. ep. 10. (30) Voff. bift. Lat. l. i. c. 20. (31) Sidon. l. iv. ep. 23. (32) Plin. l. v. ep. 8. (33) Voff. bifd. (34) Plin. L. i. ep. 8. (35) Idem, l. ii. ep. 14. (42) Idem, l. ii. ep. 21. (39) Idem, l. ii. ep. 22. (38) Idem, l. iii. ep. 21. (39) Idem, l. ii. ep. 22. (38) Idem, l. iii. ep. 23. (39) Idem, l. vii. ep. 23. (38) Idem, l. iii. ep. 24. (41) Idem, l. vii. ep. 11. (50) Idem, l. iii. ep. 24. (43) Idem, l. vii. ep. 16. (44) Idem ibid. ep. 8. (45) Idem, l. v. ep. 7. (46) Idem, l. viii. ep. 12. (47) Idem, l. i. ep. 17. (48) Plin. l. i. ep. 17. (49) Idem, l. vii. ep. 31. (50) Suidas, p. 579. (51) Vide Forif L vii. c. 7. (52) Plin. l. vi. ep. 31. (53) Voff. poes. Grac. p. 73. (54) Plin. l. i. ep. 3. (55) Fuv. sat iii. ver 74. (56) Philostr. soph. c. 20. Suidas, p. 1274.

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## C H A P. XXI.

The history of Rome, from the death of Trajan, to the death of Marcus Aurelius, when the power of the Roman empire began to decline.

Adrian.

His extraction. employments, &c.

Drian, who succeeded Trajan in the empire, was the son of Elius Adrianus Aser, 2 cousin-german to that prince, and of Domitia Paulina, sprung from an illu-Arrious family in Cadiz. His family came originally from Italica in Spain, the native city of Trajan, whither Adrian, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his ancestors had removed some ages before from the city of Adria in the country of the Picentes, now the dukedom of Atri in Abruzzo. Marullinus, his great-great-grandfather, was the first Roman senator of the samily. He was born, according to Spartian, in Rome, on the twenty-fourth of January, in the year seventy-six of the christian zera, while Vespasian was consul the seventh time, and Titus the fifth i. Eutropius writes, that he was born in Italica; but Casaubon thinks he was therein mistaken k. He was named P. Ælius Adrianus, or Hadrianus, to which names he added, after b his accession to the empire, that of Trajan!. His father dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianship of Trajan and Cælius Tatianus, or Attianus, as Salmasius calls him, a Roman knight m. He applied himself to the study of the Greek tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, so thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly furnamed the Young Grecian. He then went to ferve in Spain, and staid there till he was recalled by Trajan, with whom he lived as his son. He was soon after appointed by Domitian one of the decemvirs, and thence raised to the command of the second auxiliary legion, with which he was sent into Masia about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told, that in Masia an astrologer affured him, that the fovereign power was by the fates destined to him; which was c confirming what his great-uncle Ælius Adrianus, who was likewise skilled in astrology, had foretold many years before. When Trajan was adopted by Nerva, he was fent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occasion, and foon after removed by Nerva from Masia into Upper Germany; whence he hastened, upon the death of that prince, which happened foon after, to carry the first tidings of it to Trajan. Servianus, who commanded in Upper Germany, and was no friend to Adrian, tho' he had married his fifter Paulina, detained him, till he had dispatched an express to Trajan with the news of Nerva's death, and afterwards supplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himself with the new emperor, by first informing him of his accession to the empire. But never- td theless Adrian pursued his journey on foot with such expedition, that he arrived in Lower Germany, where Trajan then was, before the express o. Trajan kept him with him; but tho' he was his kinsman, his guardian, tho' he gave him afterwards his fister's grand-daughter, Sabina, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraor-dinary honours upon him. In his youth he had squandered away his estate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, Servianus took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to estrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for Servianus entertained a very indifferent opinion of Adrian, and believed, that Rome could never be happy under such a prince P; and truly he was a person of most extraordinary parts, and had some great virtues, but allayed with no less vices. e His extraordi- He was endowed with a memory almost beyond belief; he could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the subject of it was, after having once perused it; he knew the name of every foldier in the army, and remembred the names of all the old foldiers, who had once ferved under him, tho' they had been long

Trajan conferred no extraordinary honour: upon

nary memory, learning, &c.

> \* SPART. in Adrian. p. 1-3. Parif. 1620. 1 Dio, l. Ixviii. p. 785. not, ad Spart. P Idem, p. 8.

1 Idem ibid. & P. Pagi p. 30. m SPART, ibid n Idem ibid.

k CASAUB in

<sup>·</sup> Idem, p. 4.

penfions

a disbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was without comparison the best orator, poet, grammarian, philosopher and mathematician of his time; thoroughly skilled in physic; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of most herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greatest masters; sung, and plaid upon all kinds of instruments, so as to be reckoned the most skilful musician of the age he lived in. He even applied himself to the study of judicial astrology, and magic. He used at the same time to write, dictate to several secretaries, give audience to his ministers, and discourse with them about affairs of the greatest importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domestic affairs, than he with those of the whole empire. His court was conftantly crouded with philosophers, orators, poets, Favours the mathematicians, &c. for whom he always shewed a particular esteem, and took great learned. pleasure in disputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verses, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted against an expression used by Favorinus, that philosopher modestly yielded, the he might have produced out of good authors sufficient authority for his expression; which seeming strange to his friends, Do you think, said pleasantly Favorinus, that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck ? In the beginning of his reign Instances of his he gave many instances of his elemency and good-nature; but afterwards caused seve- elemency. ral persons to be unjustly put to death: whence some writers cry him up as a most merciful prince, while others represent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often c forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. In the very beginning of his reign Tatianus advised him to put three persons to death, who, he said, would not sail to raise disturbances, viz. Babius Macer governor of Rome, Laberius Maximus, and Crassus Frugi, of whom the two latter had conspired against Trajan, and were then in banishment; but the emperor would not hearken to any fuggestions against them, saying, It would be highly unjust and tyrannical to punish any one for a crime, which he was only likely to commit r. Spartian writes, that he freely forgave all those who had any-ways injured him while he was a private person; and that one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, That he had escaped by his promotion to the empire'. On the other hand, d Dion Cassius tells us, that he remembred and punished with great severity some injuries Remembers done him in Trajan's time; and that he never forgave the famous architect Apollo- fome injuries dorus, who had spoken contemptuously of him before that prince. He allowed every done him in one free access to him, and seemed never better pleased than when they spoke to him Trajan's time. with liberty, or admonished him of his faults. Of this we read the following instance: A woman having one day applied to him on occasion of a troublesome law-suit, the emperor told her, That he was not then at leifure to hear her. The woman, not fatisfied with this answer, cried out to him aloud, To what purpose then are you emperor? With which frankness Adrian was so well pleased, that, postponing all other affairs, he heard her with great patience, and dismissed her fully satisfied ". The Roman people demanding one day with great noise in the theatre something, which Adrian was no-ways inclined to grant them, he ordered the public crier to command filence with the imperious word Tacete, Be filent, used by Domitian on the like occasion; but the crier, instead of obeying him, said only, The emperor begs you would be filent; Bears to be adwhich Adrian was fo far from refenting, that he commended his prudence, and amply monished. rewarded it w. He was courteous and affable towards persons of all ranks, conversed Kind to his familiarly with his friends, and visited them, nay, and his freed-men, when indisposed, friends; twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their fickness, and affisting them with his counsels. He frequently entertained them at his table, and honoured them with his company at their houses, without being invited, conversing with them more like a f private person than a prince. He refused them nothing which he thought reasonable to grant them, and inriched some who had never asked him the least favour x; but at the same time gave ear to slanderers, and believed every tale that was whispered But gives ear against them; whence all those whom he had most favoured, and raised to the highest to slanderers. honours, were in the end difgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death, or banished y. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large sums for His liberality. the maintenance of poor children of both sexes, and in that excelled even Trajan. Upon such of the senators as were, by misfortunes, reduced to poverty, he settled r Spart. p. 10. 10cm, p. 70. Dio, p. 791. 9 Idem ibid. Ammian. l. xxx. Dio, l. lxix. p. 790. \* Dio, l. lx'x. p. 789. w Idem ibid. Idem, p. 790. 7 SPART. & Dio, ibid.

pensions suitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the populace he distributed yearly an immense quantity of corn, made large presents to such

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of the knights as were not able to support their dignity, and supplied all those whom he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horses, mules, cloaths, and money to defray the charges of their journey. During the feast of Saturn he used to send presents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them for their fidelity and attachment to his person. His presents to kings and princes always exceeded those which they had fent him. Such of the public professors as were no longer able to discharge their office as they ought, he dismissed with marks of honour, and handsome allowances. As he spent most part of his reign in visiting the provinces of the empire, he left every-where marks of a magnificence truly great b and princely 2. He is faid never to have feized unjustly any man's property 2; neither would he ever receive legacies left him by persons who were not known to him, Respects the se- or by such of his friends as had children b. He shewed on all occasions a high respect for the senate, consuls, and other magistrates, transacting nothing without their advice.

the administration of ju-

nate.

Allows no power to bis freed-men.

He scarce ever failed assisting at their assemblies, when he was either at or near Rome, and usually waited on the consuls to their houses. He would not suffer the Roman knights to sit as judges in the cause of a senator, tho' that had been customary when the cause was pleaded before the emperor in person; neither would he allow of any Is impartial in appeals from the senate to him c. He administred justice with great impartiality, following therein the advice of P. Jubentius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, and Neratius c Priscus, all three men of great probity, and the best civilians in Rome. He narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his ministers, discharging them when guilty of the least injustice or misdemeanour. He allowed his freed-men no power; and fuch as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth, he punished with the utmost severity. Observing one day from his window one of his freed-men walking between two senators, he sent one of his attendants to give him a box on the ear, and tell him, that it did not become him to walk between two perfons, to whom he might one day be a slave d. He was an enemy to all pomp and parade; whence he would never suffer the senators to attend him but upon business. He usually returned from the senate in a sedan, that the senators might be dispensed d from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the usual titles of emperor, bigh pontiff, father of his country, &cc. He would not suffer his name to be put upon any of the stately buildings which he erected, except upon the temple which he built in honour of Trajan; but at the same time was pleased that several aqueducts and cities should bear his name. Out of Rome he laid quite aside the port and majesty of an emperor; in his garb and dress he little varied from a common foldier; his diet was such as chance presented; he usually marched on foot, with his head bare, making no distinction between the frozen mountains of the Alps, and the fcorching deserts of Africa; he visited the soldiers in person when sick, took particular care of their provisions, made them presents, &c. but at the same time put down e the use of arbours, shady walks, bowers, &c. banishing from the camp whatever feemed in the least to encourage luxury and idleness. He was acquainted with every foldier in the army, knew his age, remembred his exploits, if he had performed any, &c. He preferred none but men of courage, strength, and good characters, saying, He revives the Such as the officers are, such will the soldiers soon be. By this means he revived and restored the ancient military discipline, which, by the negligence of many princes, had been decaying ever fince the time of Augustus f. He is generally blamed by the ancients as too inquisitive, and prying into every one's secrets, tho' they no-ways concerned him; as addicted to the most infamous pleasures, and abandoned to all manner of superstition; which was the chief cause of his persecuting the christians, whom f he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worship of his gods g. He took great delight in hunting, and is faid to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beafts, with his own hand. He founded a town in Masia, which he called Adrianothera, that is, Adrian's chace, because he had killed a bear there. He loved his hunting-horses and dogs to such a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himself their epitaphs b. He was the first emperor, as Spartian observes b, who let his beard grow,

ancient military discipline.

His vices.

<sup>2</sup> SPART. p. 10. Dio, p. 790. Philost. soph. c. 27. Dio, ibid. SPART. p. 9. Liem, p. 17. didem, p. 10. eidem, p. 9, 10. fidem, p. 5. Dio, p. 790—792. E Dio, & SPART. ibid. Ammian. l. xxv. Hier. chion. Tertul. 2pol. c. 5. h Spart. p. 12, 13. Dio, p. 792. lidem ibid. P. 792.

a to cover some scars, which disfigured that part of his face. He married, as we have related above, Julia Sabina, grand-daughter to Marciana, Trajan's fifter; but treated Diffikes his her more like a flave than a wife, and often declared, that, had he been a private per-wife Julia Safon, he would have divorced her. However, he suffered her to be honoured with the bina. title of Augusta, when he took that of the father of his country k. He is thought in the end to have poisoned her, being no longer able to bear with her haughty and imperious temper. She seems to have been a woman of a very indifferent character; for she is said to have publicly bragged of her having prevented Adrian from having any children by her, and by that means faved the world from utter destruction i. Having thus premifed a fuccinct account of the virtues and vices of Adrian, we shall b now proceed to the history of his reign, according to the order of time. Having caused himself to be declared emperor on the eleventh of August of the year 117, he immediately wrote to the senate, excusing his having assumed that title without their consent and authority, alledging, that he had been forced to it by the soldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deferved them. In the same letter he solemnly promised never to put any senator to death, nor to transact any affair of consequence without their counsel and advice m. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the foldiery, and appointed Tatianus, or Attianus, formerly his guardian, with Similis, captains of the prætorian guards. Similis was a man of great probity, moderation and prudence, and had The characters c distinguished himself in quality of centurion under Trajan, who had a particular value of Similis and for him. As it was much against his will that he accepted the command conferred tains of the upon him by Adrian, he resigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, pratorian and there fpent in retirement the feven remaining years of his life. A little before guards. he died, he composed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been seventy six years upon the earth, but lived only feven n. Tatianus was a man of a quite different character; for he advised Adrian, upon his accession to the empire, to put several persons to death; and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders, which that prince committed about two years after o. Adrian had no fooner taken possession of the empire, than he deprived the brave Lusius Quietus, who had served d with great credit under Trajan, of the command of his countrymen the Moors, suspecting him as if he aspired at the empire. As to the conquests made by his predecessor, he resolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his troops from Arme- Adrian abannia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria; so that the Euphrates became anew the boundary of dons the country the Roman empire. He allowed the Armenians to chuse themselves a king; and as tries conquered the Parthians were diffatisfied with Parthamaspates, whom Trajan had raised to the Trajan. throne, he appointed him king of fome neighbouring nation, and fuffered the Parthians to recal Cofrhoes, whom Trajan had driven out two years before P. He was likewise determined to abandon Dacia; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which fuch numbers of Roman citizens had fettled. However, he ordered e the arches of the famous bridge built by Trajan over the Danube to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themselves masters of it, and invade the Roman territories 9. Adrian, having given the necessary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the east, and appointed Catilius Severus governor of Syria, left Antioch, and fet out for Rome, which he did not reach till the next year . Epiphanius tells us, that before he left the east, he went into Egypt; and that passing by Jerusalem fortyfeven years after it had been taken by Titus, on that occasion he resolved to rebuild it; which defign however he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign 4.

THE following year Adrian entered upon his second consulship, having been named f to that dignity by Trajan before he died, together with Fuscus Salinator, who had married the daughter of Servianus, Adrian's niece . This year Adrian returned to He arrives as Rome, where he was received by all ranks of men with extraordinary demonstrations Rome; but of joy; but he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph, which refuses the tri-had been prepared for Trajan, and was by the senate decreed for him. As him had been prepared for Trajan, and was by the senate decreed for him. At his mo- him by the setion that honour was conferred upon the image of Trajan, which Adrian himself seems nate. to have carried u. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabi-

k Eusen. chron. Onos. l. vii. c. 13. 1 Vict. epit. \* Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. cum not. Salmaf. p. 19. Dio, p. 796. O SPART. & DIO, ibid. P SPART. p. 10. Dto. l. Ixviii. p. 776. LUTROP. in Adrian. & idat. Cassiodor. Onuph. in faft. 9 EUTROP. in Adrian. & Dio, ibid. F SPART. P. 3. · EPIPHAN. menf c. 14. B SPART. p. 3. Vol. VI. Nos. CADES

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Remarkable

tants of Rome and Italy all debts, without restriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular persons in the provinces what was owing by them for the last fixteen years, burning in Trajan's new square all the bonds and registers relating to those debts, in order to secure every one against such claims. The sum which he forgave on this occasion, amounted to seven millions of our money, and upwards. No wonder therefore that fuch a generous action is fo much extolled by the historians of those times, and mentioned in most of the inscriptions and medals of this and the following year. On one of the medals which has reached our times, Adrian is represented with a torch in his hand, setting fire to the bonds, with this legend, He inriches the whole world w. Besides, he lessened the taxes both at Rome and in the provinces, and eased the cities of the great burden which had been laid upon them b by Trajan, of supplying such as travelled for the service of the public with horses, chariots and carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor x.

lani defeated.

Four confulars

put to death.

THE following year Adrian was conful the third time; but refigned the fasces after four months, and never after refumed them. He had for his collegue one Rusticus, of whom we find no further mention. This year the Sarmatians and the Roxoans and Roxo- lani, whose country bordered on the Palus Mæotis, invaded Illyricum; which obliged Adrian to leave Rome, and hasten into Masia, where he defeated the barbarians upon their return from Illyricum. Those who escaped, saved themselves by swimming crois the Danube, and soon after sent embassadors to Adrian, who granted them honourable terms, and by that means put a speedy end to the war. They afterwards c quarrelled with one another, and chose Adrian for their umpire, who composed their differences to the general satisfaction of both parties. Having thus both terrified the barbarians, and at the same time gained their affections, he appointed Martius Turbo, whom he had recalled from Mauritania, governor of Pannonia and Dacia, and led his army into Illyricum; whence he wrote to the fenate, complaining of Cornelius Palma, L. Publius Celsus, Domitius Nigrinus, and Lusius Quietus, as if they had formed a conspiracy against him. They were all consulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly esteemed and beloved by Trajan; but nevertheless the senate, out of complaifance to the emperor, ordered them to be immediately put to death, without fo much as acquainting them that they had been accused. As no one believed them d guilty of the crime laid to their charge, their death drew upon the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left Illyricum, and hastened back to Rome, where he publicly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed against his will, and without his knowledge; but was not believed, fays Dion Cassius, by those who knew, that Palma and Celjus had been always his enemies, and that he was jealous of Nigrinus and Quietus, who were equally beloved and esteemed by the Roman people y. Besides these four excellent men, as Dion Cassius styles them, several other persons of great merit and distinction were accused and condemned, as privy to the supposed conspiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But Adrian himself, having got rid of those whom he chiefly feared, put a stop to the cruel and unjust proceedings e of the fenate, by an edict, forbidding any one to be accused or tried upon the law of majesty. He was desirous of having Tatianus, formerly his guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a man of a haughty and imperious temper, and assumed greater power and authority, than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheless Adrian, not thinking it adviseable to spill more blood, diffembled his hatred for the present, and prevailed upon Tationus to refign his command, by offering him a place in the fenate, and the confular ornaments; which he readily accepted. Martius Turbo, governor of Pannonia and Dacia, and one of the best officers of his age, was put in his room, as was Septicius Clarus in the room of Similis, who this year refigned of his own accord, and retired from the f city 2. Toward the end of the year the emperor went into Campania, where he relieved with great generofity the poor inhabitants of all the cities through which he

THE next confuls were L. Catilius Severus, whom Adrian had appointed governor of Syria three years before, and Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who forceeded Adrian in the empire, and is commonly known by the name of Antoninus Pius 2. This year Adrian, who used to say, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, who illuminates not one

w Spanh. 1. ix. p. 811, 815. \* Spart. p. 1. \* SPART. p. 17. 7 Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. \* Idem, p. 795, 196. SPART. P. 7.

a place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progress, with a design Adrian resolves to visit in person all the provinces of the empire, and examine the state of each coun- to visit all the try subject to Rome, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts empire. transmitted to him by his ministers and governors. Thus he employed almost the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near seventeen years. From several ancient coins we learn, that he visited the following countries, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Mauritan a, Africa, Libya, Sicily, Achaia or Greece, Eubxa, Macedonia, Egypt, and the city of Alexandria, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Asia, Bithynia, Thrace, Massia, and Dalmatia b. No mention is made on any of the medals, which have reached us, of Britain, Armenia or Dacia; which provinces, it is certain, he visited, as we shall relate anon. He began his progress with Gaul, He goes into b where he viewed all the chief cities and Roman forts, and fignalized himself by extra-Gaul, and ordinary bounties, relieving with great generofity the poor inhabitants in all the places thence into through which he passed. From Gaul he went into Germany, where lay the flower of the Roman troops; and therefore he spent some time there, in order to revive and establish among them the ancient military discipline; for he did not leave Germany till the beginning of the following year, when Annius Verus, grandfather to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and Augur, or, as he is called in the Alexandrian chronicle, Augurinus, were confuls. During their confulate, Adrian, leaving Germany, returned to Gaul, and from thence passed over into Britain, where he is said to have reformed Crosses over c many abuses . The greatest part of the island was, when he arrived in Britain, into Britain. subject to Rome; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of Agricola, revolted, and recovered their ancient liberty. Adrian did not think it adviseable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to fecure the countries belonging to the Romans against the incursions of the warlike Caledonians, he caused a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river Eden in His wall there. Cumberland, to the Tine in Northumberland, eighty miles in length d. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not separated from the Romans by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, fays Spartiane, which were strengthened with sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. In Britain he disgraced and discharged his secred tary Suetonius Tranquillus, no doubt the historian, and Septicius Clarus, captain of the prætorian guards, for their difrespectful behaviour towards the empress Sabina f. Having settled the affairs of Britain, he returned to Gaul, and built at Nisme a mag-Hereturns to nisicent palace, in honour of Plotina, Trajan's widow. No remains of this stately Gaul, edifice, or basilie, as Spartian calls it, are now to be seen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants call les Arenes, the Pont du gard, and feveral other ancient buildings, which are still to be seen in that city, to have been raised by Adrian, or by his successor Antoninus 8. From Gaul Adrian went into Spain, And thence and passed the winter at Tarraco, now Tarragona, where he rebuilt the temple of Au-goes into Spain, gustus founded by Tiberius, and held a general assembly of the states of Spain, in order to compose the differences which reigned amongst them, about the raising of levies to recruit the Roman armies. At Tarraco he narrowly escaped being killed by a Where he is in flave, who, while the emperor was walking in his mafter's garden, affaulted him danger of being with a drawn fword. Adrian, closing with him, seized him, and delivered him to affaffinated. the guards, who were hastening to his assistance; but afterwards, finding the slave was distracted in his senses, he committed him to the care of the physicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt. Adrian did not visit the city of Italica, whence his family originally came; but distinguished it with many privileges b. Gellius quotes a discourse made by the emperor in the senate in favour of Italica, Utica, and other free cities, demanding the rights and privileges of colonies, tho' Adrian himself f thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the colonies. From Spain the emperor returned to Rome in the month of April, as appears from an ancient Returns to inscription, Acilius Aviola and Cornelius Pansa being then consuls: but he did not Rome. stay there long; for either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, When Quintus Arrius Patinus and Caius Ventidius Apronianus were confuls, he was, according to St. Jerom and Eusebiusk, at Athens. During his stay in that city, the Goes to Athens, Cephifus happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the and from city of Eleusina, he caused a bridge to be built over that river, and provided thence into the b Birag. p. 175, 177. C Spart. p. 6. d Dublin. 1635. C Idem ibid. F Idem ibid. p. 6. & Dio, p. 792. I Aul. Gell. l. xvi. c. 13. d Idem ibid. Usser. Britan. eccles. antiq. p. 1024. id. & Vide Salmas. in Spart. p. 23. h Idem,

k Euses. chron. p. 211.

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Venus and Rome.

ie, which costs him his life.

against its overflowing for the suture ". From Athens he passed into the east, where a he apprehended a war with the Parthians; but prevented it by a conference, with whom history does not inform us; but it was in all likelihood with Cofrbces king of the Parthians. The following year, Manius Acilius Glabrio and Caius Bellicius Torquatus being consuls, Adrian returned from the east through Asia, and visited Circia, provinces, and Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Phrygia, ordering temples, squares and passes the win- other edifices to be built at his expence in most of the chief cities of those provinces, especially in Nicomedia, Nicaa and Cyzicus. He likewise visited the islands of the Archipelago, and arrived in the beginning of the following year, P. Cornelius Scipio Afiaticus and Vettius Aquilinus being consuls, in Achaia, and passed the remaining part of the winter at Athens, where he was initiated in the rites of Ceres and Proferpine, b called the Eleusinian mysteries, following therein the example of Hercules, and Philip king of Macedon. From Athens, after he had presided there at the public games, and bestowed innumerable favours upon the Athenians, he failed to Sicily, where he was led by his curiofity to vifit the top of mount Ætna, in order to view from thence the rifing fun, believed to exhibit there all the colours of the rain-bow. From Sicily he returned to Rome in the beginning of the following year, when Annius Verus, grandfather to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, was the third time conful, with L. Varius Ambibulus w. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of Adrian's reign, and 127, and 128, of the christian æra, are quite barren of events. The consuls were Titianus and Gallicanus, Torquatus Asprenas and Annius Libox. The following year, c Rebuilds seve- P. Juventius Celsus and Q. Julius Balbus Marcellus being consuls, the cities of Nicomeral cities at his dia, Casarea and Nicae in Bithynia were almost intirely overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt at the expence of the emperor, who was thence styled the Restorer of Bithynia, as appears from some medals v. In the beginning of this year Adrian was still at Rome; for on the third of March he proposed some difficulties touching inheritances, which were resolved by a decree of the senate, dated the sourteenth of the Crosses over in- same month 2. But soon after he set out again on a new progress, passing first into Africa; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought, which, together turns to Rome, with the many favours he bestowed upon the inhabitants of that province, (for he left every-where fignal marks of his liberality and good-nature) gained him the affections d of all ranks of men. From Africa he returned to Rome, and there caused the obsequies of Plotina, to whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence. She died either while Adrian was in Africa, or soon and is ranked after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine among the gods days in deep mourning, composed verses in her praise, and caused her to be ranked among the gods 2.

THE next confuls were 2. Fabius Catullinus and M. Flavius Aper, during whose administration a temple was built at Rome, in honour of that city, and of the goddess Venus, which was called the Temple of Rome, and the Temple of the fortune of Rome b. On account of this temple Adrian changed the ancient name of the feast, which was e yearly kept on the twenty-first of April for the foundation of Rome, calling it Romana, instead of Palilia. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor Constantius chiefly admired when he came to Romed. It was afterwards confumed by accidental fire, and rebuilt by Maxentius. When the fabric was ended, Adrian sent the plan of it to the famous architect Apollodorus; which was tacitly telling him, that he was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant by fending the plan after the building was accomplished; for the himself had employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked him with great acrimony, for pretending, in Trajan's time, to give his opinion concerning certain buildings. Apollodorus, who was no flatterer, after having viewed f finds fault with the plan, defired those who brought it to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric was too low for the place in which it stood; and, on the contrary, the statues of Rome and Venus too tall: the architect, added he pleasantly, has taken care, that the goddesses shall not rise, nor walk out. Adrian was so offended at the freedom of this answer, that tho' he had defired Apollodorus to acquaint him with his sentiments concerning the building, yet he banished him, and soon after, under some pretence or

other,

w Norts. epift. consul. p. 78. Dio, l. lxix. p. 797. \* IDAT. ONUPH. &c. 7 Euseb. in chron. p. 211. BIRAG. p. 123.
1. Dio, p. 792 BAMMIAN. l. xvi. Digeft. v. c. 3. l. xx. Noris. epift.
ATHEN. l. viii. 4 Ammian. ronful. p. 421. 2 Dio, p. 1

a other, caused him to be put to death . In the beginning of the summer Adrian set out from Rome, with a design to visit anew the provinces of the east; and passing through Athens, purfued his journey to Afia, where he confectated feveral temples. Adrian returns In Cappadocia he purchased a great number of slaves for the servile offices of the camp. 10 Asia, To Cojrboes he fent back his daughter, who had been taken prisoner by Trajan, and promised to restore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promise. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied with And there conthe invitation, viz. Malasses king of the Lazi, Resmagas king of the Abassi, Spadages eastern kings. king of the Sauni or Sauniges, Staquimsan king of the Zydretæ. The territories of these princes lay partly east, partly north of the Euxine sea. Besides these, several b other petty kings came to wait upon Adrian, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich presents upon their departure. Baltrian princes did not come, but sent embassadors to conclude an alliance with the people of Rome. The kings of Albania and Iberia neither fent embaffadors, nor came in person; which they repented when they understood how the others had been received and entertained f. In Syria he went up to the top of mount Casius in the neighbourhood of Antioch, to observe from thence the rising sun, and to offer a sacrifice to Jupiter, who was worshipped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the priest and the victim s. From Syria he passed into Palestine and Arabia, and from thence into Egypt h. stine, Arabia, c It is observed in the Alexandrian chronicle, that the famous colossus of Rhodes shook and Egypt.

this year, the fourteenth of Adrian's reign, for the first time '.

THE next year Servius Octavius Lanas Pontianus and M. Antoninus Rusinus were confuls. During their administration, Salvius Julianus, one of the most learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the perpetual editi, containing all the laws which had been yearly published by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the edictum perpetuum, because it was to continue in force for The edictum ever, to be as a body of standing laws, to prevent the great confusion occasioned by the new edicts, and to serve as a guide and rule in the administration of justice throughout the whole empire k. Adrian continued in Egypt all this and the following d year, when Augurinus and Sergianus were consuls. At Pelusium he visited the tomb of Pompey the Great; and finding it almost intirely demolished, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence, and performed the usual ceremonies in honour of the deceased hero. He disliked the fickle, turbulent and satirical temper of the Egypti- He dislikes the ans, especially of the Alexandrians. In a letter which he wrote to Servianus his bro-fatirical temther-in-law, he tells him, that the Christians, Sarmatians and Jews of that country xandrians. were always ready to change their religion, because they all adored one and the same god, their own interest; and adds, that they all superstitiously observed the motion and aspects of the stars, and pretended to be skilled in divination m. He speaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then visited Egypt, meaning, no doubt, the patriarch of the e Jews. He concludes with this observation, that at Alexandria no one was suffered to be idle; infomuch that even those who were blind followed some profession. That city had, it feems, forfeited many of its ancient privileges, probably on account of some sedition; for St. Jerom tells us, that it was almost intirely ruined by the Romans P; but Adrian not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and He repairs the restored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon city of Alexanthem; for which they returned him folemn thanks, and conferred upon him what flores to the Ahonours they could. But this fense of gratitude was not in them long-lived; for he lexandrians no sooner lest their city, than they published most bitter and virulent lampoons their ancient f against him and his favourites. In the palace at Alexandria, which took up the third privileges. part of the city, one quarter was confecrated to the muses and sciences, and thence called the Museum. There were lodged, and entertained at the expence of the public, men of learning, divided into feveral companies or colleges, according to the different sciences and sects which they professed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of pontiff. This institution is generally ascribed to Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, who placed there his samous library. The emperor Claudius to the ancient museum added a new one, with large

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, p. 789. 

\* SPART. p. 27. ARRIAN. in perip. Pont. p. 7. 

\* SPART. p. 7. 

\* Dio, p. 789. 

\* Vide Voburg. hift. Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. 

\* Arriant. c. 2. & Vopisc. ibid. 

\* Vopisc. ibid. 

\* Vopisc. ibid. 

\* Vopisc. ibid. 

\* Hier. chron. p. 792. Chron. Alexan Francofurt. 1645. Dio, de Linat. c. 2. & Vopisc. ibid. Vol. VI. No 1. revenues.

revenues. In the museum were always persons eminent in all the branches of lite- a

rature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this

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**P**45 (2)

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Dion

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He visits the muleum.

He passes into Libya Cyrena-

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fociety, or, as it is fometimes expressed, to this table. This distinction Adrian granted to Dionysius the sophist, whom he greatly esteemed, and to an Egyptian poet, named Pancrates q. Adrian did not fail visiting this place, and conversing with the most eminent men of that learned fociety: he examined them, and suffered himself to be by them examined, asking them many questions, and answering those which they proposed to him. The emperor Caracalla suppressed this society in the year 216; but it was afterwards re-established, and subsisted till the civil wars in the time of Aurelian, when that quarter, named Bruchium, was utterly demolished; insomuch that about the latter end of the fourth century, it was quite deferted, and at some b distance from the city o. Adrian from Egypt passed into Libya Cyrencaia, where he killed (for he took great pleasure in hunting) a lion of a monstrous size, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled some parts of it w. Ancinous, jup. What most of all rendered Adrian's journey into Egypt remarkable, was the death of possible to have Antinous, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the most unna-Gaerificed tural pleasures. He fell accidentally into the Nile, as he was sailing on that river with the emperor, and was drowned. This is the account which Adrian himself gave of his death. But Dion Cassius assures us, that the emperor, who had applied himself to the study of magic, being, by the false and execrable principles of that art, misled into a belief, that he should prolong his life by sacrificing a human victim to the c infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which Antinous made him of his life, all the rest preserring their own safety to the emperor's. Adrian would by choice have rather sacrificed his dearest friends, than his beloved catamite; but as no constraint was to be used, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of Antinous was accepted, and he facrificed . Be that as it will, the emperor bewailed him, says Spartian y, with all the tenderness and weakness of a woman lamenting the death of her husband. To allay in some measure among the gods his grief, he delired the Greeks to rank him amongst the gods; which they did accordingly: so that in a short time all the eastern provinces were filled with statues, temples, and chapels confecrated to this new divinity. At Mantinea in Arcadia a mag- d nificent temple was erected to him by Adrian, solemn sports instituted, and priests appointed to offer victims in honour of the deified pathic. It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his answers were commonly thought to have been composed by Adrian. The astrologers, having discovered, or pretending to discover, a new star, gave out, that it was Antinous. The deifying of Antinous, and the sacrilegious worship paid him, was made use of by the christian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more ancient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous Antinous, and to expose the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by Justin the martyr, who was converted about this time to the christian religion, and likewise by Hegesispus, Athenagoras, e Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Adrian caused the body of Antinous to be buried with the utmost magnificence, built a city in that place, and changed his tomb into a temple, where he was faid to work miracles '; which we find exposed and ridiculed by the pagans themselves.

Adrian returns to Syria.

The following year, when Hiberus and Sifenna were confuls, Adrian left Egypt, and returned to Syria, where he passed this and the following year, and honoured Servianus his brother-in-law with a third confulship, and gave him C. Vibius Juventius Varus for his collegue. While Servianus was conful, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the state of Egypt, and of Alexandria its metropolis. At the same time he sent some presents, both to him, and his wife Paulina, f the emperor's fister, who died soon after. As Adrian conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the Roman senate and people were the more displeased with those he had bestowed upon Antinous. Early in the spring he lest Syria, in order to return to Italy; but made a long stay at Athens, after having visited Thrace and Macedon. During his stay at Athens, the Jews revolted, provoked chiefly, says

Visits Thrace and Macedon,

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793, 794. Ammian. l. xxii. Dio, l. Ixxvii. p. 873. Athen. l. vi. & xxvi. r Spart. p. 10. B Dio, ibid. p. 873. Ammian. l. xxii. Vide Casaub. in Span. p. 36. w Athen l. xv. p. 677. Dio, l. lxix. p. 793. P Spart. p. 7. Dio, ibid. Spart. p. 8. Spanh. L vii. p. 652. Spart. p. 7. Dio, ibid. Dio, ibid. Colligen. in Celf. l. iii. p. 132. Vopisc. vit. Sat. p. 245. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 714. in Cels. l. ili. p. 132.

Dion Cassius, at Adrian's sending a Roman colony to Jerusalem; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, Elia Capitolina, and his erecting a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the place where the ancient temple stood. Spartian tells us, that Adrian published an edict, forbidding them to be circumcifed; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty. Be that as it will, Adrian had no fooner left Syria, than they openly revolted, under the conduct of one The Jews re-Barcoquebas, whom St. Jerom calls Coquebas and Coquibus 8; but his true name was, vols, as Scaliger informs us, upon the authority of the rabbies h, Cozeb, that is, Liur, or Barcozebas, that is, the son of a lye; but being ashamed of that name, he called himself Coquebas, which imports a flar, or Barcequebas, lignifying the fon of a flar; for to himb self he applied the prophety of the flar which was to go forth out of Jacob, and pre-tended to be the promised Messiah. The Jews slocked to him from all parts, appointed him their king, and looked upon him as the deliverer and restorer of their nation k. He over-ran all Judga and Syria, committing every-where most dreadful and commit ravages, and exerting his cruelty chiefly against the christians, whom he put to dreadful rava-most exquisite torments, in order to oblige them to blascheme Cheist, and join him most exquisize torments, in order to oblige them to blaspheme Christ, and join him against the Romans. Tinius, or Tinnius Rusus, who had been formerly governor of Thrace, as appears from some medals m, and commanded at that time in Judea, being reinforced with force croops, which Adrian feat him upon the first notice of the revolt, fell upon the rebellious Jews, and, without distinction of sex or age, put all to the e sword who fell into his hands. The Jews at first durst not appear in the open field; but either kept within the strong-holds which they had seized, or concealed themselves in caves, which for that purpose they had dug to an incredible depth, fallying from thence, and often furprising the Romans with great flaughter. However, Adrian feemed to despise them, till being joined by an infinite number of Jews from most provinces of the empire, and by many others who were not of that religion, but hoped to inrich themselves with plunder, they became formidable. Then the emperor, fearing a general infurrection, dispatched an express to Julius Severus, gover- Julius Severus, nor of Britain, and the greatest commander of his time, ordering him to leave that governor of Britain, lent island, and hasten into Palestine, to take upon him the command of the Roman army against shem. d there. Severus, upon his arrival, did not think it adviseable to venture an engagement, the Jews being very numerous, and fighting, as he observed in some skirmishes, like men in despair. He therefore contented himself with intercepting their provisions, Areightening their quarters, and cutting off the parties which they fent out to forage. By this means he did not doubt but he should reduce them at last to submit, without any considerable loss on his side . Tinnius Rusus commanded under him; for to him chiefly, is ascribed by St. Jerem and Eusebius, the glory of having intirely reduced the rebels. The Jews made themselves masters of Jerusalem, after having The Jews driven out, or rather massacred, the Romans who had settled there by the emperor's selve smaller orders. But Severus belieged it anew, took the place, and laid it in afters, as we read of Jerusalem, e in St. Jerom P, Eusebius 9, Chrysoftom 1, and Appian 1, who lived at this time. If credit which is beis to be given to the tradition of the Jews, Turanus Rufus, or rather Tinnius Rufus, fieged anew, caused the ground where the temple had stood to be ploughed up , which, among the in ashes. Romans, was a mark of the greatest ignominy, and utter desolation, no one being, according to their laws, allowed to build, without an express decree of the senate, in places where that inauspicious ceremony had been performed. The taking and razing of Jerusalem under Adrian happened, according to St. Jerom , in the month of August, the twentieth year of that prince's reign, and 136. of the christian æra. The Romans were more vigorously opposed by the Jews in Bitther or Bether, a strong city at a small distance from Jerusalem, than in any other place. As great numbers of Jews had retired to that place, and the siege lasted a long time, the besieged were f reduced to the utmost extremity, for want of provisions. At length, most of them being starved to death, and the rest no longer able to manage their arms, the place Bether taken. was taken, fays St. Jerom, the same day on which Jerusalem had been reduced by

Nebuchadonosor, and the temple burnt by Titus sixty-sive years before w. The reduc-

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tion of Betber did not put an end to the war, which was, according to Dion Coffius, a long and troublesome . It lasted, according to the Jewish tradition, three years and a half y, according to St. Jerom z, two or three years, and was ended by a complete terly defeated. victory, which the Romans gained over the Jews, Barcoquebas their leader being taken prisoner 2, and, no doubt, punished according to his deserts. In the course of this war the Romans demolished fifty castles of great strength, nine hundred and eighty-five towns, and killed in battles, skirmishes and sieges, five hundred and eighty thousand men; for those who perished by famine, fire and distempers, are almost without number b. The Romans too lost many of their best troops, notwithstanding the great caution used by Severus and the other generals; insomuch that Adrian, in the letter which he wrote to the senate acquainting them with the last victory, omitted b the expression used by other emperors and commanders, If you and your children are The Jews who well, I and the army are well . Of the Jews who outlived this second general massacre flaughter, fold of their nation, incredible numbers were fold at the same price as horses in a tamous fair called the fair of Terebinthus, or of the Turpentine-tree d; which was on that account ever after abhorred by the Jews . St. Jerom tells us, that a great fair was yearly held at the tent of Abrabam', which some writers take to be the fair mentioned here; for in the valley of Mambre near Hebron, where that patriarch pitched his tent, and received the three angels, there was in the fourth century, as Eusebius informs us e, a turpentine-tree, which the natives of the place pretended to have stood there from the beginning of the world. The Jews, who were not fold at the fair of Terebinthus, c were carried to Gaza, and there exposed to sale at another fair established by Adrian, and thence called after his name h. Such as were not disposed of in Palestine, were transported to Egypt, where they perished either by famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants, who, as we have often observed, bore them an irreconcileable hatred '. The Jews were by several presages forewarned of this dreadful calamity, among which the most remarkable was the falling of the sepulchre of Solomon, which was held by them in great veneration, and fell a little before this war broke out k. When All Jews for- the war was ended, Adrian published an edict, which was confirmed by the senate, bidden, on pain and hung up in all public places, forbidding all Jews, on pain of death, to fet foot foot in Jerusa- in Jerusalem, to approach that city, or any place whence it could be seen 1. St. Je- d rom m and Tertullian a extend this decree to all Judea; which seems to have been the opinion of the Jews themselves, for in their calendar is marked a fast, instituted, as is faid there, on account of the decree, by which their forefathers were forbidden to fet foot in the land of  $\int u d\alpha a$ . This fast is marked on the ninth of their fisch month, called by them Ab, and answering part of our August. But, on the other hand, Clement of Alexandria tells us, that he studied in Palestine under one who was of Jewish extraction P; and it is manifest from Origen 9, that in the third century there were Jews in Palestine; and from Epiphanius, that, in the reign of Constantine, their patriarch resided at Tiberias . St. Austin : likewise and St. Hilarius tell us, that they were excluded from Jerusalem, but not from the other cities of Palestine. Julian the apostate, out e of hatred to the christians, countenanced the Jews; whence in his reign they undertook the rebuilding of their temple. But the succeeding emperors renewed the pro-They are after- hibition of Adrian, allowing however the Jews, upon their paying a considerable wards allowed fum, to enter, or rather approach, the city once a year; that is, on the day in lem once a year which it had been destroyed and laid in ashes by the Romans ". They were then suffered to bewail their misfortunes, and to be eye-witnesses, says St. Jerom w, of the accomplishment of the prophecies. From the Itinerarium Burdigalense, which is supposed to have been written before the time of Julian the apostate, about the year 333. we learn, that on this occasion they assembled chiefly in the place where the temple had formerly stood, and there performed certain ceremonies altogether ido- f

\* Dio, p. 793. Y V 2 HIER. in Dan. v. p. 592. y Vide Scalig. ibid. \* Euseb. 1, iv. c. 6. p. 794. c Idem ibid. d Hibr. in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. Chron. Alexan. p. 596. c Hibr. in Zac. xi. p. 272. f Idem ibid. s Euseb. chron. p. 209. & demonstr. evang. l. v. c. 9. h Chron. Alexan. p. 596. i Dio, l. lxix. p. 794. k Idem ibid. l Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. Hibr. in Ist. vi. p. 36. Just. apol. ii. p. 84. Tertul. apol. c. 21. h Hibr. in Dan. ix. p. 595. h Tertul. ibid. Scalig. li. c. 6. p Clem. strom. 1. s Orig. ad Afric. p. 244. f Epiphan. l. xxxii. c. 4. s Aug. civit. Dei, l. xvi. c. 21. t Hilar. in psal. xlviii. h Orig. in Josuah. xvii. Nazian. orat. xii. Hibr. in soph. i. w Hibr. ibid. x Itin. Burdeg. p. 43.

latrous x. Thus all the attempts of that perfidious nation towards the recovery of

their former condition, served only to heighten and aggravate those calamities, with

which they had been so often threatened by the prophets, and to reduce them to the

deplorable

e nation 8.

a deplorable state in which we now see them, being a crew of contemptible vagabonds dispersed all over the world, without king, temple or pontiff; driven from their own country, and not daring to fet foot in it even as passengers and strangers. The edict of Adrian, excluding all Jews from Jerusalem, extended to such of them as had embraced the christian religion; so that they too being obliged to quit that city, the church was by that means delivered from the servitude of the law; for, till that time, not only the bishops of Jerusalem had been chosen from among the circumcifed christians, but all the converted Jews joined to the observance of the gospel that of the law. When the Jews were banished Jerusalem, the church began to be composed only of converted Gentiles; and before the death of Adrian, which happened in 138. b St. Mark, who was one of them, was appointed bishop of that city, and succeeded by Cassianus in the nineteenth year of Antoninus's reign, and 156. of the christian æra b. The Jews being thus driven out of Jerusalem, that city began to be peopled only by Gentiles, and by another Roman colony, which Adrian sent thither after the war. Upon the ruins and ashes of the ancient city, the emperor built a new one, giving it, Jerusalem reas we have observed above, the name of Alia Capitolina ; by which means the built by Adriancient name of ferusalem was for some ages so intirely forgotten, that a martyr an, and named faying, when he was examined at Casarea in Palestine, that he was a native of Jeru-lina. falem, neither the governor of the province, nor any who were present, could conceive what city he meant d. Eusebius, Athanasius, Hilarius, and other fathers, tell e us, that Jerulalem was no more; and truly that which Adrian built, was quite different from the ancient city, as to its inhabitants and buildings, and in some measure as to its fituation; for it extended more to the north, and took in mount Calvary, and our Saviour's sepulchre; and less to the south; for about the middle of the sourth century, the celebrated mount Sion, formerly the place where the priests resided, and the doctors of the law, was quite uninhabited, cultivated like an open field, and planted with citruls, (as had been in express terms foretold by Isaiab) and other greens. The temple lay in ruins, and the place where it stood was covered with a wood. The other quarters of Jerusalem, which Adrian had not comprised within the precincts of his new city, were filled with ruins; and thence were taken stones d and other materials both for public and private buildings. At the fight of these ruins, infinite numbers of persons of all ranks, says Eusebius, embraced the christian religion, seeing evidently sulfilled in them our Saviour's predictions touching Jerusalem f. The name of Elia still obtained in the time of St. Chrysostom, and long after, in all the public acts and registers; but by the christians the city was still named Jerusalem, especially after Constantine's time. Adrian in his new city erected a theatre, and seve-Athentre and ral temples, employing for that purpose the stones of the temple and sanctuary of everal temples the fews. Two statues of the emperor, and others of the gods, were erected in the new city. place where the temple had stood, and over the gate which led to Bethleem, one of

Dion Cassius, after having described the war which Adrian waged with the Jews, speaks of another which broke out about the same time with the Alani or Massageta, a The Alani inpeople of Sarmatia, who, under the conduct of Pharasmanes their king, committed vade the product dreadful ravages in Media, entered Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia; but empire. foon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter Flavius Arrianus governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them h. The instructions given by Arrian concerning the march of the Roman army against the Alani, and the order to be observed in the battle, which, it was thought, would ensue, have reached our times i. The Roman army confisted, as appears from these instructions, of troops from various f nations, commanded by one Xenophon, who, no doubt, ferved under Arrian governor of the province, fince Arrian directs him how he is to conduct himself both in the march and battle. We have a description of the Euxine sea by Arrian, probably the governor of Cappadocia, addressed by way of a letter to Adrian. The author Arrian's debegins his relation with his arrival at Trebizond, where, by the emperor's orders, scription of the a temple was then building in honour of Mercury. He imbarqued at Trebizond, in Euxine fea. order to view the eastern coasts of the Euxine sea; which he did accordingly,

marble, representing a hog, to fignify the utter reduction and servitude of the Jewilb

b Euseb.l. iv. c. 6. & l. v. c. 12. CD10, l. lx. p. 793. Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. dpal. c. 11. Euseb. dem. evang. l. vi. c. 13. & l. viii. c. 3. CYR. cat. xvi. Iter Burdigseb. dem. evang. l. viii. c. 3. Chron. Alexand. p. 598. Euseb. ibid. Iter Burdigal. p. 43. l. lxix. p. 794. ARRIAN. mandat. in Alan. Upfalix, ann. 1664. d Eusen. de h Dio, Vol. VI. No. 1. viliting

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visiting every-where the Roman garisons; obliging the soldiers to perform their a military exercises before him; paying them their arrears, &c. and acquainting the emperor with the state of each garison. He sailed by the mouth of the Phasis, the waters of which river he observed swimming a long time, on account of their lightness, upon those of the sea. At the mouth of the Phasis stood a castle garisoned by four hundred Roman foldiers, and a town inhabited by some veterans and sea-faring men; which, for the greater fecurity of the place, he strengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at Sebastopolis, the most distant city garisoned by the Romans. Of all the barbarous nations, along whose coasts he failed, the Sanni, called by Xenophon the Drilli, were the most fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and as they had formerly paid tribute to the Romans, Arrian, in his letter to the emperor, b offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation k. We are sure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coasts of the Euxine sea, he adds a description of the coasts of Asia, from Byzantium to Trebizond, and another of the country, from Sebastopolis to the Bosporus Cimmerius, and from thence to Byzantium, that the emperor might take what measures he thought proper, in case he designed to concern himself with the affairs of Bosporus, the king of that country, by name Cotys, being just then dead. From this relation it appears, that

at this time a port was forming by the emperor's orders at Trebizond 1.

Adrian in the mean time continued at Athens, being mightily taken with the c customs and learning of the Athenians. He was there admitted to the great mysteries of Eleusina, different from those in which he had been initiated some years before, and celebrated, according to Eusebius m, the second year of each olympiad; that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left Athens in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the christian æra, and the second of the two hundred and twenty-eighth olympiad. As he had been created archon of Athens before he was emperor, he assumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magistrates, celebrated the great festival of Bacchus, distributing on that occasion large sums, and an immense quantity of corn, among the populace ". Dion Cassius tells us, that he subjected to Albens the whole island of Cephalenia ; d but in an infeription addressed to Adrian Olympicus, as he is there called, the city of Pale in that island styles herself autonomos, that is, free, and governed by her own laws P. He embellished the city of Athens with many stately buildings, especially with a library of marvellous structure. These edifices had been by his orders begun before; but were finished this year, and consecrated by the emperor himself 9. He likewise finished the magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympius r, begun, according to Philostratus, five hundred and fixty years before. In this temple he consecrated an altar to himself, and suffered the Greeks to build and consecrate a temple to him, which they called Panellenion, instituting on this occasion annual sports. In short, he embellished Athens with so many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the e fecond founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called Adrianopolis. Many monuments of his generofity towards the Athenians are still to be seen ". From a decree of this prince concerning the sale of oil, produced by Wheler, it appears, that at this time all controversies were determined at Athens by the senate and people affembled by the magistrates, with an appeal to the proconsul, or to the emperor w. The Albenians employed part of the money with which he presented them, in building a city in the island of Delos, which they called Adrian's new Athens and Olympia. The Athenians of Delos are mentioned in an inscription still to be seen at Venice '; but now remain only some ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the superstitious pagans were erected in that island z.

Adrian's generosity to the Athenians.

His buildings sbere.

Adrian returns at length to Rome. THIS year, the nineteenth of Adrian's reign, and the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the christian zera, the emperor left Athens, and returned at length to Rome, Luper-cus Pontianus and Rusus Atilianus being consuls? Dion Cassius tells us, that in the shews which he exhibited soon after his arrival, the people pressing him to declare free

ARRIAN, PETIP, PORT. Euxin. p. 1, 2, 3. k Idem, p. 4—7. 1 Idem, p. 7—10. P Euseb. chron. p. 214. P Dio, p. 795. Spart. p. 9. Idem ibid. P Vide Rein. inteript. p. 335. PHER. chron. Wheler's travels, p. 437. Spart. p. 7. Dio, ibid. Philos. fop. xxv. Spart. cum not. Casab. p. 26. Vide Wheler, p. 421—471. W Idem, p. 470. Euseb. chron. p. 215. Y Grut. p. 405. Wheler, p. 93, &c. Noria. epist. conf.

a one of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private person, he returned the following answer; It does not become the Roman people to beg of their emperor the liberty of one who does not belong to him, nor the emperor to oblige the person to whom he belongs to grant him it b. He had not been long in Rome, when embaffadors arrived from Vologifes, probably king of Armenia, with complaints against Pharasmanes king of Iberia, and from the lazyges, a people of Sarmatia, who were desirous to have their ancient treaties with the people of Rome confirmed by the emperor. Adrian received them in a very obliging manner, conducted them to the senate, and there read to them an answer, which, at the request of the senate, he had composed before hand. Pharasmanes came to Rome in person, with his wife and Where he reb his son, to answer the complaints of Vologeses, bringing with him rich presents for manes king of

Adrian, who repaid them with others far more valuable, and besides presented him toeria. with fifty elephants, and five hundred chosen men, to serve him as a guard; inlarged his dominions; fuffered him to facrifice in the capitol; caused an equestrian statue to be erected to him, and affifted in person at a military exercise personmed by him, his son, and the chief men of his court. Nevertheless, by a strange whim, as we may call it, after so many presents, and such extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beafts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which Pharasmanes had presented him, as if they had been fit only for such uses d. But this, no doubt, happened after the departure of the Iberian prince. After Adrian had travelled, we may say, all lingering dif-

over the known world, he fell into a lingering disease, attended with a frequent ease. bleeding at the nose, which the physicians of those days ascribed to his going constantly with his head uncovered in the greatest colds, heats, showers, &c. The loss of blood, as he was stricken in years, was followed by a dropsy, from which as he entertained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of a successor; when Begins to think feveral persons of great merit occurred to him, namely, Servianus, who had married of a successor. his fifter, and was now in the ninetieth year of his age; Fuscus the grandson of Servianus, and his own great-nephew; Pletorius Nepos, his ancient and intimate friend; and Terentius Gentianus, a man greatly beloved and efteemed by the fenate. These

d he judged, among the great men of Rome, the most capable of the supreme power; but nevertheless neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcileable hatred to them, for no other reason but because they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all, and the advice of his friends, he made choice of L. Aurelius Annius He adopts Ceionius Commodus Verus, for he is called by all these names, and Adrian added those Verus. of Alius and Casar. He was sprung from an illustrious family, of which we shall His character. have occasion to speak hereaster; was endowed with many good qualities; had the port and air of a prince; was well verfed in most branches of learning, especially in poetry; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm conflitution, and at the same time intirely addicted to lewde ness and debauchery; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recom-

mended him to Adrian, who is faid to have adopted him upon condition, that he should confent to his fatisfying the passion which he had conceived for him. But what passed between them on this occasion was never well known, says Spartian e, both Adrian and Verus having bound themselves by a solemn oath to keep it secret. The adoption of Verus occasioned great rejoicings in Rome. Adrian gave a largess to the people; distributed three thousand sesterces amongst the soldiery; exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, &c. But as the new Cesar's weakness daily increased, and he began to vomit blood, Adrian soon repented his choice, telling the Adrian repents captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and support in a falling wall; his choice.

f that he had lost the four thousand sesterces which he had distributed amongst the people and foldiery; and adopted not a fon, but a god, alluding to the custom which obtained among the Romans of deifying their emperors and Cajars. These words being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of Verus, and so sensibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year, as we shall relate anon. The captain of the guards was immediately discharged, and banished the court. Verus, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and fent to govern the province of Pannonia; in which employment he acquitted himself Verus is some into Pannonia.

b Dio, p. 795. d SPART. P. 9. e Spart. in Æl. Ver. p. 14. <sup>e</sup> Idem, p. 794.

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with reputation, and shewed himself well qualified for the command of an army. In a an inscription of the following year, the twenty-first of Adrian's reign, he is styled imperator ; whence we may conclude, if there is not some mistake in the inscription, as father Pagi pretends k, that he waged war in those parts; of which however no mention is made by historians.

Adrian retires to Tivoli.

felf to cruelty, ordering several illustrious persons to be put to death.

THE following year Adrian raised to the consulship his adopted son Verus, and gave him for his collegue Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompeianus, whose sister Verus had married h. This year Adrian retired to Tibur, now Tivoli, where he employed his time in building a magnificent villa, the stately ruins of which are still to be seen in the posfession of the Roman jesuits at a small distance from Tivoli. Aurelius Victor tells us, that in this retreat he abandoned himself, as Tiberius had done formerly at Caprea, to all b manner of lewdness; but he was soon seized with a bloody flux, which reduced him to a miserable condition. In that state, abandoning himself to his natural cruelty, Abandons him- which till then he had restrained, he ordered many illustrious persons, under various pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were Servianus his brother-in-law, and his great nephew Fuscus, who, he pretended, had formed a design of seizing the empire. Fuscus was but eighteen, and Servianus ninety. We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called the gods to witness his innocence, and begged of them that they would punish the cruelty and injustice of Adrian, by reducing him to such a state, that he should wish for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly, as we c shall relate anon k. To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, fays Spart an, a great biass, he used to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whose lives, he said, were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed 1. But for this faying, which we do not ever find to have been used by any good prince, he was indebted to Domitian. The following year Ælius Verus Cæsar was consul the second time, with P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius, who had been raised by Adrian to the rank of a patrician, and was one of the ancestors of Calius Balbinus, whom we shall see preferred to the empire in the year 237. that is, a hundred years after m. This year the Jewish war being ended, Julius Severus, who had utterly reduced that rebellious nation, was appointed governor of Bitbynia, where he behaved with fuch justice and d moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happiness of the people committed to his charge, that his name was famous in that province a hundred years after and upwards. The next confuls were Camerinus and Niger. In the beginning of this year Verus, who had spent part of the preceding year in Pannonia, being returned to Rome; and finding himself greatly indisposed, took a medicine, which Verus dies, and proving too strong for him, he fell into a sleep, and died the very day in which he among the gods was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The speech which he had prepared for this purpole, is commended by Spartian, in whole time it was still extant P. Dion Cassius tells us, that he was carried off by a violent voiding of blood 1. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and grandeur, and his e ashes deposited in the stately mausoleum, which Adrian had begun for himself. The emperor caused him to be ranked among the gods, and in several cities ordered His debauche- temples to be built, and statues erected to him r. He was, as we have hinted above, extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuousness, and passed most of his time in the company of lewd women; which his wife refenting, he used to tell her, that wife was a name of honour, not of pleasure. He had always in his hands, and even in bed with him, Ovid's books of love, together with Martial the epigrammatist, whom he used to call his Virgil. When he travelled, he was attended by a great many domes. tics, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their cloaths, attired like so many Cupids, and called by the names of the winds, Boreas, Notus, Aquilo, Circius, &c. He had f married the daughter of Nigrinus, whom Adrian put to death in the beginning of his reign, as we have related above, and had by her a fon named L. Verus, whom we shall soon see raised to the throne with Marcus Aurelius, and several daughters, of whom one was by Adrian betrothed to Marcus Aurelius, who nevertheless did not marry her. This daughter is thought to be that Fabia, who is but too famous in history. Verus being dead, Adrian was some time in suspense whom he should chuse

ries.

E PAGI, p. 137. F GRUTER. p. 23. m Onuph. loat. &c. k Dio, p. 795. SPART. p. 12. п Dio, p. 793. · IDAT. PROSPER, &CC. P SPART. P. 11.

a in his room ; but at length seeing himself despised, says Aurelius Victor, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting Advian adopts Titus Antoninus, upon condition, that he should adopt M. Annius Verus, called after- Titus Antoniwards M. Aurelius, and L. Verus, the fon of the deceased prince of that name. Anto-nus. ninus having taken fome time to deliberate, whether he should accept of the adoption upon the terms proposed by the emperor, in the end consented to it; and was accordingly adopted with the usual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of February of this year, the 137th of the christian æra, and at the same time invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power ". Many were displeased with this adoption; but no one more than Catilius Severus, governor of Rome, who aspired at the empire b himself, and began privately to pave himself a way to it; but being discovered, he

was deprived of his place, which was an employment for life. The empress Sabina Sabina Audied, it seems, after the adoption of Antoninus; for in an ancient inscription he styles gusta dies. her his mother w. She is thought either to have been poisoned by Adrian, or so ill used, that she chose to lay violent hands on herself?. Adrian caused her to be ranked among the gods, not caring whether she was in the supernal or infernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her bad humour, or pleafed his

Adrian bore his diftemper a long time with firmness and patience; but being in the end tormented with violent pains in each joint of his body, he had recourse to migic, says Dion Cassius a, and by that means once discharged his body of the watery humour with which it was filled. But the humour being foon recruited, and his pains increasing daily, he became in a manner furious, put several senators to Adrian's impadeath, and ordered Antoninus to take care, that several others, whom he named, were tience in his executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and advised fukness. them to keep themfelves concealed; which they did accordingly, and were faved b. In the mean time, the emperor, defirous to end his infufferable pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poison, promising impunity, and a great reward, to such as should bring him either. But no one could, by any promises, be prevailed upon to contribute to his death. Having one day by chance found a dagger, Attempts to dhe would have stabled himself with it, had it not by one of his domestics been lay violent wrested out of his hand. He then commanded his chief physician to give him poi
felf. fon; but he chose rather to kill himself in his presence, than obey his command . He often conjured his most faithful freed-men to dispatch him, and constrained a Jazygian, by name Mastor, to promise it; but Mastor fled, and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another, whom he had obliged to make the same promise, hastened to Antoninus, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew to the emperor's room, attended by the captains of the guards, and befought him to bear his illness, fince it was unavoidable, with more patience and constancy; which so provoked him, that he commanded the person, who had discovered his design, to be e put to death: but Antoninus faved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, faying, he should think himself a parricide, if he neglected to preserve his life as long as he could d. Spartian writes, that two blind persons were Two supposed restored to their sight by Adrian, while in this condition; but at the same time owns, miracles. that Marius Maximus, who flourished before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of Antoninus, to persuade Adrian, that he would recover, and by that means divert him from laying violent hands on himself. One of these blind persons was a woman, who, as she gave out, had been admonished in a dream to forbid Adrian to kill himself, because he would one day recover; which she neglecting to do, had been struck blind, and ordered to return upon the same errand, having f been first assured, that when she had done it, and kissed Adrian's feet, she should receive her fight again. The woman comply'd with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having washed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence she came. The other was a blind man, who coming out of Pannonia, touched Adrian, and that instant received his fight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is faid to have immediately abated c. From Rome, Adrian removed to Baiæ in Campania; and there neglecting the advice of his phy-Adrian re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Spart. Vet. p. 16. \* Spart. Ver. p. 16.

\* Adrian. vit. p. 11.

\* Julius Capitol. in vit. on vit. p. 12.

\* Onuph. p. 223.

\* Spart. p. 12.

\* Autonin. vita. p. 17.

\* Spart. p. 12.

\* Idem ibid. " JULIUS CAPITOL. in vit. Antonin. p. 18. D10, p. 797.
Ldem ibid.

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ficians, and often faying, that a multitude of phylicians ferves only to dispatch the a fooner a patient, he lived without any rule, chose what food and drink he liked best, and by that means hastened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the foul, and feemed apprehensive of its future state, as appears from the celebrated verses (B) which he composed and uttered a little before he expired, inquiring of his foul, whither it designed to go? He died at Baiæ on the tenth of July, after having lived fixty-two years, five months, and feventeen days, and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day f (C). Antoninus, whom he had left at Rome, and fent for when he found himself at the point of death, arrived, according to Spartian 8, just before, according to others, soon after, he expired. His body was burnt at Puteoli, and his ashes conveyed by Antoninus to Rome, where they b were exposed in the gardens of Domitia, and afterwards deposited in the magnificent mausoleum, which Adrian had built for himself near the Tiber, that of Augustus being quite full b. Adrian had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of The fenate are his reign, provoked the public hatred to fuch a degree, that the fenate were for annulling all his acts, and calling feveral persons to an account, who had raised themfelves by abusing the interest they had with him. They therefore at first unanimously opposed Antoninus demanding for him the same honours which had been decreed to other emperors. But Antoninus remonstrating with great modesty, that they could not condemn the memory of Adrian without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire, the respect and veneration they all had for that prince, who c added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at last to comply with his demands, especially when they saw a great number of persons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by Adrian, but had been faved and carefully concealed by An-The senate dreaded likewise the soldiery, who were greatly attached to Adrian 1. And thus a prince, abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant, was But deify him, ranked among the gods, and divine worship decreed him. Antoninus built a temple at the request at Puteoli, and instituted annual sports to his honour, with priests, fraternities, victims, &c. " But what gave Antoninus a far better claim to the title of pious, was his interceding with the senate in behalf of those who had been banished by Adrian, and whom that prince, faid he, would have recalled, had he lived longer n.

of Antoninus.

for annulling

No prince, perhaps, ever raised so many public and private edifices as Adrian; for he built in most cities of any note, especially at Athens; and Greece, as appears from Paulanias, was full of his edifices, bridges and aqueducts. In an ancient inscription, mention is made of a samous aqueduct begun by him in New Atbens, and ended by Antoninus in the third year of his reign, and 140 of the christian æra. By New Athens some understand a city of Liguria, others New Athens in the island of Delos . At Rome he rebuilt the Pantheon, the temple of Neptune, the square of

Adrian's public works.

> h Jul. Capit. in Anton. Dio. ibid.
> 1 Dio, p. 799. m Spart. f Idem ibid. Dio, p. 797. Eutrop. F Idem ibid. h
> EUTROP. Antonin. vir. p. 18. Aur. Vict. in Heliog. p. 103. Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 53. n Anton. in vit. p. 19.

(B) The verses were;

Animula vagula, blandula, Hospes, comesque corporis, Oua nunc abibis in loca, Pallidula, rigida, nudula ? Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Spartian seems to despise them, which shews, that he understood as little of poetry, as he did of hi-

(C) Most writers agree, that Adrian began his reign on the eleventh of August 117. and that he died on the tenth of July 138. and consequently reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day. But on the other hand, in some ancient inscriptions is marked the twenty-second year of his tribunitial power; which induced the learned Dod-well to maintain, as we have observed above, that Adrian was adopted by Trajan a year before that prince's death; and consequently, that the account

given by Dion Cassius of his adoption ought to be looked upon as a mere table. But cardinal Noris (57), Petavius (58), and F. Pagi (59), observe, that these inscriptions were made in distant provinces, where the death of the emperor might not have been known a month after it had happened. Besides, as only one month was wanting to the twenty-fecond year of the emperor's tribunitial power, the author of the inscription probably looked upon it as begun; whereof there are not wanting instances both in ancient times and our own. Cardinal Noris, misled, as he himself owns, by these inscriptions, maintained, that Adrian died in 139. but afterwards finding the arguments proving his death to have hap-pened in 138. unaniwerable, he changed his opinion, and rejected the inscriptions as faulty (60).

Dodwell owns, that Adrian died in 138. but will have him to have been invested with the tribunitial power a year before the death of Trajan, contradicting therein all the ancients, who tell us, that he was adopted by that prince not long before he expired.

(56) Nor. de cenotaph. Pifan. c. 3. p. 86. (60) Noris. op. con. p. 85.

(58) Petav. doct, temp. l. xi. c. 23.

(59) Pagi, p. 35.

a Augustus, the baths of Agrippa, and an infinite number of other public edifices, confecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their first founders. His house at Tivoli was an extraordinary structure, and adorned with fine paintings, re- His house at presenting in one apartment the infernal regions. This palace he styled his Lycaeum, Tivoli. Academia, Prytanaum, Canopus, Pacile, and Tempe, names of the most celebrated places abroad, and gave to the feveral apartments of it the names of the different provinces P. He built a new bridge over the Tiber, now known by the name of His bridge on Ponte Sant Angelo, and near it his own mausoleum 9, which from the description Pro- the Tiber, and copius gives us of it, appears to have been rather a castle than a tomb. In the manjoleum. time of the emperor Justinian it was made use of as a castle, and is at present the b chief, we may fay, the only fortress of Rome, called by the present Romans Castel Sant Angelo. Spartian, to give us some idea of the height of this lofty building, tells us, that the chariot placed on the top of it, seemed very small to those who stood on the ground; but nevertheless was of so large a size, that a corpulent man could with great ease pass through the openings which represented the eyes of the horses'. Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by Adrian with colonies, bore for some time his name, or that of his family, which was Ælia, viz. Carthage, Many cities Jerusalem, two cities in Spain; Mursa, now Essek, in Pannonia; Stratonice in Mace-called by his don, Palmyra in Syria, Neocesaræa in Pontus; Adrianopolis in Thrace, which still retains name. it; Adriane, or Adrianopolis, in Libya Cyrenaica; Antinopolis in Egypt, called also Adriac nopolis; Adrianothera in Mysia, which still retained that name in the fifth century; and Adriane, in the same province, the birth-place of Arifides the sophist, which, however, some writers will have to be the same city with Adrianothera.

THE regulations which Adrian established for the preservation of the discipline His military among the troops, were afterwards observed as the military laws of the Romans, inflitutions. and are often quoted by Vegetius. Vollius is of opinion, that the books of Mauritius, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter, are a collection of the military conflitutions of Trajan and Adrian ". Adrian was the first who appointed, that each cohort should have its proper masons, architects, and such artificers as were employed in raising buildings, and adorning them w. The regulations which he d introduced, with respect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of justice, were still observed in the end of the fourth century . He was the first who employed Roman knights in quality of secretaries, and committed to them the care of his domestic affairs, other emperors having employed in such offices only their freedmen . Gothofredus supposes Adrian to have been the author of a new jurispru-His laws. dence, especially by his perpetual edict, which he styles the fountain of all laws in force among the Romans, at least till the publication of the code by Theodosius the younger z. Spartian mentions some of the laws published by Adrian, namely, that the children of proscribed persons should enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers estates: e that if any one found a treasure in his own grounds, it should be intirely his; if in those of another, the owner of the ground should have the moiety of it; if in any public place, it should be equally shared with the exchequer: that such as had squandered away their estates, should be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and banished the city: that men and women should use separate and distinct baths: that if a mafter should be found killed in his house, not all his slaves should be put to death; nay, that those only should be put to the question, who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that mafters should no longer have power of life and death over their slaves, but that such slaves as deferved to be capitally punished, should be tried and condemned by the magistrates. Porphyrius informs f us, upon the authority of Pallas, who wrote before his time, that Adrian published an edict prohibiting all human facrifices, which were still offered in feveral provinces He forbids buof the empire b. However, this execrable custom was afterwards revived, and ob-man sacrifices.

tained in Africa, where children continued to be immolated to Saturn till the time of the proconsul Tiberius, who caused the inhuman priests of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Those who executed the sentence of the proconful were still living in the beginning of the third century, as

P Idem ibid. 9 Dio, p. 797. PROCOP. de bell. Gotto. 1.1. C. 22.

1. Vide Salmas. ibid. Wossii epift. additæ ad Pearson. Ignatiana, p. 234.

7 Spart. p. 11. Gottofrep. cod. Theodos. prol. p. 283. · SPART. p. 8. o Spart, p. c. cum not. Salmaf. p. 51. Viue cum not. Salmaf. p. 51. Idem ibid. SPART, cum not. Salmaf. p. 52. b Porphyr. apud Euseb. in triennal. Constantin. c. 16.

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He abolifies all private work houses.

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we read in Tertulliane; whence it is manifest, that Tiberius did not, as some have a imagined, govern Africa in Adrian's time. It appears from the ancient writers, that human facrifices were, notwithstanding Adrian's prohibition, immolated to Diana in the neighbourhood of Rome, and even in Rome, during the solemn mysteries, till the time of Constantine, or rather of Gratian, who utterly abolished that execrable praclice d. The Romans had on their estates what they called manufactures, or workhouses, where they kept great numbers of people, especially slaves, at work. These houses were like so many prisons, whither masters sent such of their slaves as had disobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being listed, or punished for crimes they had committed, fled to these workhouses, and were there kept concealed. Besides, the owners of these manufactures were thought to seize b paffengers and strangers, whether slaves or freed-men, to shut them up in these houses, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. Adrian therefore, to obviate such inconveniences and disorders, put down all work-houses, except those which belonged to the emperor, or to the public. Onupbrius f supposes Adrian to have made a new division of the provinces of the empire, and is therein followed by the learned Pictro Giannone in his excellent history of the kingdom of Nagles 8; but the ancients only tell us, that Adrian divided all Italy into four districts, which were by his appointment governed by four confulars, that is, fenators who had been confuls h. The division of the provinces, which Onupbrius ascribes to Adrian, was by him copied from Festus, who wrote in the time of Valentinian I. c and none of the ancients speak of any change made in the provinces by Adrian, except that which we have just now mentioned. That which Onupbrius supposes to be Trajan's, ought, in our opinion, to be rather ascribed to Dioclesian, who divided the empire, as we read in Lastantius, into innumerable provinces, in order to multiply offices and officers, and by that means keep the people in awe and terror. Aulus Gellius tells us k, that in Adrian's time a woman of known modesty, and an umblemished character, was brought to bed eleven months after her husband's The legitimacy of the child being questioned by the heirs of the deceased, the cause was tried before the emperor, who, after having examined a great many brought to hed unexceptionable witnesses concerning the character of the woman, and with great care d eleven months and attention consulted the books of the ancient philosophers and physicians, declared after her huf- by a special decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception. Aulus Gellius assures us, that he himself had read this decree. In Adrian's time a violent persecution was raised against the christians, which Sulpicius Severus accounts the fourth persecution; but it is not generally reckoned so by the fathers of the church, fince no new edicts were iffued against the professors of the christian religion, and then puts but only the laws still in force put in execution, Adrian being prompted by his supersistion (for he was initiated in all the idolatrous ceremonies of the Greeks) to countenance the persecutors of those who were declared enemies to all superstition 1. But after the perfecution had raged for some time with great violence, Adrian himself e put a stop to it, being, upon the perusal of the apologies presented to him by Quadratus and Ariftides, fully convinced of the innocence of the christians, and the purity of their morals m; nay, he was even thought, if Lampridius is to be credited n, to have had a defign of caufing our Saviour to be acknowledged as God, and to erect temples to his honour; but was diverted from it by some persons who, consulting the oracles, had received this answer, That if he suffered the God of the christians to have temples, those of the other gods would be soon abandoned. Under Adrian flourished many persons eminent in most branches of literature, of whom we shall fpeak in our notes (D).

THE

(D) Adrian himself ought to be ranked amongst feventh book quoted by some of the ancients (61). Spartian speaks of certain books composed by him, and published under the title of Catacriani; wherein he pretended to imitate Antimachus, whom he preferred to Homer. These, says the above-mentioned

TERTULL. 2P. C. 9.

d Lact. inst. l. i. c. 21. Euseb. ibid. Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 217. Tatian.
p. 164.
P. Vide Salmas. in Spirt. p. 49.
Onuph. de rep. Rom. comment.
SGiann. bist.
civil. l. i. c. 5. p. 25.
Spart. p. 11:
Lact. de pers. p. 6.
Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 16.
Sulp. Sever. l. ii. c. 45.
Hier. ep. 84.
Euseb. l. iv. c. 26.
Tertull. 2pol. c. 5.
Euseb. l. iv.
c. 3. Hier. de vir. illustry c. 19, &c.

Lamprid. in vit. Alexandr.

the writers who flourished at this time; for he published several works both in prose and verse upon various subjects; and among the rest, a Greek poem intituled the Alexandriad, of which we find the

THE emperor Titus Antoninus derived his origin, on the father's fide, from the Antoninus, city of Nemausus, now Nisme, in Languedos. His ancestors are said by Aurelius surnamed The Victor

º Jul. Cap. in Antonin. cum not. Salmas. Paris. 1620.

writer, were very obscure pieces (62): and truly, from the title, they appear to have been such as Spartian describes them. Froben printed in 1551. a dialogue between Adrian and Epidetus, wherein the emperor propoles feveral questions, which are answered by the philosopher (63). Some of his Greek and Latin verses have reached our times, betides those which we read in his life by Spartian (64), who speaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily cried up by the best writers of those times (65). Photius, who had perused his declamations, commends both his style and thoughts (66). We find the first book of his discourses quoted by the ancients, and the quotation relates to some remarks on the Latin grammar (67). Besides his military institutions, some writers ascribe to him a treatise concerning the manner of drawing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and first discovered in the reign of the emperor Anastasius, about the latter end of the fifth century, and published with some additions by Mauricius, or Urbicus, then consul (68). In the year 1664, was printed at Upfal in Sweden, a treatise on the military art and stratagems, ascribed to Mauricius; but that piece was done long after the time of Mauricius the conful, fince minuon is there made of the French, Turks, Sclavonians, &c. (69) Adrian was, according to Dion Cassus and Spartian, so found of glory that he wrote his own life in several books, but caused them to be published under the names of such of his freedmen as were persons of learning (70). Among these was Phlegon, a native of Tralles in Asia, who wrote a treatife on the long-lived, and another on wonderful things. Some fragments of these works are still extant (71); and from a passage in the former it appears, that he had not put the last hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of Antoninus's reign, the 156th of the christian æra. Suidas ascribes to Phlegon a description of Sicily, three books of Fasti, an account of the famous places in Rome, and their names, and fixteen books of the olympiads, to the 229th, begun in the year 137. of the christian æra. This piece contained an account of the most re-markable things that in each olympiad had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th olym-piad, which has been conveyed to us by Photius, that work feems to have been exceeding well digested: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up several obscure passages in history. Pho-zins finds fault with the author for the trisling accounts he gives of all those who gained prizes in the Olympic games, and inserting in his work all forts of oracles. He likewise censures his style, as not quite pure, and altogether Attie. In Photius's time only the five first books were extant, which ended with the 177th olympiad, but the author had carried his history down to Adrian's time. It was addressed to one Alcibiades, belonging to that prince's life-guard (72). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkness which happened at our Saviour's death (73). He speaks of the destruction of ferusalem, concerning which Photius quotes a long passage out of his fourteenth

book (74). He is frequently quoted by Stephanus the geographer. Suidas teils us, that Phlegon made an epitome of his fixteen books of the olympiads, which epitome confifted of eight books; and that he likewife abridged the history of the victors in the Olympic games; and adds, that he published other works, which he does not mention (75). Phlegen, in his book of wonderful things, describes a hippocentaur, taken on a mountain of Arabia, and fent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, Adrian, while he was in Egypt. The monter died, but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to Rome, and there placed in the imperial palace; where those may fee it, concludes Phlegon, who queftion the truth of my relation (76). St. ferom tells us, that Antony, the famous anchoret, was met in the defert by a hippocentaur, who spoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (77), Phlegon relates another history no less surprising of a young woman, who about fix months after her death appeared again, walked, converted, eat and drank as the had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to fee her, and, accordingly, had that fatisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curiolity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her fecond life; which words the had fearce uttered, when the feel dead at their feet. Such a furprifing event, being divulged in an instant, drew vast crouds to the place from all quarters. Phlegon hastened thither with the rest, and saw the body of the deceased laid out upon a bed; but not fatisfied with that fight, I caused the burying place of the family to be opened, thys he, when I observed the bed, on which the young woman had been laid fix months before, empty. He relates the most minute circumstances of this wonderful event, names the persons who were present, &c. (78).

Favorinus, well known by the writings of Aulus Gellius, who was his disciple, and by those of Philostratus, was a native of Arles in Provence, and from his birth an eunuch, by protession a philosopher and sophist, and well skilled both in the Greek and Latin tongues. He studied under Dion Chrysostomus, and, besides Aulus Gellius, had for his disciple the celebrated Herodes Atticus, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the ancients(79); but his style secmed to some destitute of the gravity becoming a philosopher (80). He was for a long time Adrian's chief favourite; but that prince growing in the end weary of him, as weil as of the rest of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him persons of no merit; which the Athenians no sooner understood, than they pulled down and broke to pieces a statue, which they had erected to him. When Favorinus was informed of the affront, Socrates, faid he, without the least emotion, would have been glad to have come off so cheap (81). Suidas observes, that he and Plutarch strove who should write most books. lived in great friendship, and Plutarch even inscribed one of his works to Favorinus (82), who died, it feems, about the latter end of the reign of Antoninus (83). Galen mentions one Demetrius of Alexan-

(62) Spart. in Adr. (63) Gesner. epit. p. 2. (64) Voss. ibid. (65) Vide Voss poet. Lat. p. 51. Et Salmas. in Spart. (66) Phot. c. 100. (67) Vide Salmas. ibid. Et Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 13. (68) Voss. epist. addita ad Pears. Ignatiana. (69) Maur. tactic. p. 253, 364, 384. (70) Dio. p. 793. Spart. p. 6. (71) Phot. p. 256. Suid. p. 1071. Voss. bist. Grac. l. ii. c. 11. (72) Photius, c. 97. (73) Hier. chron. p. 158. Orig. in Matthaum, p. 438. (74) Phot. p. 167. (75) Suid. p. 1071. (76) Phleg. mir. c. 34. (77) Hier. in vit. Paul. heremit. (78) Phleg. mir. c. 1. p. 13, 14. (79) Voss. bist. Grac. l. ii. c. 10. Suid. p. 1022. Philostr. vit. soph. p. 493. (80) Lucian, in vit. Demonactis, p. 549. (81) Philos. ibid. Dio. p. 719. (82) Fons. l. iii. c. 7. Gell. l. ii. c. 26. (83) Fons. ibid. Vol. VI. No. 1.

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Vistor to have lived at Lanuvium, or rather Lavinium, in the neighbourhood of Rome; a perhaps they settled there, after having removed from Nisme. The Aurelian family, which

dria, who imitating the style of Favoriaus, whose disciple he was, used daily to declaim in public upon what subject soever was proposed to him (86). Dionysus of Miletus was likewise a philosopher of great note, highly savoured by Adrian, raised to the equestrian order, and appointed governor of some province, but in the end disgraced. He studied under Isaus, of whom we have spoken in the reign of Trajan. Philostratus clears him from a charge brought against him, namely, that of being addicted to the study of magic (87). Heliostrus likewise sell the effects of Adrian's inconstancy; for the emperor, being in the end disgusted with him, wrote some most virulent letters against him (88). One of the same name, perhaps the same person, was, according to Dion Cassius, for some time secretary to Adrian (89).

Of all the philosophers who flourished in those times, Epicletus is by far the most renowned: Anlus Gellius calls him the greatest man the sect of the stocks had ever produced (90). He is supposed to have been a native of Hierapolis in Phrygia, was for some time a slave, and belonged to Epaphroditus, whom Suidas calls one of Nero's life-guard (91). This is, without all doubt, Nero's celebrated freedman, to whom Josephus inscribed most of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by Domisian, as we have related in that prince's reign. Celfus, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of Epithetus, that while his master was one day squeezing his leg very hard in order to torment him, Epicletus faid to him very calmly, You'll break my leg; which happening accordingly, Did not I tell you, faid he, fmiling, that you would break my leg (92)? Epictetus was, as is supposed, set at liberty, but remained always very poor (93). Being obliged by Domitian's edict, banishing all philosophers, to quit Rome in 94. he retired to Nicopolis in Epirus, whence he returned upon that prince's death, and lived at Rome till the time of M. Aurelius, says Suidas (94), by whom, as well as by his predecessor, he was, according to Themissius, held in great esteem and veneration (95). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of these writers, finde M. Aurelius used to look upon it as a great happiness, not that he had learnt any thing of, or conversed with, Epicterus, but that he had read his writings (96). Epidetus reduced all his philosophy to two points only, viz. to suffer evils with patience, and enjoy pleasures with moderation; which he expressed with these two celebrated words, drixs και dπixs; that is, suffer and abstain (97). He was against the celibacy of the philosophers, but nevertheless seems to have observed it himself (98). He published several works, none of which, except his enchiridien, or manual, has reached us (99). But Arrian, his disciple, published a great work, which he pretends to consist intirely of what he had heard him say, and set down, as sar he could remember, in Arrian's own terms (100).

Arrian, a native of Nicomedia, was one of the most learned men of his age, and, on account of his eloquence and knowledge, commonly styled the second Xenophon. He was preferred at Rome to the highest posts of honour, even to the consultation (1);

whence most writers take him to be the Flavius Arrianus, who, while he was governor of Cappadocia, repulsed the Alani, as we have related above. He lived at Rome under Adrian, Antoniaus, and M. Aurelius (2). Themistius tells us, that Trajan forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a minister in state-affairs (3). He published in eight books the familiar discourses of Epictetus; but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inscribed to one L. Gellius. He published twelve books more, containing the speeches of Epictetus (5), and wrote Photius quotes several other books composed by him, viz. the history of Bithynia, his native country, the history of the Alani, and that of the Parthians, in seventeen books, which he brought down to the war which Trajan waged with them (6). He described the expeditions of Alexander the Great in feven books, which are still extant, and is thought by Photius to have excelled all who wrote on the same subject (7). He published, in ten books, the lives of the successors of Alexander; and gave in one book, says Photius, an account of India (8). This account of India is now reckoned the eighth book of the history of Alexander (9). Besides these works mentioned by Photius, Lucian afcribes to him the life of a famous robber, named Telebous (10). We have already mentioned his description of the coasts of the Enxine Sen; but that of the coasts of the Red Sea, tho' commonly ascribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flourished before Adrian, and was contemporary with Pliny the elder (11). Belides the works of Arrian already mentioned, we have still his tactica, whereof the beginning has been long fince loft: to his tactics are commonly added his instructions concerning the march of the army against the Alani, and the order to be observed in the battle.

Plutarch was a native of Charonea in Bacotia,

where he was born in the reign of Claudius, about the year 50. of the christian zera. He studied under Ammonius, an Egyptian philosopher, in the reign of Nero, and in that of Domitian taught at Rome, where, amongst his other disciples, he had the samous Arnlenus Rusticus, who was put to death by Domisian in 90 (12). We are told, that he was preceptor to Trajan; which we can hardly believe, fince that prince was as old as Plutarch (14), and had from his youth been brought up in the camp. Suidas writes, that Trajan distinguished him with consular honours (15), meaning, no doubt, the confular ornaments, and ordered the magistrates of Illyricum to advise with him in all affairs of importance. He continucd at Rome till the death of Trajan, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (16). He had several children, one of whom, by name Lamprias, published a catalogue of his father's historical pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (17). The philosopher Sextus, one of the preceptors of the emperor M. Aurelius, was nephew to Plutarch (18). Plutarch published a great many works, which are to every one well known, being translated into all the modern languages. His ftyle is not quite pure and Attic. Among the works

(86) Galen. prog. com. p. 455. (87) Philoft. ibid. p. 522, &c. (88) Spart. p. 7. (89) Dio, l. | xix. p. 789. (90) Anl. Gell. l. i. c. 2. (91) Suid. p. 996. (92) Orig. in Celf. l. vii. (93) Anl. Gell. l. ii. c. 18. & l. xv. c. 11. (94) Suid. p. 996. (95) Themift. orat. 5. (96) Jul. Cap. in Antonin. (97) Anl. Gell. l. xvii. c. 19. (98) Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p. 555. (99) Suid. p. 996. (100) Arrian. Epic. p. 1. (1) Phot. c. 58. (2) Voff. hift. Grac. l. ii. o. 11. (3) Themift. orat. 17. (4) Phot. c. 58. (5) Idem, c. 58. (6) Idem ibid. (7) Idem ibid. (8) Idem, p. 91. (9) Voff. hift. Grac. l. ii. c. 11. (10) Lucian. in vit. Alex. Praft. (11) Vide Salmaf. in Solin. Et Voff. hift. Grac. l. ii. c. 7. (12) Ruald. vit. Plut. (13) Idem, p. 29. (14) Vide Voff. hift. Grac. l. ii. c. to. (15) Suid. p. 546. (16) Ruald. c. 25. (17) Idem, c. 6. (18) Idem, c. 5. Et Suid. p. 729.

commonly

a which was the present emperor's, is thought to have been very ancient, but was not distinguished very early with preserments in Rome. His grandfather Titus Aurelius His extrassion

Fulwus, and prefer-

commonly ascribed to him, some are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been loft, as appears from the citations of Gellius, Origen, Enfebius, Empapius, Theodores, and others. Marcus and Caninius Celer, two celebrated sophists, flourished under Adrian, and published some declamations (19). Polemon, another famous sophist, in great favour with Adrian, was a native of Laodices upon the Lyens, which some place in Caria, others in Phrygia; but spent the greatest part of his life at Smyrna, whither the youth slocked from all parts to hear him. He was several times sent by that city in quality of embassador to the emperor Adrian, of whom he obtained great fums for the inhabitants, the that prince was more addicted, says
Philofiratus (20), to the Ephelians than Smyrneans.
As Adrian showed an extraordinary kindness for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and foon appeared with a train and equipage ill fuiting his profession; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the batred of all. Antoninus treated him with great respect, tho' he had just occasion to com-plain of his rusticity, or rather insolence. Herodes Astless having heard him declaim, sent him a con-siderable sum, which, however, he resused as too small; so that Herodes, to content him, was obliged fmall; so that Herodes, to content him, was obliged to send him one much larger, which he condescended to accept. The king of Bosporus, who was well versed in most branches of learning, coming to Smyrns to see that city, and the learned men there, shewed a great desire of conferring with Polemon: but the proud and self-interested philosopher would neither wish him, nor be visited by him, till the king had sent him a present of ten talents, and then he desired to admit him into his house (21). Being deigned to admit him into his house (21). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to Laodices, his native city, and there, in the fifty-fixth year of his age, placing himself among his dead ancestors, ordered the tomb to be shut up, that the sun, as he said, might never see him silenced (22). He left no writings besides declamations. Under Trajan and Adrian flourished, according to Suldas (23). Ptolemans Chemms, Zenobius, Cephaleo, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Psolemans wrote several books, and, among the rest, one intituled the surprising hi-flory (24). Zenobius taught at Rome under Adrian, and translated the history of Saluß into Greek. He likewise made a collection of proverbs, which is still extant (25). He is sometimes called Zenodotus. Cephaleo, being banished his own country, retired into Sicily, where he published in the reign of Adrian a history, beginning with Ninus, and ending with Alexander (26). Dionysius of Halicarnassus, descended from the samous historian of that name, was a sophist, and is commonly styled Dionysius the Articist, and the musician, because he applied himself chiefly to the study of music, and published several works upon that subject, and one among the rest divided into thirty-fix books, and containing an account of the most famous poets, and players upon instru-

Herennius Phile, born in the city of Byblos in Phanicia, wrote one book on Adrian's reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities,

and the eminent persons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one Ælius Severus Athenaus. Origen quotes a passage out of Herennins Philo concerning the Jews, for whom, it feems, he had no great kindness (29). Philo translated into Greek the history of Phænicia written by Sanconiathe, in his native language, about the time of the Trojan war (30). The preface, and some passages of this translation, have been conveyed to us by Eufebius (31). Philo himself wrote the history of Phasnicia, which is quoted by Enfebius (32), and Stephanus of Byzaneium (33). Hermippus of Berytus, or of that neighbourhood, was one of Philo's disciples, and highly effeemed by Adrian, tho' the son of a freed-man. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by Tertullian, and others (34). The book of legislators, quoted by Origon (35), is generally ascribed to another Hormippus, a native of Smyrna, who shourished long before Adrian's time. Paulus of Tyre, contemporary with Philo, published a treatise of releases. He obtained of Adrian the title of metropolis for the city of Tyre (36). Leander Nica-nor of Alexandria, the fon of Hermias, published several grammatical and historical pieces (37). Diogenianus, a native of Heraelea, published several writings of grammar and geography, which Hefychius made use of in compiling his lexicon (38). His collection of ancient proverbs is still extant. Under Adrian flourished, according to Vossius (39), Jason of Argos, who comprised in four books the history of Greece, to the death of Alexander. Ælian, author of the tactica, lived at this time; for he addressed his work to Adrian. Another writer of the same name flourished about a hundred years after; whence it is no easy task to determine, which of these two was the author of the history of animals, of the history via varia, and of other pieces which are by the ancients ascribed to an Ælian, but long since lost.

Under Adrian flourished the two Lasin historians

Suetonius and Florus. C. Suetonius Tranquillus was the fon of Suetonius Lenis, or Latus, a Roman knight, who, at the battle of Bedriacam, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in the foregoing volume. The historian was born about that time; for he was very young in 88, that is, twenty years after the death of Nero (40). Pliny the younger had a great kindness for him, kept him constantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (41). We may therefore suppose him to be the Tranquillus, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cause, with-out being under any apprehension from a dream, which seemed to threaten him with bad success (42). In another letter (43), he feems very anxious about purchasing for him a little place of retirement near Rome, proper for a man of study and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publish his writings, fince they were finished (44); and asks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occasion(45). He obtained for him the post of a tribune; which Suetonius begged him to confer upon Cafennius Silvanus, his kinfman: this generous action

(19) Philostr. soph. 24. (20) Idem, soph. 25. (21) Idem ibid. (22) Idem ibid. Et Suid. P. 554. (23) Idem, p. 646, 1126, 1447. (24) Phot. c. 190. (25) Vost. c. 11. (26) Suid. ibid. Phot. c. 68. (27) Suid. p. 743. Vost. c. 12. fons. l. iii. c. 8. (28) Suid. p. 1065. Vost. bist. Grac. l. ii. c. 10. (29) Orig. in Celf. l. i. p. 13. (30) Vost. ibid. l. i. c. 1. (31) Euseb. prap. l. i. c. 9. (32) Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 16. (33) Vost. ibid. l. ii. c. 10. (24) Tertull. de anim. c. 46. Vost. ibid. Orig. in Celf. Suid. p. 1043. (35) Orig. ibid. (36) Suid. p. 465. (37) Suid. p. 229. Vost. ibid. l. ii. c. 12. (38) Suid. p. 737. (39) Vost. ibid. (40) Sust. vit. Oth. Dom. (41) Plin. l. x. ep. 200. (42) Plin. l. i. ep. 18. (43) Idem ibid. ep. 24. (45) Idem, l. ix. ep. 34.

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Fulvus, or Fulvius, was the first conful of the Aurelian family. His father Aurelius 2 Fulvus was likewise honoured with that dignity, and universally esteemed on account of his extraordinary accomplishments and integrity. Arrias Antoninus, his grandfather on the mother's side, was twice consul, and esteemed one of the greatest and most virtuous men in Rome P. He married Boionia Procilla, descended from an illustrious family; and had by her Arria Fadilla, the mother of Antoninus, who, after the death of her husband Aurelius Fulvus, marrried Julius Lupus, and had by him a daughter named Julia Fadilla. This daughter died before the emperor, but left a son named Mummius Quadratus q. T. Antoninus was born at Lavinium, on the nineteenth of Sectember of the year 86. Domitian being then conful the twelfth time, with Cornelius Dolabella. He is styled by Julius Capitolinus, who wrote his life, T. Aurelius b Fulvius Boionius Antoninus; but from several ancient inscriptions it appears, that, instead of Fulvius, we ought to read Fulvus. As from his infancy he behaved himself in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their estates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country and country-diversions, but nevertheless did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation, and univerfal applause. He was consul in 120. afterwards one of the four consulars appointed by Adrian to govern Italy, and then fent into Afia with proconfular autho-

P Idem ibid. p. 17. 4 Idem, p. 25.

\* Vide Salmas, in not, ad Anton, vit. p. 47.

is greatly cried up by Pliny. Suetonius married, but had no children. However, Pliny, from Bithynia, wrote to Trajan, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which those enjoyed who had three children (46). The emperor seldom granted such favours, but nevertheless could not help complying with the request of Pliny (47). Suetonius was afterwards fecretary to Adrian, but discharged on account of his difrespectful behaviour towards the empress Sabina (48). Suidas ftyles him a Latin grammarian, and afcribes to him feveral grammatical works; adding, that he likewife wrote a book upon the Profits of the Greeks, two upon the shews of the Romans, two upon the Roman laws and customs, one of the life of Cicero, a catalogue of illustrious Romans, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (49). He wrote likewise in three books the history of the kings, which Paulinus abridged in verse (50). His book concerning the institution of offices, quoted by Priscian, is probably the same with that of the Roman laws and customs. He wrote, according to the same Priscian, eight books of the prators. A book likewise, intituled de rebus variis, is by some ascribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly effected, both by the Greeks and Latins. Tertullian quotes his book of the Roman shews (51), and St. ferom that of illustrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (52): perhaps the lives of the illustrious grammarians, orators, and poets, com-monly ascribed to Suetonius, were part of that work. The life of Pliny the elder is thought not to have been done by Suetonius, but by a much more modern writer (53). Vopiscus, speaking of his history of the twelve Casars, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to Salust, Livy, Tacitus, or Trogus (54). His writings are no less lewd and infamous, says St. Jerom, as quoted by Vossius (55), than were the lives of the emperors, whose history he writes. And truly, both he and Lampridius have mixed too much lewdness, as well as meanness, in their writings; whence they are justly censured by Rualdus, as teaching their readers to be vicious (56).

Florus is thought to have been a native of Spain, and of the family of the Seneca's; that his family-name was L. Annaus Seneca, and that being adopted by one Florus, he took the name of L. Julius Florus. We read of one Julius Florus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, taught rhetoric in Gaul with great applause (57). Spartian, in the life of Adrian, quotes some vertes composed by a poet named Florus, whom most writers take to be the epitomizer of the Roman history; for that epitome was written in the reign of Trajan, and seems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly esteemed by the learned, who nevertheless find fault with the author for not observing with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of Livy; for with him the author often disagrees. Whether the summaries prefixed to each book of Livy's history were done by Florus, is uncertain (58). The poet Florus used, it seems, to frequent taverns and eating-houses, which was looked upon in those days as highly unbecoming persons of a liberal education. Hence Florus having written to Adrian the following verses;

Ego nolo Casar esse, Ambulare per Britannos, Scythicas pati pruinas.

That is, I defire not to be Casar, to ramble among the Britons, and to endure the frosts of Scythia: Adrian aniwered thus;

Ego nolo Florus esse, Ambulare per tabernas, Culices pati rotundos.

That is, I defire not to be Florus, to ramble among the taverns and eating-houses, and to be stung with gnats (59). Aulus Gellius mentions one Terenzius Scaurus, a celebrated grammarian, who flourished under Adrian; and highly commends T. Castricius, whose disciple he himtelf had been (60); but neither of them seems to have left any works behind them. Scaurus had been preceptor to Aurian; his son was proceptor to L. Verus, and his grandson, or rather great-grandson, to Alexander Severus (61).

(46) Idem, l. x. ep. too. (47) Idem ibid. ep. 101. (48) Spart. p. 6. (49) Suid. p. 934. (50) Auf. ep. 19. (51) Tertull. spec. c. 5. (52) Hier. vir. iliuf. pref. (53) Voss. bist. Lat. t. i. c. 31. (54) Vopisc. in Firm. (55) Voss. bist. Lat. l. i. c. 31. (56) Ruald. in vit. Plut. c. 28. (57) Voss. bist. Lat. l. i. c. 30. (58) Voss. ibid. (59) Spart. p. 8. (60) Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 15. & 13. (61) Vide Casaub. in vit. L. Ver. p. 35.

rity;

a rity; where, by the mildness of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the esteem and affections of persons of all ranks. Upon his return to Rome, Adrian appointed him one of his council, and transacted nothing without his advice 5. He married Annia Galeria, the sister of Marcus Aurelius's father, and His isfue. had by her two sons and two daughters. The eldest of the daughters was married to Lamia Syllanus, but died foon after: she was probably named Aurelia Fadilla; for we find one of that name called in an ancient inscription the daughter of the emperor T. Antoninus. The other, named Annia Faustina, was married to M. Aurelius, her cousin german ". The two sons, M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, and M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus, must have died very young; for no mention is made of them in b history.

Antoninus is celebrated by all the ancients as one of the best princes that ever His character. fwayed a sceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meanest of the people: to no one was ever admittance denied to his palace or presence, especially when they came to complain of his officers, ministers, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and oftentation. His table, fays his historian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanness. He never courted the favour of the people, but seemed rather to despise popular applause, which had been the idol of most of his predecessors. He never flattered others, nor suffered any one to flatter him. He observed with great exact- His religion, c ness, but without the least affectation, the Roman laws and ceremonies. He offered constants in in person, as high pontiff, the sacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered friendship, &c. by inferior priefts; and never failed to affift, unless prevented by some indisposition,

at all public acts of religion, shewing always a profound respect for the deity w.

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It appears from an inscription of the year 143, the fifth of his reign, that the senate
  erected a monument to his honour, in confideration of his great and extraordinary
  regard for the public ceremonies x. As he never admitted any to his friendship, with
  whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a most constant friend, hearkened
  to no calumnies against them, nor entertained any fears or jealousies, as Adrian had
done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and discharged them with dignominy. He was naturally of a sweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, His elemency
  which he shewed even to the most vicious and wicked, chusing rather to deprive them and mildness.
  of the means of doing mischief, than to punish them according to their deserts. During
   his long reign of twenty-three years, he is faid never to have done any thing that
  favoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any person whatsoever just motive
  of offence y. When he arrived in Afia, with the character of proconful, he chose
  to lodge the first night in the house of Polemon the celebrated sophist, which was
  the best and largest in Smyrna. But the proud and unmannerly sophist, who was
  then in the country, returning home about midnight, and finding the proconful in
  his house, instead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made such
e complaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleafed to style it, that
  Antoninus, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the house at that time of night, and
  seek for a lodging elsewhere. However, when Antoninus was raised to the empire,
  Polemon did not fail to come to Rome to wait upon him. The emperor received him
  in a most obliging manner, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace; but at the
  fame time put him in mind of what had passed at Smyrna, by ordering his domestics
  to take care, that no one turned him out of his apartment 2. A comedian com-
  plaining to the emperor, that Polemon had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day,
  Antoninus answered, He drove me out of my lodgings at midnight, and nevertheless
  I made no complaints 2. As M. Aurelius was weeping for the death of one of his
f preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the most part void of humanity, represented
  to him, that it was beneath a prince to shew so much tenderness and concern; but
  Antoninus checked them with the following remarkable words; Pray let bim weep,
  and give bim leave to be a man; for neither philosophy, nor the imperial dignity, ought to extinguish in us the sentiments of nature. The emperor going one day to see the Dissembles
  fine house of Valerius Omulus, and admiring there, amongst other things, certain affronts.
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F. Dio, l. lxx, p. 800. Jul. Cap. p. 17.
p. 18—23. w Idem ibid. Paus. l. viii.
p. 18. Dio, ibid. Philos. soph. 25.
                                                                                             Vide Mabill. analect. c. iv. p. 500.

* Rein. inscript. p. 308.

* Idem ibid.

b Jul. Cap. ibid.
                                                                                                                                                                                     " JUL. CAP.
                                                                                                                                                                           y JUL. CAP. ibid.

    Idem ibid.
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pillars of porphyry, he asked him, where he had purchased them? But Omulus, in-

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stead of being pleased to see the emperor take notice of the ornaments of his house, a returned him this rude answer; In other peoples houses you must learn to be deaf and dumb . Thus Omulus, who was a man of a fatirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and several other occasions, the good-natured prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himself to punish any person for bare words, however free and disobliging. Having sent for Apollonius, the celebrated stoic, who resided at Chalcis in Syria, to instruct M. Aurelius in the principles of that sect, the philosopher flew to Rome, attended by a great number of disciples, all Argonauts, fays Lucian d, gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival, Antoninus invited Apollonius to court, in order to deliver his disciple to him. The haughty pedant answered with great insolence, that the master was not to come to the disciple, but b the disciple to the master; which words being related to Antoninus, Does Apollonius then, said he, smiling, think it a more trouble ome journey from his lodgings to the palace, than from Chalcis to Rome? However, he ordered M. Aurelius to wait upon

Adrian to adopt him.

His future

saged.

T. Antoninus was adopted by Adrian, as we have related above, upon the death of What prompted Elius Verus Casar. Some authors write, that Adrian was induced to prefer him to fo many other great men, by the particular respect and tender regard which Antoninus shewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decrepit, he used constantly to conduct to the senate, attending him like a slave: Adrian seeing him one day leading and supporting the old man, was so pleased with that sight, that he c adopted him for that very reason f. But Adrian could not by this alone be prompted to confer so great an honour upon one, who had given so many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He chose him, therefore, because he judged him to be, of all the great men in Rome, the best qualified for the sovereign power 8. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of February of the year 138, and at the same time invested with the proconsular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of Casar, now peculiar to the presumptive heir of the empire, and distinguished, as we conjecture from some ancient coins, with the title of emperor , which had hitherto been given to none but the fovereign. We are told, that his succession to the empire was prefiged long before by many omens. While he governed part of Italy d grandeur prein quality of proconful, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was administring justice, May the gods prosper your undertakings, O Augustus! Upon his arrival in Asia, the priests of the city of Tralles in Lydia received him not with the usual saluration, Ave, proconsul! Hail, proconsul! but styled him emperor. At Cyzicus, a crown belonging to the statue of one of the gods, was found upon that of Antoninus, &c. 1 Adrian adopted Antoninus upon condition, that he should adopt M. Annius Verus, the son of his wife's brother, and L. Commodus, the son of L Verus Casar, which he did accordingly before the death of Adrian, probably the same day on which he himself was adopted k. The next day Antoninus returned the emperor thanks in the senate for the honour he had conterred upon him, distributed large e His generosity. sums among the soldiery and populace, employing on this occasion his own, and not the public money; and besides, paid what Adrian had promised them. All the cities of the empire used, on such occasions, to present the adopted prince with sums of money instead of crowns, which were thence called aurum coronarium. These sums the generous prince remitted intirely to the cities of Italy, and a moiety to all the rest. He even contributed out of his private fortune a great deal towards the works which Adrian was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, fo long as he lived, with as much respect and submission as the meanest of his subjects, except when he actempted to murder himself, or others 1. Adrian dying at Baiæ, on the tenth of July, he prevailed upon the fenate, much against their will, to confer such honours upon f Adr an to be him as had been decreed to the best of emperors, and continued all those in their ranked among employments, who had been preferred by him. It was, according to fome writers, on account of this tender and filial respect for the memory of his father, that the Why honoured senate decreed him the glorious surname of Pius. Others think, that they distinguished him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of Adrian in his fickness, or because he saved many whom Adrian

of plus.

d Lucian. in vit. Demonact. p. 552. e Jul. Cap. p. 23. f Idem, p. 17.
797. h Goltz. p. 70. i Jul. Cap. p. 8. k Spart. in Adr. p. 12.
79. 797. I Jul. Cap. p. 18. c Idem ibid. E Dio, l. lxix. p. 796, 797. JUL. CAP. p. 16. Dio, p. 797.

a had commanded to be murdered, or finally, on account of the natural sweetness of his temper, and the extraordinary respect he shewed on all occasions for religion, and all religious persons m. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet of Pius in several medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in history". Pausanias thinks he deferved not only this title, but that likewise which was given to Cyrus, viz. the father of mankind, in confideration of the paternal care he seemed to have of all men o. Commodus, and the emperors who succeeded him, assumed the same title; which ferved only to render their wickedness the more remarkable P. This year Antoninus Honours conwas likewise honoured with the title of Augustus, and of high pontiff, and his wife ferred upon him Faustina with that of Augusta. He refused many other honours which the senate by the senate.

b offered him, and among the rest the title of the sather of his country 4; which however he accepted the following year r. We are told, that Antoninus, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the proconful of Africa to consult the goddess Calestis, who was worshipped at Carthage, about his fuccessors, and the state of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obscure and unintelligible, repeated the name of Antoninus eight times; whence it was concluded, that Antoninus should reign eight years. But as he reigned near twenty-three, another construction was long after put upon the oracle, viz. that eight emperors should reign bearing the name of Antoninus; which interpretation we shall examine in the

reign of the emperor Opilius Macrinus.

We know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almost quite at a loss as to the order of them, with respect to what we know. Julius Capitolinus, who wrote his life, and inscribed it to the emperor Dioclesian, is but a very indifferent historian, and greatly confused and perplexed in his accounts. What Dion Cassius wrote of Antoninus has been loft eight hundred years fince, and consequently before Xipbilin undertook the epitomizing of that author; so that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to Julius Capitolinus, after his accession to the empire, in the same manner as he had lived while he was yet a private person; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the least motive to be grieved for his preferment. He would suffer none but slaves to wait upon him, shew- His extraordiing on all occasions the greatest respect imaginable for the equestrian and senatorial many respect for orders. He never transacted any business of consequence without the advice of the senatorial and equestrian and equestrian and equestrian fenate, paying them, when emperor, that regard which he defired to fee paid to orders. them by other emperors while he was a fenator. He frequently gave an account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the confullhip, or other employments, either for himself or his children, he appeared like a private person among the other candidates; which shews, that he allowed the people, according to their ancient right, to chuse the magistrates. M. Aurelius owns, that Antoninus convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private e life even in a court. He moderated most of the imposts and tributes, and strictly Helessens the injoined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any severity or oppression, eribuses. faying, that he chose rather to be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppressed people. He was no sooner raised to the empire, than he disposed of the greatest part of his private estate in favour of the indigent citizens; and the empress Faustina repining at his generosity, he told her, That a prince ought to have no private interest, no private property, and nothing in view but the public welfare. He chose for governors of provinces such only as were persons of known integrity, Prefers only

and is faid never to have preferred an undeferving man to any employment whatfo- men of merit. ever. Hence some continued in their posts during the whole time of his reign; for f he was not for removing such as discharged their office to the satisfaction of the people, unless they themselves desired it, as did Orfitus governor of Rome, and some others. Gavius Maximus was for the space of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards; and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal estate, which was very great, he laid out in bounties and largesses; but was very Takes care of sparing of the public money: whence at his death his private coffers were found empty, the public rebut the exchequer full. He deprived several useless persons of the pensions which had venues. been settled upon them by Adrian, saying, he could not bear to see the state devoured

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Spanh. l. viii. p. 714. ° PAUS. Spanh. l. viii. p. 714. ° PAUS. p. 71. <sup>m</sup> Idem, p. 17. Paus. I. viii. p. 275. Dio, l. lxx. p. 799. <sup>n</sup> Spanh. l. viii. p. 275. P Idem ioid. <sup>q</sup> Dio, l. lxx. p. 799. Jul. Cap. p. 18. l. viii. p. 275. P Io. Jul. Cap. in Macrino.

by those who were no-ways serviceable to it, but lived in idleness upon the labours a

tho' he himself had an utter aversion to such diversions. Tho' he was no-ways addicted

to building, yet he raised a great number of stately edifices at Rome, and in the

neighbourhood. He caused a port to be made at Caieta, now Gaeta; repaired that of Terracina; finished Adrian's magnificent mausoleum; built a stately palace at Lorium in Hetruria, about ten miles from Rome, in which place he had been educated;

and contributed large fums towards the repairing of feveral ancient buildings in Greece,

Ionia, Syria, and Africa. The village of Pallantium in Arcadia was by him made a

city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, because Evander was supposed to have

built, and peopled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where Rome

tor; which promise he observed so religiously, that one being convicted of parricide,

he contented himself with banishing him, even after he had owned his crime, to a

defart island. Attilius Tatianus and Priscianus being accused of conspiring against the

life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himself, and the former was only

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Instances of his equity.

of others. Among those whom he thus treated, was Mesomedes, a lyric poet, whom Adrian had rewarded with a yearly pension on account of some verses in praise of his beloved Antinous. Tho' he was thus sparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice; for he gave daily instances of an unbounded generosity. He would accept of no legacies from such as had children, and ordered the estates of those who had been condemned for extortion, to be restored to their children, after the persons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully satisfied. Under no prince fewer estates were confiscated than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the least misfortune that happened to any city or province, to lessen their tribute and taxes ". Many obtained the privileges of Roman b citizens for themselves, and not for their children, who, in that case, remained Greeks, according to the expression of an ancient historian, and consequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers estates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceased had no Roman citizen amongst his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, Antoninus utterly abolished w. Favours men of He bestowed great privileges and salaries in all the provinces of the empire upon such men of learning as undertook the educating of youth; maintained incredible numbers of children, whose parents were indigent; supplied all senators and magistrates with large fums to defray the expences of their necessary journies, and spent considerable fums in shews and spectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, c

His public

learning.

works,

Promises to put stood . He promised, in the beginning of his reign, to spill the blood of no sena- d death, and observes his pro mile.

even by the enemies of Rome.

banished. Of his fon Antoninus took particular care, and brought' him up as if he had been his own child. He would fuffer no inquiry to be made after their accomplices, answering the senate, when they pressed him to it, I do not care the world should know by how many persons I am hated. He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to fay, that he had rather fave one citizen, than Is esteemed destroy a thousand enemies. By this means he gained the affections, not only of his e own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewise of the declared enemies of Rome, who entertained fuch an opinion of his equity, justice and moderation, that in their disputes they chose him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no Roman emperor was ever more esteemed and revered by all foreign nations than Antoninus. The king of the Parthians, having raifed a formidable army, and invaded Armenia, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and disbanded his troops, upon the receipt of a letter from Antoninus. The kings of Hyrcania, Ballria, and India, fent embassadors to him, courting his friendship, and desiring his alliance. Pharasmanes king of Iberia came in person to wait upon him at Rome, and shewed a far greater respect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for Adrian. f

And revered gods, and to religion. Julius Capitolinus tens us, that he was a property all ranks of revered to such a degree, that neither the people nor foldiery could, for the space of

\* JUL. CAP. p. 17-20. PAUSAN.

The Lazi, the Armenians, the Quadi, and several other nations, readily received such

princes as he was pleased to appoint over them, tho' they were not then subject to the empire s. Antoninus is by some historians compared, by others even preferred, to

Numa, on account of the tranquillity which Rome enjoyed during the greatest part of

his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worship of the

gods, and to religion. Julius Capitolinus tells us, that he was by persons of all ranks

a a hundred years and upwards, look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of Antoninus; which was therefore affumed by all his fuccessors during a whole century: nay, Severus appointed, that the name of Antoninus should be peculiar to the emperors, like that of Augustus; so great was the veneration he had for Antoninus! That great name was indeed profaned and dishonoured by Antoninus Caracalla; but neverthelefs respected to such a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor Macrinus obliged his fon Diadumenus to assume it, fearing the foldiers would not acknowledge him emperor, unless distinguished by that still venerable name a.

Adrian died, as we have related above, on the 10th of July 138. Camerinus and Niger being confuls. These were succeeded by the emperor Antoninus, the second time conful, b and Caius Bruttius Prasens. This year Antoninus gave his daughter Annia Faustina in Marries his marriage to M. Aurelius, whom he created Cafar, and at the request of the senate, danghter Fautho' this year only quæstor, named for the consulate of the year ensuing; which he relius. discharged with him, as appears from an ancient inscription on a monument raised to the honour of M. Aurelius by the two captains of the prætorian guards, Petronius Mamertinus and Gavius Maximus, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards b. In another infcription which antiquaries take to be of this year, Antoninus is styled the benefactor and preserver of the city of Mopjuestia, for having maintained the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient rights and privileges. From a third inscription we learn, that Antoninus ended this year an aquec duct, which had been begun by Adrian at New Athens in the island of Delos d. The next confuls were M. Peducaus Syloga and T. Hoenius Severus e, during whose administration one Celfus revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occasion the empress Faustina was greatly displeased with the kindness which the good-natured emperor shewed to his enemies f. Soon after Faustina died, and was, notwithstand-Faustina dies, ing the dissolute life she had led, at the request of Antoninus, honoured with divine and is ranked worship, priests, temples, statues of gold and silver, &c. Games were instituted to among the gods her honour, and her statue was, by Antoninus's order, carried amongst those of the other gods at the Circensian sports. The emperor was not unacquainted with her irregular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her diforders cond cealed from the multitude 8. The following year, L. Cuspius Rusinus and L. Statius Quadratus being consuls, Antoninus instituted solemn sports at Puteoli, in honour of Adrian, which were styled Pia and Pialia, and were to be celebrated the second year of each olympiadh. The next confuls were C. Bellicius Torquatus and Tiberius Atticus Hero-Caudius Atticus Herodes. The latter, who is greatly cried up by Aulus Gelius and desis raifed to Philostratus k, was a native of Athens, and the most eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making speeches off-hand; but not having succeeded as he expected in one which he made while he was yet a youth before the emperor Adrian, he attempted to drown himself in the Danube. He instructed M. Aurelius and L. Verus in the Greek tongue, and was greatly esteemed by Antoninus, who e appointed him governor of the free cities of Ajia. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and 176. of the christian æra, and left behind him many speeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached our times. In the following consulship of Lollianus Avitus and Claudius Maximus, the Brigantes in The Brigantes Britain revolted; but were foon reduced by Lollius Urbicus governor of that province, revolt, and are who deprived them of great part of their country, subdued the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the friths of Forth and Clyde. For the victories gained by Lollius, Autoninus was honoured, as appears from some ancient medals, with the title of Britannicus in. The next year Antoninus entered upon his fourth confulship, having for his collegue M. Aurelius Casar, the second time consul, and gave f the manly robe to Lucius Verus his adopted fon, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of December of the preceding year. He imitated therein Augustus, who had taken upon him the confular dignity when he gave the manly robe to his adopted children Caius and Lucius Cafars. The same year Antoninus confecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of Adrian, and on that occasion

Erucius

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distributed considerable sums among the populace o. In the next consulship of Sex.

b GRUT. p. 258. CONUPH p. 223.

f Coff. vit. per Vulcat. p. 43. F Jul.

h Philost. foph. 2 Spart.in Geta, p. 90. \* Idem in Diad. P. 224. CUSPIN, p. 353. ONUPH, in fast, p. 225. Cost. vit. per Vulcat. p. 42. Cap. p. 18. h Idem, p. 13. Pagi, p. 211. I Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 2. h Ph xxvii. Vide Alford. annal. Britan. ad ann. 142. Ussen. Bittan. ccclef. antiq. p. 1024. CASAUB. in Spart. p. 50. " JUL. CAP. p. 36.

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Erucius Clarus and Cn. Claudius Severus, fome disturbances were raised in Germany 2

Shews a great esteem for M. Aurelius;

The two brothers Quinti-

christians.

mities.

and Dacia; but were foon composed by the governors of those provinces. The Alani likewise, attempting to invade the Roman dominions, were driven back into their own country with no small loss o. During the administration of the following confuls Largus and Messalinus, the emperor invested M. Aurelius with the tribunitial and proconsular power. By Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus, he had already a daughter named Lucilla, who was afterwards married to L. Verus. The emperor on all occasions shewed a particular esteem for M. Aurelius, consulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and fuffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the fovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious infinuations of those who attempted to estrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wished b But none for L. for his death P. As the conduct of L. Verus was very different from that of M. Aurelius, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not bestowing upon him either the title of Casar, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, invest him with any power whatfoever; which was a plain indication, that he disliked him, and not without reason, as we shall see hereaster, and only suffered him, because he had been obliged by Adrian to adopt him 4. This year being by the Romans reckoned the nine bundredth of their city, the secular games were celebrated by Antoninus with extraordinary pomp and magnificence r. In the consulate of Torquatus and Julianus, the Moors took up arms, upon what provocation we know not; but were utterly defeated, c driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to shelter themselves in the most distant parts of Libya beyond mount Atlas. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the first Servius Scipio Orfitus and Q. Nonius Priscus were confuls; in the second Glabrio Gallicanus and Vetus; and in the third Quintilius Condianus and Quintilius Maximus. The two latter were brothers, and are mightily cried up by the ancients, on account of their learning, their experience both in civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord; for they acted on all occasions, says Dion Cassius, as if they had not been two, but one person: whence they are known in history by the name of the Quintilis. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were d confuls together; wrote to the emperor, received answers, judged causes, published books, in common, and were in the end unjuftly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor Commodus, as we shall relate in the history of that prince's reign. They were natives of Troas, and highly esteemed by M. Aurelius, under whom they governed Greece in 173. and Pannonia in 178. They published a treatise on agriculture, whereof fome fragments have reached our times ". THE following year, the fifteenth of Antoninus's reign, Sextus Junius Glabrio and

C. Omullus Verianus being consuls, that eminent champion of the christian religion, Justin the martyr, published his first apology, and presented it to the emperor, to his adopted fons, and to the fenate. As Antoninus was a prince of a mild disposition, e Antoninus fa- he was fo far moved by it, and by the informations which he had received from vourable to the other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of Asia in favour of the distressed christians, which he concluded with these words; If any one for the future shall molest the christians, and accuse them merely on account of their religion, let the person who is arraigned be discharged, tho' he is found to be a christian, and the accuser be punished according to the rigour of the law w. At the same time the emperor wrote in behalf of the christians to the Athenians, Thessalonians, Larisseans in Thessaly, and to all the Greeks x. These letters put a stop to the persecution; which however broke out anew, and raged with great violence under Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus's fuccessor, as we shall relate hereafter. The following year, when C. Bruttius Præ- f sens and A. Junius Rusinus were consuls, the Tiber, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of Rome under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which confumed part of the city, and a famine, which swept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithstanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the most distant provinces. The same year the cities of Narbonne in Gaul, and Antioch in Syria, and the great square at Carthage, were in

o Idem, p. 19. P Idem, p. 24. Idem in Ver. cons. Pausan. l. viii. p. 273. Dio, l. lxxi. p sophist. xxvii. Vide Casaub. in Spart. p. 94. Chron. Alex. p. 608, 610. Euseb. ibid. & l. iv. c. 13. <sup>4</sup> Idem in Ver. p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Aur. Vict. & Noris, epift.

<sup>6</sup> Dio, l. lxxi. p. 814. Casaub. in Spart. p. 94. Philost.

art. p. 94. w Euseb. l. iv. c. 26. Just. apol. p. 100.

a great part confumed by accidental fire; but soon restored by Antoninus to their former condition v. This year L. Verus discharged the office of quæstor, and exhibited on that occasion public shews, at which he presided, sitting between Autoninus and M. The following year he was raised to the consulship, and had for his collegue T. Sextius, or, as he is called by others, Sextilius Lateranus. C. Julius Severus and M. Rufinus Sabinianus discharged that office next, and were succeeded by M. Ceionius Silvanus and C. Serius Augurinus, during whose consulthip the cities of Cos and Rhodes, with feveral others in Lycia and Caria, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but foon restored to their former lustre, Antoninus contributing thereunto immenfe fums, and making good the loffes which the inhabitants had fullained z. The four following years are quite barren of events: the confuls were Barbarus and b Regulus; Tertullus and Sacerdos; Plantius Quintillus and M. Statius Priscus; Appius Annius Bradua and T. Vibius Bradus. The two latter were fucceeded by M. Aurelius Cafar the third time, and L. Verus the fecond time conful. During their administration, the emperor was seized with a violent sever at Lorium, one of his country- Is taken ill, seats, which in a few days put an end to his life on the seventh of March, after he and dies. had lived feventy-three years, five months, and fixteen or feventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and twenty-six days. When he found death approaching, he fent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their presence confirmed his adoption of M. Aurelius, c and recommended to him the empire, without taking the least notice of Lucius Verus. He then ordered the golden image of Fortune, which always flood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to the room of M. Aurelius. When the tribune came for the parole, the word he gave him was equanimity. He left his paternal estate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domestics. Though he died in an Heis univeradvanced age, he was no less lamented by all the subjects of the empire, than if he sally lamented. had been snatched from them in the bloom of his youth 4. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and his body deposited in the pompous mausoleum of his predecessor Adrian; on which occasion two funeral orations were pronounced, one by M. Aurelius, and another by L. Verus. He was by the senate d ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, priefts, facrifices, and annual sports instituted, &c. b Gordianus, who assumed the title of Augustus at Carthage in the year 237. wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intituled, Antoniniades, describing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions, of Antoninus and his fuccessor M. Aurelius, named likewise Antoninus c; but that work has not reached our times. Some speeches were published under the name of Antoninus, which Marius Maximus maintained to be his, tho' they were commonly thought to have been written by others d. Of the writers who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (E).

Gord. CAP, p. 20. Vict. epit. 2

4 Idem in Anton. p. 21. 2 JUL. CAP. p. 21. ª Idem, p. 22. b Idem ibid. · Idem

(E) These were Justin, Julius Paulus, Appian, Callinicus Sutorius, Calvistus Taurus, Apollonius, Ptolemy the astrologer, Fronte, Telephus, and Claudius Maximus. Justin is thought to have inscribed his abridgment of Trogus Pompeius to the emperor Antoninus Pius. That writer, in an ancient manuscript, is styled M. Junianus Justinus. His work was known to St. Ferom, St. Austin, and Orosius, who often copies him. Some have confounded Juflin the historian with Justin the martyr, who flourished about the fame time; but never published any work in the Latin tongue, not even the apologies, which he wrote at Rome, and presented to the emperor. Trogus Pompeius, whose history Justin abridged, is ranked among the best historians of Augustus's reign, and put upon the level with Livy, Saluft and Tacitus (61). Julius Paulus published several poetical pieces, and is commended by Aulus Gellius, on account of his great crudition and probity. He lived in Gellius's time; but died before that grammarian began to write: whence he is thought to have flourished under Adrian

and Antoninus (62). Appian, who wrote the Roman history in Greck, was a native of Alexandria, pleaded fome time at Rome, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private effaces and revenues (63). He lived in the reigns of Trajan, Adrian and Antoninus, and was writing in the year 900. of Rome, the tenth of Adrian's reign (64). His Roman history is, properly speaking, a separate and diffinct history of all the nations subject to Rome, from the earliest times to the reign of Augustui, tho' he sometimes carries it down to the time of Adrian (65). He speaks of the destruction of ferusalem under Adrian, as happening in his time (66). His history of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Pontus, Iberia, Spain, Illyricum, and of Hannibal and Mishridates, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote seven, have reached us; and befides, some fragments of several other histories copied by M. Valois from the collections of Confiantine Porphyrogenitus. He likewise wrote the history of the wars of Judea, and of that which Trajan waged

(61) Voss. bist. Lat. c. 19. & 23. (62) Anl. Gel. l. i. c. 22. l. v. c. 4. l. xvi. c. 10. l. xix. c. 7. Voss. poet. Lat. p. 52. (63) Appian. in Syr. Suid. p. 353. (64) Appian. p. 7. (65) Idem, p. 4- Evagr. l. vi. c. 24. (66) Appian. in Syr. p. 83. with

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Marcus Aurelius Antoninus furnamed The Philosopher.

preferments.

M. Aurelius is by all the ancients reckoned the best prince that ever swayed a 2 sceptre, and his reign commonly styled The golden age; for he made good the faying which he had borrowed of *Plato*, and had often in his mouth, viz. That flates would be happy, when princes were philosophers. He was of the Annian family, which His extraction, some writers derive from Numa Pompilius. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather Annius Verus, originally of Succubæ, a city of Bætica in Spain, was the first fenator of the Annian family, and afterwards created prætor. His son, who

e Dio, l. ixxi. p. Sis. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 33.

with the Dacians (67). Photius admires the elegance of his style; but chiefly commends him as an unbiassed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed mostly at truth (68). He borrowed many things of Polybius and Plutarch, whom he often copies (69). Scaliger is of opinion, that many things unworthy of so great an historian have been, by the ignorant transcribers, inserted into his history of Syria. His plan, which was to write the hiltory of Rome, and all the provinces of the empire, was much admired by Evagrius (70). Caliniens Sutorius Was a native of Petra in Arabia; but ipent molt part of his life at Athens. He wrote the history of Alexandria in ten books, quoted by St. Ferom 71, and published feveral other pieces on various subjects (72). Some fragments in Greek by one Callinicus, published by Leo Allatius, are ascribed by Vofsius to Callinicus Sutorius (73). But Jonssius sup-poses Callinicus Sutorius to have flourished in the time of the emperor Gallienus, to whom, and not to Galen the celebrated physician, he inscribed, in his opinion, one of his works (74). Calvifus Taurus is often mentioned by Aulus Geilius, who went to hear him while he instructed the Athenian youth in the principles of the Platonic philosophy (75). He was a native of Tyre, according to Philostratus; but, according to Suidas (76), and Eufebius (77), of Berytus. He published several works, one among the rest shewing the difference between the doctrine of Plato and that of Aristotle. Aulus Gellius quotes a treatise written by him on anger, and the first book of his comments upon Plato's Gorgias (78). The fame writer commends him on account of his abilinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (79). Telephus, who instructed L. Verus in the Greek tongue, was born in Pergamus, and wrote a book on the rhetoric of Homer, another on the perfect agreement between that poet and Plato; the lives of fuch poets as had written comedies or tragedies; instructions on the choice of books; a description of Pergamus, with the history of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and customs of Athens; and a collection of epithets (80). Claudius Maximus was by birth a Tyrian, and one of M. Aurelius's preceptors, whom he instructed in the principles of the Stoics. He published several philosophical pieces, and difcourses on the Platonic philosophy, which have reached our times, and are defervedly effeemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was conful in the year 144, the feventh of Antoninus's reign, and afterwards proconful of Africa (81). We have already mentioned Apollonius the stoic, who was another of M. Aurelius's preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raifed to the empire. Most writers

ascribe to him a work mentioned by Photius, wherein the author gives an account of illustrious women, of fuch especially as had applied themselves to the study of philosophy (82). Ptolemy, the celebrated astrologer and geographer, flourished under Adrian and Antoninus. He made his last astronomical obfervation on a Wednesday, the second of February in the year 141, the fourth of Antoninus's reign; but nevertheless Suidas supposes him to have lived to the reign of M. Aurelius, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the ancients; but we are told, that some of the manufcript copies of that work are very different from the printed copies (83). Suidas writes, that he was born in Alexandria; but Vossius maintains, that he was a native of Pelufium, and supposed to have been an Alexandrian, because he made his aftronomical observations in that city (84). Sulpitius Apoliinaris, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by Aulus Gellius, who feems to have enter-tained a great opinion of him (85). He left some letters, and fome grammatical writings, wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name Cafellius Vindex (86). Some of his observations upon Terence have reached our times (87). M. Cornelius Fronto is cried up by the ancients, as one of the best orators of his age, and by some put upon the level with Cicero. Aulus Gellius tells us, that he never visited him, which he did frequently while he was yet very young, without profiting much by his infructions (88). In Adrian's time he passed for the most eloquent orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by Antoninus to teach M. Aurelius and L. Verus the Latin eloquence. M. Aurelius valued him above all his preceptors, caused a statue to be erected to him in Rome, and honoured him with the consular dignity (89). St. Ferom styles him an illustrious orator (90); and Sidonius speaks of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave, and less flourished, than that of the ancient orators (91). He published several harangues, one of which, against Pelops, was highly esteemed, and preferred to all the rest (92). Sosipater Charisius published some letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors who have written on the Latin tongue (93). Sidonius commends one Leo, a man of great rank in the fifth century, for adopting the style of Fronto, from whom he was descended (94). We read in Minucius Felix, that one Fronto, a native of Cirtha in Numidia, published some discourses against the christians, which were in great request about the beginning of the third century (95). These discourses are, by some able critics, ascribed to Fronto the

(67) Idem ibid. p. 10. Phot. c. 57. (68) Phot. ibid. (69) Voff. hift. Grec. l. ii. c. 13. (70) Evag. l. vi. c. 24. (71) Hier. in Dan. (72) Suid. p. 1360. (73) Voff. ibid. (74) Jonf. l. iii. c. 9. (75) Aul. Gel. l. xviii. c. 10. (76) Suid. p. 871. (77) Eufeb. in chron. (78) Aul. Gel. l. i. c. 26. l. vi. e. 14. (79) Idem, l. xviii. c. 8. (80) Suid. p. 897. (81) Vide P. Pagi, p. 144. (82) Jonf. l. iii. c. 9. Phot. p. 161. Spanh. p. 53. (83) Voff. hift. Grec. l. iv. c. 17. Cpt. difput. append. c. 16. (84) Voff. ibid. (85) Aul. Gel. l. iv. c. 17. l. xiii. c. 17, &c. (86) Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 19, &c. (87) Vide Calvif. an. 163. (88) Gell. l. ii. c. 26. (89) Jul. Cap. in Aurel p. 23. (90) Hier. in chron. (91) Sid. l. i. epift. 1. l. iv. epift. 3. (92) Sid. l. viii. ep. 10. (93) Vide Cafaub. in Spart. M. Aur. (94) Sid. l. viii. epift. 3. (95) Min. Fel. p. 8.

a bore the same name, was by Vespasian raised to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of Rome, and honoured twice with the confulship. He had three children, Annius Verus, the father of M. Aurelius; Annius Libo, who was conful; and Annia Galeria Faustina, who was married to the emperor Antoninus Pius. Annius Verus married Domitia Calvilla, called also Lucilla, the daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who had been twice conful, and had by her M. Aurelius, and a daughter named Annia Cornificia. M. Aurelius was born in Rome, during his grandfather's fecond confulship, on the 26th of April of the year 121. which was the fourth of Adrian's reign. His first name was Catilius Severus, that of his mother's grandlather, who had been governor of Rome, and twice conful. Upon the death of his father, who died in b his prætorship, he was adopted by his grandfather M. Annius Verus, and took his name. The emperor Adrian used to call him M. Annius Verissimus, on account of his great fincerity; and under that name Justin the martyr addresses him in his second apology. When he was adopted by Antoninus, he took the names of M. Elius Aurelius Verus, the name of Aurelius being peculiar to the family of Antoninus, and that of Ælius to the family of Adrian, into which Antoninus had been adopted. Upon his accession to the empire, he left the name of Verus to L. Commodus, his brother by adoption, and took for himself that of Antoninus; but is generally distinguished from his predecessor, either by the prænomen of Marcus, or the surname of Philosophus; which was given him by the unanimous confent of historians, and not by any public c act or decree of the senate . He was from his tender years brought up by the em- His education. peror Adrian, whom Dion Cassius calls his kinsman s. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his fuccessor; but chose in his room, as he was then too young, T. Antoninus, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew h. Annius Verus, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his house; but M. Aurelius thanks the gods, that he was but a short while under her tuition i; for Adrian, taking him from his grandfather, brought him up in the palace, employing the greatest men of that age to instruct him in every branch of literature. He applied His studies and himself to the study of philosophy under the celebrated sophist Apollonius Sextus of learning. d Chæronea, Plutarch's nephew, Junius Rusticus, Claudius Maximus, Cinsia Catullus, and Claudius Severus; to that of eloquence under Herodes Atticus, and M. Cornelius Fronto; and to the study of the law under L. Volusius Metianus, or, as some style him, Mæcianus, the most learned civilian of that age. M. Aurelius is said to have excelled in all these branches of learning, and to have been one of the greatest orators, philosophers and civilians of his time. He delighted chiefly in the study of philosophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different fects, and, when he was but twelve years old, entered himself among the philosophers, wore their habit, and practifed all their aufterities, lying on the ground, fasting, and abstaining e from several meats. He shewed, even after he was emperor, great respect to those His respect to who had instructed him, especially to Junius Rusticus, of whom we have spoken in his preceptors. our notes; transacted nothing without his advice (for he was a person well versed in the arts both of peace and war); faluted him always before the captains of the guards; raised him twice to the consulship; and, after his death, prevailed upon the senate to erect him a statue. He shewed no less gratitude and veneration towards his other mafters, setting up in his closet their images in gold, visiting frequently their sepulchres, and adorning them with crowns, victims and flowers. His great application to the study of philosophy, and the austerities he practised, impaired his Practises the health to such a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, tho' naturally of a austrities of f robust constitution k. To strengthen his stomach, greatly weakened by fasting the philosophers when he was but a youth, he used to take every day some treacle, which was made up for him by one of his physicians, named Demetrius, and, after his death, by the celebrated Galen 1. As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithstanding his bad health, almost to the age of fixty, and performed great things, applying himself to the dispatch of business with more care and assiduity, than any of his predecessors had done. He had an utter aversion to all forts of shews, sports and diversions, being His aversion to naturally grave and ferious; but nevertheless appeared at them sometimes, tho' very shews, and all

seldom, that he might not seem to condemn those who frequented them. He used, diversions.

f Dio, l. lxix, p. 797. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. Justin. apol. ii. Grut. p. 300.

h Jul. Cap. p. 23. Eutrop.

1 M. Aur. de feip.l. i. c. 14.

k Jul. Cap. ibid. M. Anton.

l. i. c. 3.

1 Galen. prog. p. 460. de antidot. c. 2. & lib. de ther. p. 457.

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His issue by

Faultina, the

daughter of

Antoninus.

while he was emperor, to read, write or to talk to his ministers about public affairs, during the whole time of the sports, for which he was often rallied by the populace, but despised their ralleries m. When he was but sixteen, he made over his paternal estate to his sister, saying, that his grandfather's estate was enough for him. Adrian adopted Antoninus Pius, as we have related above, upon condition, that he should adopt M. Aurelius, at that time eighteen years old, and L. Commodus, who was only in the seventh or eighth year of his age, but already Adrian's grandson by adoption, being the fon of L. Ælius Cæfar. These adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the same day that Antoninus was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of February of the year 138. M. Aurelius was so far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneafiness and concern, telling b those, who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. Adrian at the same time appointed him quæstor for the ensuing year, tho' he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of Rome for the discharge of that dignity. The same prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of L. Verus Cafar, named, as is commonly believed, Fabia; and appointed, that Antoninus should give his daughter Annia Faustina to young Lucius. But upon the death of Adrian, Antoninus proposed a match between his daughter and M. Aurelius, who agreed to it, married her some years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 147. the ninth of Antoninus's reign, named Lucilla, who was married to L. Verus in 164. and c afterwards to Pompeianus. He had several other daughters by her, of whom three were still alive in the year 193. and one was put to death by Caracalla in 212. Annia Faustina brought him likewise several sons, viz. Commodus, who was afterwards emperor, Antoninus Geminus, Severus, or rather Verus, styled on some medals Annius Verus, T. Aurelius Antoninus, and T. Ælius Aurelius. Commodus and Antoninus Geminus were twins, born on the thirty-first of August of the year 161. the first of their father's reign o. In the year 139. Antoninus named M. Aurelius consul for the ensuing year, declared him Calar, lodged him in the palace of Tiberius, and took him in a manner for his partner in the empire. M. Aurelius, without being in the least elated with these extraordinary honours, pursued his former course of life, visited d his friends, as if he had been a private person, frequented the schools of the philosophers, applied himself to the study of the Greek and Latin eloquence, &c. In the beginning of the year 147. Antoninus invested him with the proconsular and tribunitial power, and thenceforth transacted nothing without his advice, which he generally followed, as he entertained a high opinion of his integrity, penetration, and extraordinary accomplishments P.

He takes L. Verus for his partner in

Antoninus having declared, a little before he died, M. Aurelius his successor, and recommended to him the empire and his daughter in the presence of the chief officers of the court, the senate, as soon as he expired, obliged M. Aurelius, says the author of his life, to accept the fovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, e without fo much as mentioning L. Verus, who was likewise the fon of Antoninus by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being intirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footsteps of Nero and Caligula, than to imitate the virtues of T. Antoninus and M. Aurelius 9. Antoninus, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never invested him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of Casar. However, M. Aurelius immediately declared him not only Casar, but Augustus, and his partner in the fovereign power; so that Rome saw herself then for the first time the fovereignty governed by two fovereigns at once. As they were at the same time consuls, this year, the 161st of the christian æra, is distinguished in the Fasti, and inscriptions, f by the consulate of the two Augusti. This action of Marcus Aurelius is cried up by Aristides as the greatest, and the most heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in history of any prince r. In raising Lucius to the empire, he gave him the name of Verus; so that he was thenceforth named Lucius Verus, instead of Lucius Commodus: he added that of Antoninus, which he assumed himself; whence he is styled in most ancient inscriptions M. Aurelius Antoninus '. The two emperors went together from

<sup>&</sup>quot;Jul. Cap. p. 23. "Jul. Cap. p. 24. "Jul. Cap. ibid. & in L. Ver. p. 39. Herodian. Li. p. 46. & l. iv. p. 546. Grut. p. 252. Pagi, p. 180. "Jul. Cap. p. 25. Aristid. orat. 9. p. 107. "Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 25. & in Ver. p. 36. "Aristid. orat. 16. p. 421. p. 107, 9 July 8 Vide Goltz. p. 34-

a the senate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promised the soldiers a They both gobounty of twenty thousand sesterces, M. Aurelius speaking for both. They performed vern with afterwards with great pomp the funeral of their deceased father, caused him to be and unanimity. ranked among the gods, and instituted a new college of priests, called Aureliani, (from the name of his family) or Aurelian priests. They both governed with great mildness and unity, Lucius behaving himself rather as Aurelius's lieutenant, than his partner in the fovereignty. Their administration was such, that no one had occasion to regret the loss of Antoninus, whose measures were pursued by both princes. That their union might be the more lasting, M. Aurelius betrothed his daughter Lucilla to L. Verus, and on that occasion both princes added a great number of children to b those who were supplied with corn at the public expence. But the tranquillity and happiness, which Rome and the whole empire enjoy'd under the two sovereigns, was foon interrupted by a dreadful inundation of the Tiber, which happened in the be-Many calamiginning of the following year, when Rusticus and Aquilinus were confuls, overturned the beginning many private houses and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of their reign. of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of infocts, that destroyed what the slood had spared, and occasioned a famine in Rome. These calamities were in great measure allayed by the care and presence of the two e emperors, who, at their own expence, supplied the distressed city with corn, and made good the loss sustained by particulars. At the same time the Parthian war broke out, the Catti made irruptions into Germany and Rhatia, and the Britons began to revolt. Against the latter was dispatched Calpurnius Agricola, and Ausidius Victorinus against the Catti: but it was thought proper, that L. Verus should march in person against the Parthians, while M. Aurelius continued at Rome, where his presence was judged necessary. The good emperor was not displeased to have such a specious pretence of removing his collegue from Rome, hoping that a warlike life would give him a distaste to the idle amusements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly disappointed, as we shall see anon ". What success attended d Agricola and Victorinus, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with these nations is, that Didius Julianus, who reigned after Pertinax, is said to have overcome the Chauci, and likewise the Catti, who had made inroads into the Roman dominions. The war in Britain must have likewise lasted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the Marcomanni broke out w. As for the Parthians, they had at this time for their king Vologeses, probably the son of Costboes, who reigned in the times of Trajan and Adrian. Antoninus had refused to restore to him the The Parthians golden throne, which had been feized by Adrian. This perhaps occasioned the war; declare war, for before Antoninus died, the Parthian had made vast preparations, and soon after his Armenia. death appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army x. Great disturbances, e of which we find but a very confused account in the ancients, happened likewise at this time in Armenia, raised, in all likelihood, and somented by the king of the Parthians. Sohemus, king of Armenia, was driven from the throne, and the king of the Henochii, a people dwelling between the Caspian and Euxine seas, was killed by a petty prince, named Tiridates, who was afterwards taken prisoner by the Romans, and by M. Aurelius confined to Britain v. Severinus, a native of Gaul, and governor of Cappadocia, having entered Armenia at the head of several legions, was there attacked by the Partbians near a place called Elegia, and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a fingle person of the whole army escaped the general slaughter. Dion Cassius ascribes this victory to Vologeses; but he obtained it by Osrboes, or, as Lucian I calls him, Othryades, who commanded the army, and was in all likelihood some prince of the royal family of Parthia, on whom Vologeses designed to bestow the crown of Armenia. Vologeses elated with this victory, entered Syria at the head of a very Vologeses king numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in Cappa- of the Parthians docia, which he likewise invaded, after having put to flight Attidius Cornelianus, who invades Syria.

one of the emperors should march in person; and accordingly L. Verus set out from L. Verus goes

commanded in Syria. Against so formidable an enemy, it was judged proper, that

JUL. CAP. p. 25. t Idem ibid. "Idem in Ver. p. 37. W Sp. ARIST. orat. ix. p. 119. Jul. CAp. in Aur. p. 25. y Dio, l. lxxi. p. 802. p. 485. & hist. p. 347. Dio, p. 802. w Spart. in Julian. p. 60.

Rome this year for Syria. M. Aurelius accompanied him as far as Capua, whence a

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His debaucheries on the ruad.

he was scarce returned to Rome, when news was brought him, that his collegue had been feized at Canofa with a violent diftemper, occasioned by the debaucheries and disorders to which he had abandoned himself on the road: for the luxurious prince, instead of pursuing his march with all possible expedition, and hastening to save Syria, which was over-run by the Parthians, and ready to revolt from Rome, stopt in all the cities through which he passed, spending his time in banquets and revels, and plunging himself into the most infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illness, M. Aurelius caused vows and facrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a second journey to see him. When he began to recover, M. Aurelius returned to Rome; and L. Verus foon after pursued his journey, passing over into Greece, and b from thence into Afia, Pamphylia and Cilicia. As he stopped in every place that could afford him any kind of diversion, he arrived, when the year was already far spent, in Syria; and chusing Antioch for the place of his residence, abandoned himself there to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, while the officers who commanded under him carried on the war. These were Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, Martius Verus, Saturninus, Fronto, and Tatianus, all persons of great experience, and generally esteemed the best commanders of that age. As for the emperor Verus, he was so taken up with his pleasures and diversions, that tho' the war lasted four years, he never once appeared at the head of his army, which consisted of the flower of the Roman troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdness at Antioch, Daphne and Laodicea, c while his officers were fignalizing themselves in the field a. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in Armenia, Syria, Mejopotamia, Media, and upon the banks of the Tigris b; that the Romans befieged Edessa in the province of Ofrhoene, and gained many fignal victories; that Ofrhoes was once forced to fave The Parthians himself by swimming cross the Tigris d; that the Parthians received a dreadful overthrowat Europa, a city of Syria, on the Euphrates, a little below Zeugmae; and that in the end, Ofrhoes, who commanded the Parthian troops, having lost his army, was obliged to conceal himself in a cave f. Lucian, who wrote about this time, is not ashamed to tell us, that in the above-mentioned battle three hundred and seventy thousand of the enemy were killed; and that the Romans lost only two men, and had d but nine wounded s.

overthrown.

manner of plea-

sures, and luf-

fers his lieute-

nants to carry

on the war.

Rome happy under M. Au-

His clamency and good-nature.

WHILE L. Verus wallowed in all forts of pleasures at Antioch, M. Aurelius made it his whole study to reform, by his example, and several wholsome laws, the manners of the Romans, to redress abuses, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than feverity, the vicious. The people enjoyed under his mild administration all the blessings of liberty, and were truly no less free than their ancestors had been in the best times of the republic. He paid a greater deserence to the senate than Antoninus himself had ever done, referring to them the decision of such causes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice, to which he readily submitted, saying, It was more reasonable for him to sollow the e advice of so many wise men, than for so many wise men to follow his. He never failed attending the fenate, delivering his opinion there like a private fenator. He administred justice in person with great affiduity and impartiality; heard with patience fuch as complained of his ministers, and endeavoured, so far as was consistent with equity, to dismiss no one from his presence distatisfied. He suffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the person accused could alledge in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheless punished such as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmost rigour. However, we have innumerable instances of his clemency, and very few of his severity. Aurelius Victor tells us, that he obliged f the inhabitants of Nicea to fend yearly to Rome a certain quantity of corn, for having beaten one of their citizens, by name Hipparchus, a man of great learning, and extra-ordinary accomplishments. They continued to pay this tribute to the time of Constantine, by whom it was remitted.

THE following year L. Ælianus, or Lælianus, and Pastor, being consuls, Statius ey the Romans. Priscus made himself master of Artaxata, and a place called The new city, which soon

became,

<sup>\*</sup> Jul. Car. in M. Aur. p. 26. & in Ver. p. 37. Philost. foph. xxvii. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 775. & l. ixxi. p. 802. b Lucian. hift. p. 362. c Idem, p. 358. d Idem, p. 356. e Idem, p. 361. f Idem, p. 356. g Idem hift. p. 357. h Aur. Vict. in Constant. Aristid. orat. ix. Dio, p. 804. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 26.

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that

a became, says Dion Cassius, the first city of Armenia. Priscus being soon after sent against the Parthians, Martius Verus took upon him the command of the troops in Armenia; and partly by force, partly by his wife conduct and obliging behaviour, prevailed upon the Armenians to submit to the Romans, and to restore Sohemus to the Armeniare throne, who, being driven out by Vologefes, had refided fome time at Rome, and had duced. been there created fenator, and honoured with the confulfhip. On feveral medals of this year mention is made of the reduction of Armenia by Verus, who, in some inscriptions, is said to have given a king to Armenia k. Tho' he had no share, as we have related above, in that conquest; yet the senate distinguished both him and M. Aurelius with the title of Armeniacus, and both assumed this year that of impera-b rator, no doubt, for the reduction of Armenia. The following year, when Macrinius and Celsus were consuls, M. Aurelius sent his daughter Lucilla into Syria, to be M. Aurelius married there to L. Verus, to whom she had been for some time betrothed. She was daughter Lucilla attended by her sister Cornisicia, by Civica Pompeianus, uncle to L. Verus by the father, cilla to L. Veand by many other persons of distinction. M. durelius would have willingly accom-rus. panied her in person into the east, but parted with her at Brundusium, and returned to Rome, that he might not feem to affume to himself the glory of finishing the Parthian war m. The next year, the fourth of M. Aurelius's reign, Gavius Orfitus and L. Arrius Pudens being consuls, Vologeses, having attacked the Romans at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated by Cassius; who, pursuing the advan- The Parthians c tages of his victory, advanced to Ctestphon, took that city, and laid the palace of the utterly defeated by Cassius, Parthian monarchs in ashes. He likewise made himself master of Edessa, of Babylon, who takes most and all Media. The city of Seleucia on the Tigris opened its gates to him, and received of their cities, the Romans as friends; but nevertheless Cassius ordered the inhabitants, to the number &c. of four hundred thousand souls, to be inhumanly massacred, and the city to be utterly demolished. Some writers ascribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of Cassius, who thus retaliated upon the Parthians the dreadful flaughters which the Romans had in former times suffered from them. On his return, he lost great numbers of his men, who died of distempers, or perished for want of provisions ". For these successes the senate bestowed on L. Verus, tho' he had never d firred from Antioch, the glorious title of The conqueror of the Parthians and Medes, as appears from feveral ancient infcriptions and medals of this and the following year °. Of this war the ancients give us no farther account; but from Rufus Festus P and Dion Cassius 9 it appears, that towards the end of the reign of Commodus, the provinces of Osrboene and Adiabene, with the city of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, were subject to the Romans. Many Greek historians immediately published accounts of this war; but were guilty, it seems, of considerable mistakes; which prompted Lucian to compose his treatise on the manner of writing history. The war being ended, Lucius Verus appointed kings over the foreign nations which had submitted to Rome, and left the senators who had attended him governors of the Roman provinces. M. Aurelius had e fent Annius Libo his cousin-german into Syria, to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while L. Verus refided there; but he dying fuddenly, L. Verus, upon his The death of leaving Syria, appointed Casonius Vettilianus governor of that province in his room. Annius Libo. Libo was faid to have been poisoned by Verus, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But Antoninus gave no credit to that report; nay, at the request of Verus, he fuffered Agaclytes, one of his collegue's freed-men, to marry Libo's widow, and even affisted at the nuptial ceremonies, tho' no-ways pleased with the marriages. THE next year, Q. Servilius Pudens and L. Fusidius Pollio being consuls, L. Verus L. Verus rereturned to Rome, which he entered in triumph with M. Aurelius, who took his chil-turns to Rome, dren with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of Parthicus was given by the senate with M. Aurelius, who took his chil-turns to Rome, and triumphas with M. Aurelius. to both emperors, and both assumed that of Father of their country, which M. Aure-lius. f lius had declined till the return of his brother. L. Verus, after his triumph, begged, that the title of Cafar might be conferred on the two fons of M. Aurelius, viz. Commodus and Annius Verus; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of October of this year. The return of L. Verus proved fatal, we may fay, to whole world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed; so that the Advendful infection not only spread through Italy, but extended to the most distant countries plague rages in n Dio, p. 802. vinces of the P FEST. p. 551. empire. <sup>1</sup> Occo. ibid. <sup>m</sup> Jul. Cap. p. 26. <sup>n</sup> Dio, p. 802. Occo. p. 283. Birag. p. 218, 236. P Fest. p. 551. iift. p. 347. Dio, p. 811. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 22. Dio, ibid. \* Occo. p. 302, 303. Lucian. hist. p. 358. Amman. l. xxiii. 9 Dio, l. lxxv. p. 848. & Ver. p. 38. LUCIAN. de hift. p. 347.

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that were subject to, or had any communication with Rome, or the Romans. We are a told by Ammianus Marcellinus, that this plague first broke out at Seleucia, where the foldiers, pillaging the temple of Apollo, found a little golden coffer under ground, which, upon their opening it, cast out such a pestilentious air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and foon spread into most parts of the world; but those who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the Roman empire, affure us, that it began in Ethiopia, and was thence carried into Egypt, and from Egypt into the country of the Parthians, where it infected L. Verus's army". Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into Italy by the troops which had been employed against the Parthians, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for some years, especi- b ally in Italy, and at Rome, where it carried off many thousands, and among the rest great numbers of illustrious persons. M. Aurelius caused such of the common people as died to be buried at his own expence, and enacted on that occasion some laws concerning burials and fepulchres, which were still in force in Dioclesian's time w. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the same time the Marcomanni, one of the most warlike nations in Germany, invaded the empire, having first drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the Roman dominions, from Gaul to Illyricum, viz. the Narisci, the Eermonduri, the Quadi, the Suevians, the Sarmatians, the Victovales, Roxolani, Basternæ, Costobochi, Alani, Vandali, Iazyges, and several other nations. This c war, which by the historians of those times is called one of the greatest wars Rome ever fustained, was kindled while the flower of the Roman troops were yet employed in the east against the Parthians; but suspended for some time by the address of the commanders on the frontiers, that Rome might not be at the same time engaged in two fuch dreadful wars. The affairs of the east were no sooner settled, and L. Verus returned to Rome, than M. Jurelius acquainted the senate, that a war with the Marcomanni was inevitable, and of fuch confequence, that it required the prefence of both emperors; for M. Aurelius did not care to commit the whole management of the war to Verus, judging him unfit to carry it on with success; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave him at Rome, where he began to be daily more and more despised d on account of his enormous debaucheries. The fenate approved his proposal; so that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of facrifices, and implored by all forts of ceremonies, both foreign and Roman, the protection of the gods, left Rome about the close of the year, in their military apparel, and hastened to Aquileia, to make the necessary preparations there for taking the field early in the spring x.

Marcomanni,

War with the

And is followed

by a famine, by

earthquakes,

Both emperors fet out from Rome.

The Marcoother German nations sue for peace;

THE next confuls were the emperor L. Verus the third time, and M. Quadratus, nephew to the emperor Antoninus Pius. Early in the spring the two emperors took the field, and their approach struck the enemy with such terror, that they repassed the Danube, and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The Quadi, whose king was dead, promised not to crown the person whom they had **e** chosen in his room, without the consent and approbation of the emperors. Most of the nations who had taken arms dispatched embassadors either to the emperors or their generals, to make their submissions, and ask pardon for having disturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon Verus, who had left the diversions of the city much against his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to Rome; but M. Aurelius, suspecting the sincerity of the barbarians, continued some time at Aquileia, fortifying that place with new works, and then passed, together with Verus, the neighbouring Alps; provided with great care for the fafety of Italy and Illyricum, and returned to Rome about the end of this year y. The following year, Apronianus and Paulus being confuls the second time, the war seems to have broke out anew; for it f appears from several ancient inscriptions, that both princes took this year, the eighth of their reign, the title of imperator; which was never done but on occasion of some victory 2: and in the chronicle of Eusebius we read, that the Romans gained this year a fignal victory over the Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians and Dacians 1. The next But renew the year, in the consulate of Q. Sosius Priscus and P. Calius Apollinaris, the Germans, war with great notwithstanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigour than ever; infomuch that both emperors left Rome in the depth of the winter, and returned to

Aquileia,

<sup>\*</sup> Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 251, 253. 
Ros. l. vii. c. 15. 
\* Idem ibid. p. 28. & 39.

Geog. p. 285, & 309. 
\* Euseb. chron. p. 136. D. 28. & 20. P. Dio, p. SoS. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 28. Oros. l. vii. c. 15. 2 Occo. p. 285. & 309.

a Aquileia, with a defign to attack the barbarians early in the fpring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviseable to leave the place, and hasten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the same coach, L. Verus was seized with an apoplexy near Altinum, M. Aurelius caused him to be immediately taken out of the coach, and blooded, by which means he brought him alive to Altinum, where he lay three days speechless, and then died, after having L. Verus dies. lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight, and some months b. M. Aurelius conveyed his body to Rome; caused it to be interred with extraordinary pomp by that of his father L. Casar in the mansoleum of Adrian; prevailed upon the senate, notwithstanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him priefts, b sacrifices, &c. and took particular care of all his relations; nay, even of his wicked and debauched freed-men, whom however he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name Ecleaus, who afterwards murdered his son Commodus, as we shall relate hereaster. L. Verus was a prince intirely abandoned to all manner of Hischaracter. lewdness and debauchery, passing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often scouring the streets in the night-time, as Nero had formerly done, and committing great disorders in the public-houses and shews, which he used to frequent in disguise, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years stay in Syria, he was so taken up with pleasures and lewd amours, that he was with much-ado prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the Euc phrates, whence he hastened back to Daphne, one of the suburbs of Antioch, a place fo infamous for all manner of lewdness, that to live after the manner of Daphne was become a proverb to express the most dissolute and luxurious way of living, and that all who had any regard to their reputation avoided appearing there. In that place Verus abandoned himself without restraint to all forts of abominations, while his gene- His debaucherals were carrying on the war against the Parthians and their allies; which gave occa-ries, revels, fion to many severe lampoons, the Antiochians being greatly addicted to satire. But tanquets, &c. Verus preferred his pleasures to his reputation: he brought with him out of Syria a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, &c. and passed most of his time in their company. Soon after his return to Rome, he is faid to have spent at one entertaind ment fix millions of fefterces; for he prefented each of the guefts, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and filver plate, great part of which was fet with jewels, which they had made use of during the banquet, and likewise with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and at their parting he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules richly caparifoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, says the writer of his life, into a tavern; for after he had supped with M. Aurelius, he used to withdraw to his own company, and pass the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions, and lewd women. He was fo fond of a horse named Celer, or the Swift, that he erected a statue to him in gold, fed him with raifins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of e the palace, and, when he died, erected a stately monument to him on the Vatican. He suffered his slaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their masters, according to the Roman custom, during the feast of Saturn, and was intirely governed by them, his freed-men, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the Clodian way, and there spent most of his time in revelling with his freed-men, and fuch women as were infamous for their lewdness. He once invited thither M. Aurelius, who complied with his invitation, and staid five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameless conduct; but finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, diffembled his diforders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even f endeavoured to excuse them. However, it was privately whispered abroad, that Verus's horrible excesses, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the east, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and M. Aurelius, who was thought to have intimated in his speech to the senate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his collegue, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or restraint; nay, as the best of princes are often maliciously censured, M. M. Aurelius Aurelius was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a collegue, either by said by some to possess or have additionable from the proof of the p poison, or by ordering his physician Posidippus to let him blood unseasonably c. Dion him to be mur-Cassius seems inclined to believe, that M. Aurelius thought it expedient to prevent by dered.

b Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 28. & in Ver. p. 39. Galen, prog. t. iii. p. 459. e Jul. Cap. p. 28-34.

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that means Verus from raising disturbances in the state d; for he is said to have formed a a conspiracy, with a design to murder M. Aurelius, and reign alone e. But it is a crime, say other historians, to imagine, that such a prince as M. Aurelius, to whom flattery itself has never equalled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and actions might deferve f. Only fuch fratricides as Caracalla, and persons guilty of the most enormous crimes, can entertain fuch thoughts of Aurelius 8. Some charged the empress Faustina with his death, as if she had poisoned him for having discovered to his wife his incestuous conversation with her. Others faid, that he was poisoned by his wife Lucilla, jealous of the great passion he had for his own sister Fabia, whose power she could not brook h.

M. Aurelius war against the Marcomanni.

M. Aurelius, now delivered from so vicious and troublesome a partner, made it b. his whole study to oblige all with his engaging behaviour, and unbounded generofity. He feemed to excel not only his predecessors, but even himself, governing with such moderation and mildness, as can hardly be expressed i. The necessary preparations prepares for the for the war with the Marcomanni ingroffed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieutenants gained, it feems, some advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the ensuing year, while M. Cornelius Cethegus and C. Erucius Clarus were consuls; for soon after the death of L. Verus, and before the twenty-fifth of February of this year, he took upon him the title of imperator, as appears from several medals and inscriptions k. However, the Marcomanni soon resumed their courage, and falling upon Vindex, captain of the guards, cut both him and most of his c

men in pieces 1. After this victory, they approached the Roman territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted many hours, both the Romans and barbarians fighting with The Romans incredible courage and resolution; but at length the Romans were utterly defeated, great flaughter and put to flight, after having lost near twenty thousand men. The Marcomanni purfued the fugitives to the very walls of Aquileia; which city they had taken, had

not the Roman generals rallied their men with great skill and conduct. The barbarians entered Italy itself, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing everywhere most dreadful devastations m. The news of this fatal overthrow filled d Rome with terror and consternation. As the plague, which still raged in most provinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, flaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of Dalmatia and Dardania, were admitted into the army. Besides, M. Aurelius prevailed upon some mercenary Germans to serve against their countrymen. Thus a confiderable army was foon raised; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of fo dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himself to burden his people with new taxes, exposed to

fells the plate, public fale the furniture of the palace, the gold and filver plate, all the valuable picfurniture of the tures and statues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroipalace, to de- dered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which Adrian had purchased 🤄 fray the charges of the war.

during his long progress through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a particular cabinet, called Adrian's cabinet. The fale lasted two months, and produced fuch an immense sum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when provisions were very dear, with an extraordinary largess; to defray the charges of a five years expensive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had fold, allowing however the buyers full liberty to keep their purchases, or return them, and take their money again n. When he was upon the point of setting out from Rome, he married his daughter Lucilla, the widow of L. Verus, to Claudius Pompeianus, who was originally of Antioch, and the son of a private Roman knight, but a person of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wisdom and integrity, which M. Aurelius f ever preferred to wealth and nobility o. Julian, surnamed the apostate, blames M.

Aurelius for having left the empire to his fon Commodus, and not to Pompeianus, who was every way qualified for it; whereas Commodus was altogether unfit for the difcharge of so great a trust P. However, neither Lucilla herself, nor her mother Faustina, were pleased with the match. Lucilla retained the title of Augusta, and all the

Annius Verus, badges of sovereignty 4. Before the emperor left Rome, his son Annius Verus Casar the emperor's second son, dies.

<sup>4</sup> Dio, p. 802. <sup>e</sup> Philost. foph. xxvii. p. 548. <sup>f</sup> Jul. Cap. in Ver. p. 39. <sup>g</sup> Herodian. l.iv. p. 645. Aur. Vict. <sup>h</sup> Jul. Cap. <sup>i</sup> Idem, p. 29. Eutrop. <sup>k</sup> Birag. p. 221. <sup>1</sup> Dio, l. lxxi. p. 803. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. & Lucian. pfeud. p. 493. <sup>n</sup> Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 29. Eutrop. & Birag. p. 221. <sup>o</sup> Lamprid. in Comm. p. 48. Herodian. l.i. p. 464. <sup>p</sup> Julian. Cæs. p. 13. <sup>q</sup> Jul. Cap. p. 31. Herodian. l.i. p. 427.

died

M. Aurelius

a died at Palestrina, in the seventh year of his age. M. Aurelius loved him with all the tenderness of a father; but nevertheless bore his death with great firmness, comforcing the empress Faustina, and the physicians, who are said to have occasioned his death by opening unfeafonably a swelling under his ear r. The emperor set out at length for Germany, whither he shewed a great desire of carrying Galen with him; but that celebrated physician chusing to stay at Rome, the good-natured prince would not press him to leave it. He left likewise at Kome his son Commodus, under the care of Pitholaus, his chief chamberlain, injoining him to employ none but Galen, in case his fon should be taken ill during his absence .

THE ancients compare this war to the Punic and Cimbrian wars; but at the same b time give us a very succinct and confused account of it. The barbarians, say they, The barbarilaid waste several provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. The Marcomanni ans over-run and the Vandals made themselves masters of Pannonia, and held it for some time. vinces of the The Castobochi over-ran Greece, and advanced as far as Elatea, a famous city of Phocis empire. in Achaia; they overturned cities, and committed every-where dreadful devastations. However, they were at length overcome by M. Aurelius, who, during this bloody M. Aurelius and destructive war, gave innumerable instances of an extraordinary prudence and carries on the intrepidity, chusing rather to prolong the war, and tire out the enemy, than expose war in person his men to unnecessary dangers. The soldiers, animated by the example of their fuccess. leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as c the other generals, fignalized themselves in a very eminent manner ". The Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians and Vandals, were constrained to abandon Pannonia, and retire beyond the Danube. The emperor pursued them, and coming up with them as they were passing that river, gavethem a dreadful overthrow. The lazyges were twice defeated, first in Pannonia, and the second time as they were croffing the Danube on the ice. A Roman soldier, who was upon guard during the night near the Danube, hearing one of his comrades, who had been taken by the barbarians, crying on the other fide in an affecting manner, threw himself, armed as he was, into the

Dion Cassius tells us, that the Roman soldiers having demanded of the emperor a lard gess after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour, and obtained a complete victory, he refused it, telling them, That he could not inrich His sirmness them, without improverishing their parents and relations; and adding as they were dard intrepidity. them, without impoverishing their parents and relations; and adding, as they seemed diffatisfied with this answer, That their complaints gave him no uneasiness or concern, fince he was well apprifed, that the gods alone disposed of empires. Pompeianus, the emperor's fon-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, desiring to have Pertinax joined in the commission with him, M. Aurelius readily complied with his request, tho' he had, not long before, upon fome complaints, deprived Pertinax of an employment which he had in Dacia. Pert nax was attended with great fuccess in his new commission, which induced the emperor to admit him into the senate. Being Pertinax creat-

river, croffed it, rescued his fellow-soldier, and returned with him to his post w.

e soon after convinced, that the complaints brought against him were quite groundless, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed him governor of Rhatia and Noricum, whence he drove the Germans, who had broke into that province, and was on that account, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, raised by the emperor to the consular dignity. The emperor, during his first expedition against the Marcomanni, resided for the most part at Carnuntum, a city of Upper Pannonia upon the Danube, which some take to be the prefent village of St. Perronel in Austria 2.

BEFORE the war with the Marcomanni was ended, another broke out in Egypt, Diffurbances the robbers and shepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at in Egypt. f the infligation of their priefts, and committing dreadful diforders. Being headed by one Isidorus, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, they killed a Roman centurion, and fome foldiers, by treachery; and afterwards, the Egyptians joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the Roman troops in a pitched battle; over-ran the whole country, and would have made themselves masters of Alexandria itself, had not Cassius, whom M. Aurelius had appointed governor of Syria, marched against them. Cassius was reckoned the best commander of his age, and had signalized

<sup>1</sup> Galen. prog. 459. & 461.

Ammian. I. xxai. p. 1

p. 352.

Local Dio. p. 803.

Aristid. orat. ix. p. 117.

W. Dio. i. W. Dio. i. V. Idem, p. 810. Jul. Cap. in Pertin. p. 54.

himself I JUL. CAP. p. 31. Aur. p. 29. PAUSAN. l. x. p. 352. lxxi. p. 804.805. Aur. Vict. p. 31.

Dio, ibid. BAUDRAND. p. 165.

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himself both in the Parthian and German wars. However, he did not think it a

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adviseable to engage so bold and desperate an enemy; but having found means to fow divisions among them, as he was a man of great craft and address, he obliged them at last to submit, and lay down their arms. Cassius, having thus quelled the disturbances in Egypt, marched into Armenia and Arabia, where he performed great exploits; but neither of them, nor of this year, which feems to have lasted some time, Spain invaded any farther mention is made in history. At the same time the Moors over-ran almost by the Moors, all Spain, ravaging that country with fire and sword; but were in the end driven out who are driven by the emperor's lieutenants. Severus, afterwards emperor, was at that time quæstor of the province of Bætica. There were likewise some disturbances in the country of the Sequani, now the Franche-Comté; but these the emperor composed with his b authority, and seasonable severity c. The next confuls were Herennianus and Severus, uncle to the emperor of that name, who, at his request, was by M. Aurelius admitted into the senate d. During their administration, a great dispute arising between Herodes Atticus and the city of Athens, the emperor seemed inclined to savour the latter; which so provoked Herodes, who was a man of a violent and stery temper, that when the cause was to be decided by the emperor then residing at Sirmium, now Sirmich, in Pannonia, instead of pleading with his usual eloquence, transported with rage, he launched into bitter and scurrilous invectives against the emperor, telling him amongst other things, that he suffered himself, which was highly unbecoming an emperor, to be governed by a woman, and an infant only three years old; for the empress Fau- c stina, and her young daughter, instructed by her, had interceded with the emperor in behalf of the Athenians. When he had done railing against the emperor, Bassaus, captain of the guards, told him, That his infolent behaviour might perhaps cott him his life. But Herodes, without shewing the least concern or remorfe, answered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear, and immediately withdrew. As for the empebears patiently ror, he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, address of Herodes At- fing the Athenian deputies, You may alledge your reasons, said he, tho' Herodes bas not been pleased to alledge bis. He heard them with great attention, and could not help shedding tears, when they described the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of Herodes, and his freed-men, who had usurped a kind of sovereignty over the city, and oppres- d fed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn Herodes, but only his freed-men; and the punishment which he inflicted upon them was very small, says our historian, and no-ways answerable to their crimes; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named Alcimedon, the whole, thinking him sufficiently punished by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flash of lightning after their arrival at Sirmium. Some time after, Herodes wrote to the cmperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately fent him an answer, filled with the most tender and sincere expressions of friendship, condescending, in a manner, to beg his pardon, for having condemned persons belonging to him t. Basseus, captain e of the guards, whom we have mentioned above, is by Dion Cassius styled M. Rusus Basaus. He was, according to that writer, a common peasant; but being forced into the service, gave such proofs of his courage and integrity, that the emperor created him captain of the guards, tho' he was quite destitute of learning, and spoke fo broad, that he could hardly be understood s. The following year, when Maximus and Orfitus were consuls, M. Aurelius gained, it seems, considerable advantages over the Germans; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in Germany, and on some he is styled Germanicus; which title was given to his son Commodus this very year, on the fifteenth of October h. The next confuls were M. Aurelius Severus the second time, and T. Claudius Pompeianus, during whose adminif stration nothing happened, which historians have thought worth transmitting to po-M. Aurelius in sterity. But the ensuing year, when Gallus and Flaccus were consuls, M. Aurelius, by an event altogether miraculous, escaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the Danube, in the country of the Quadi, where M. Aurelius was

great danger of being cut off with his whole Marcomanni. North Hungary, falls into the Danube over-against the ancient city of Strigonium, to

this year making war, and near the river Gran, which rifing from the mountains of

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, p. 803. Vulcat, Gallican, in vit. Cass.

Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32.

d Onuph, in fast. p. 231.

Nurs. epist. consul. p. 108.

e Dio, ibid.

s Dio, p. 803. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717. JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 32. PHILOST. Soph. XXVII. p. 558—561. F Liem in Birag: p. 223, 225. Lamprid. in Comm. p. 50. 8 Dio, p. 803. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717.

a which the Dan gives its name. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's flingers and archers, who, from the opposite banks of the Dan, galled the Romans to fuch a degree, that the emperor thought it adviseable to pass the river, and dislodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great flaughter on both fides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them before-hand, drew the Romans, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a disadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite destitute of water. The Romans, closing their ranks, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed the enemy, who thereupon giving over the attack, feized the avenues, and blocked them up on all fides, hoping to reduce by thirst those whom they could not overcome by force b of arms. The Romans, finding themselves thus shut up among barren mountains, quite spent with their wounds and the fatigues of the battle, oppressed with heat, and tormented with an infufferable drought, attempted to open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, they found themfelves obliged to continue under arms, exposed to the rays of the sun, and oppressed with a violent thirst, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both foldiers and officers began to abandon themselves to despair, while the emperor, more affected with the miseries of the soldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to infpire them with courage, and raife their drooping spirits; but as they saw no possible means of escaping the present danger, his words c were to no purpose, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing feen but marks of the utmost despair. In this distress, when they expected every moment to be either cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who furrounded them, clouds appeared all on a sudden gathering in the air; the sky was overcast, and, to their inexpressible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the faint-lieved by a miing foldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets and bucklers up to heaven, as raculous they are represented on the famous column of Antoninus at Rome. In this posture the shower: barbarians fell upon them; fo that they were obliged at the same time to drink and fight; for they were so oppressed with drought, that such of them as were wounded drank their own blood mixed with the water which they had received in their helmets. As they were more eager to quench their thirst than to repulse the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculously succoured by a dreadful storm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which discharged itself upon the barbarians, as they advanced against them. Thus were seen at the same time fire and water descending from heaven; water to refresh the Romans, and fire to destroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the Romans, or what fell was immediately extinguished; and the rain which fell upon the barbarians was so far from overcoming the flames which consumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus destitute of water in the midst of a heavy shower, were obliged either to wound themselves, in order to extinguish e with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourse to the Romans, and throw themselves upon the mercy of M. Aurelius, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner k. Thus Dion Cassius relates this memorable event, so much celebrated by Apollinaris, Tertullian, Eusebius, Julius Capitolinus, Themistius in his oration before Theodosius, St. Jerom, Gregory of Nyssa, the poet Claudian, and the chronicle of Alexandria. It was engraved on the famous column of Antoninus, with the other exploits of M. Aurelius during the Marcomannic war, and on another which Themiftius tells us he had feen 1. The truth of this miraculous event has been universally acknowledged both by the christian and pagan writers, who nevertheless disagree as to the authors of it. Dion Cassius ascribes it to a celebrated magician of Egypt, named f Arnuphis, who attended the emperor in this war m; Suidas to a magician, by name Julianus, who was originally of Chaldea, and wrote several books of magic n. Julius Capitolinus o, Themistius P, and the poet Glaudian 9, pretend, that this miraculous shower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above-mentioned column of the Antonini it is by the pagans ascribed to their thundering Jupiter. But all the Which was obchristian writers assure us, that so signal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers tained by the of the christian soldiers, who served in the Roman army. This Eusebius afferts upon christian sol. the authority of Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis, which ought to be of great weight, diers.

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The legion Meiirina.

M. Aurelius acknowledges

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fince this miraculous deliverance happened in his time r. The christians, by whose a prayers the army was faved, belonged to the legion Melitina, mentioned by Dion Cassius, or, as Xiphilin expresses it, to the legion that had been raised or quartered at Melitine; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. Melitine was one of the chief cities of Armenia Minor, and stood on the banks of the Euphrates. This legion, which, according to Xiphilin, confisted intirely of christians, and had been prompted by a vision, if Gregory of Nyssa is to be credited, to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by Titus had been quartered in the city of Melitine in the year 70. " and was in Cappadocia in the year 230. the ninth of Alexander Severus's reign w. The province of Cappadocia probably comprehended at that time Armenia b Minor; fo that we may suppose it to have been still at Melitine; for there we find it placed in a notitia imperii, or state of the empire, published many years after the death of Severus. The twelfth legion was diftinguished by the furname of the thunderigx; and Apollinaris, as quoted by Eusebiusy, tells us, that the legion Melitina was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The fame thing we read in Xipbilin, and in Onuphrius, who maintains, that till the time of M. Aurelius no mention is made of the thundering legion z. But from an ancient inscription it appears, that the twelfth legion was distinguished by that furname even in Trajan's time . Of this legion, which still subsisted in the time of Eusebius, were the forty martyrs of Sebaste, so much spoken of by the ecclefiaftic writers of the primitive times. But what most of all confirms the truth of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himfelf wrote to the fenate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occasion 4. Tertullian affures us, that in his letter he ascribed, tho' in a doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the christians; Having obtained rain, says he, as quoted by Tertullian, perhaps by the prayers of the christians. He expressed himself to the senate with great caution and circumspection, as the reader may observe; but of his being in his own mind fully convinced, that his fafety was owing to the christians, he gave foon after a very strong proof, by enacting, that such as should thenceforth accuse a christian on account of his religion, should be punished with the utmost d numjeis indevi-ed to the chri- rigour, that is, as Eusebius understands it, with death . As Tertullian quotes the emperor's letter in writing against the pagans, we cannot doubt but he had seen it, nor call in question what he says of it. Eusebius quotes some passages of it out of Tertullian, and speaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was faid to have been. But St. Jerom, in translating that passage of Eusebius, positively affirms, that it was still extant. Orofius and Xipbilin only say, that it was thought to be extant in their times f; whence it is manifest they had not seen it. A letter ascribed to M. Aurelius concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the christians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in Greek to the apologies of Justin the martyr, and is to be found in Latin in Onuphrius 8 and Baronius b, translated, as they e tell us, from the Greek text, which was itself a translation from the original Latin. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but notwithstanding their judgment, it is by the best critics rejected as spurious, to whose opinion we readily subscribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the historians who have described the reign of M. Aurelius . After fo glorious a victory, M. Aurelius was proclaimed emperor the feventh time, and the empress Faustina was honoured by the senate with the title of mater castrorum, or the mother of armies k. This memorable victory was gained by the Romans in the year of the Christian zera 174. the fourteenth of M. Aurelius's reign. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, many were taken prisoners, and the rest put to flight and dispersed.

Marcus Aurelius could not however be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave Germany, and return to Rome, being defirous to reduce the countries of the Marcomanni, and the Sarmatians, to Roman provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, says Dion Cassius, but because he found by experience, that he could not rely upon

TEUSEB. l. v. c. 5.

Dio, p. 806.

GREG NYSS. orat. 2. de quadraginta martyr.

Dio, p. 806.

Dio, p. 806.

Loseph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 4.

Dio, l. lv. p. 564.

Loseph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 4.

Dio, l. lv. p. 564.

Loseph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 5.

Loseph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 5.

Loseph. l

a their fidelity. This he would have compassed, had he not been interrupted in the midst of his conquests by the revolt of Cassius, which we shall relate anon. He continued in Germany great part of the following year, when Piso and Julianus were confuls; and having placed twenty thousand men in the countries of the Quadi and Marcomanni, harassed these two nations to such a degree, that they resolved to abandon their native soil, and settle elsewhere. But M. Aurelius, having received timely notice of their design, prevented them from putting it in execution; so that their fields being laid waste, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end constrained by famine to fend embassadors to the em- The Marcoperor, and sue for peace. The Quadi sent with their embassadors all the Roman manni and Quadi sue for b deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war; peace. and by that means obtained a peace, upon condition, that they should not for the future traffic within the Roman dominions, nor fettle within fix miles of the Danube. But this peace was short-lived; for the Quadi, instead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the Iazyges, who were still in arms, and drew over the Marcomanni. At the same time they drove out Furtius, their king, for disapproving their measures, and, of their own authority, appointed one Ariogeses in his room; which M. Aurelius refented to fuch a degree, that tho' the Quadi promifed to fet at liberty fifty thousand Roman captives, upon condition, that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to Ariogeses the title of king, the emperor c would not hearken to the proposal, but on the contrary proscribed the new prince, and fet a price upon his head. Hereupon the Quadi, being joined by the Marcomanni, the Iazyges, the Buri, the Narisci, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in history, attacked the Romans, but were, after a long, bloody They receive & and obstinate dispute, put to the rout, and utterly deseated. Ariogeses himself was great overtaken prisoner, and brought to the emperor, who, notwithstanding his late menaces throw. and refentment, generously spared his life, and contented himself with confining the captive to the city of Alexandria, the metropolis of Egypt 1. After this victory, most nations in Germany fent deputies to fue for peace, offering to submit to such terms as the emperor should think fit to impose upon them. The Quadi seem to have cond tinued in arms till the reign of Commodus. The Marcomanni, after so many losses, fubmitted, and obtained a peace, upon condition, that they should not settle within The Marcofive miles of the Danube. Zantiches, king of the Iazyges, came in person to wait on manni, and M. Aurelius, attended by all the great men of the nation, and was by him received other nations, into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the Danube than the Marcomanni. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thousand prisoners, during this war, whom they set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Besides, they supplied M. Aurelius with a body of eighty thousand horsemen, of whom he immediately fent five thousand into Britain, where the Romans were threatened with e a new war. The Buri, Narisci, and other German nations, obtained a peace upon fuch terms as the emperor would never have granted, had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to lead his troops against Cassius, whose revolt was likely to bring dreadful calamities upon the empire, as it had already Avidius Caf-

Avidius Cassius, whom we have frequently mentioned in describing the Parthian His extraction. and Egyptian wars, was, as some authors write, descended by the mother from the ancient family of the Cassii. His father, by name Avidius Severus, raised himself, according to the author of his life m, from the degree of a centurion to the first employments in the state; and was, on account of his extraordinary parts, highly f favoured by the emperor M. Aurelius, but died before the revolt of his fon. Such is the account which Vulcatius Gallicanus gives us of his extraction. But another historian writes, that Cassius himself owned, that he had nothing, except the name, common to him with the famous Cassius who killed Casar the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of Cyrrbum in Syria, and the son of one Heliodorus, who had the good fortune to raise himself by his eloquence to the government of Egypt ". One of Adrian's secretaries was named Heliodorus, and him a modern writer takes to have been the father of Cassius. He was remarkable for maintaining discipline

raised the courage of the barbarians.

p. 810. ARISTID. orat. 26. Val. p. 717. M VULCAT. GALL p. 810. ARISTID. orat. 26. VALES. in excerpt. Dionis, p. 103. m VULCAT. GALLICAN. in Caffio.

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His Severity towards the Soldiers.

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among the troops; but his severity, according to Vulcatius, savoured of cruelty; for a if any foldier was found to take but the least thing by violence from the people of the provinces, he caused him to be immediately crucified in the place where the fact was committed: some he ordered to be burnt alive; others, chained together, to be thrown into some river, or into the sea. He used to punish deserters with cutting off their hands and legs, faying, that the fight of a criminal living in mifery, made a deeper impression than his being put to death at one blow. As he had been attended with wonderful success against the Parthians, M. Aurelius, in his first war with the Marcomanni, fent him against the Sarmatians their confederates. As he was encamped near the Danube, some auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence, that the enemy lay carelefly on the banks of that river, went without his knowledge to attack b them, killed three thousand of them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Their centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the action, expected fome great reward from Cassius for having with a handful of men killed such a number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers had neglected so favourable an opportunity. But Callius, looking upon this as a bad precedent, which might be attended with worse consequences, instead of rewarding the centurions, caused them all to be seized and crucified like slaves. This severity occasioned a mutiny in the army; but Cassius, without betraying the least fear, appeared naked and unarmed in the midst of the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, Kill me, and, to your neglest of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general. c This intrepidity allayed their fury; and no one during to utter a fingle word of complaint, they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole study to learn and observe the military laws, knowing they served under a general who could not by any fears or menaces be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or suffer them to pass unpunished. This instance of severity made such a deep impression on the minds of the Sarmatians, that despairing to conquer a people thus observant of military discipline, and the rules of war, they immediately sent embassadors to the emperor to beg peace for a hundred years P. After the first Marcomannic war, he was by M. Aurelius appointed governor of Syria, the emperor judging him the best qualified of any in the empire to restore the ancient discipline intirely neglected by d the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor was he mistaken in his judgment; He restores the for in a few months the most dissolute were reclaimed from their pleasures and luxurious manner of living, the ancient discipline revived, and the whole army thoroughly reformed. Cassius, upon his arrival at Antioch, ordered all the soldiers and officers to repair forthwith to their colours, published a proclamation forbidding them, on pain of being cashiered, to appear at Daphne, every seventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages, and frequently obliged them to perform their exercises all in a body, faying, It was a shameful thing that wrestlers and gladiators should be continually exercised, and not soldiers, whose labours are lessened in proportion as they become accustomed to them?. As for Cassus's other qualities, the author e of his life represents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which however were allayed with no less vices, infomuch that he was by some called a second Catiline. But to us that writer seems to contradict himself in the character he draws of Cassius;

P VULCAL GALL. ibid. p.46.

9 Idem, p. 47.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of Syria, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I have given to Avi-" dius Cassius the command of the legions in Syria, " which Cesonius Vectilianus found, as he informs " me, diffolved in luxury, and abandoned to all forts " of pleasures. He is, you know, a strict observer " of the ancient discipline, without which the fol-" diers can never be kept to their duty. You re-" member the old verie,

" Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virilis.

" And truly the strict observance of the ancient " discipline is the chief support of the empire. Take " care that sufficient provisions be got ready for the

" legions, which, if I am not deceived in Avidius " Cassius, will not be misapplied." To this letter the lieutenant returned the following answer: "You could not prefer to the command of the legions in Syria a man better qualified for that important trust than Avidius Cassius: for only an officer of his severity can reclaim them from their volup-" tuous manner of living, and put them out of conceit with the pleasures of the effeminate Greeks, " to which they have intirely abandoned themselves. " He will shake their flowers off of their heads, and " teach them their duty. The necessary provisions " for the legions are already laid up; and nothing can be wanting so long as they have such an excellent commander as Avidius Cassius (14).

a for in one place he paints him not only as fevere, but cruel and inhuman towards his foldiers; and in another tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being styled a fecond Catiline, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elfewhere? viz. that had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation r. Dion Cassius speaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a person equal to, and in every respect worthy of, the sovereign power. He always abhorred an absolute and monarchical government, and is by Is an enemy to fome thought to have had nothing else in view, when he revolted, but to restore monarchy. the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the reign of Antoninus Pius with a design of deposing that prince; but his father, who was a man b of great interest at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour, the accusation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a suspicious and disaffected person. When he commanded in the Parthian war under L. Verus, that prince, suspecting him, and indeed not without reason, wrote the following letter concerning him to M. Aurelius, his partner in the empire. " Avidius Cassius seems L. Verus's to me to aspire at the empire, as it is well known he did in the reign of our father letter concern-Antoninus Pius. I therefore advise you to keep a watchful eye over him. He mg him. " centures and condemns all our actions, grows exceeding rich, and speaks of us "both with the utmost contempt, calling you a doating philosopher, and me a c"luxurious fool. Consider what is to be done: I bear no hatred to the man, but " would have you to reflect, that by invefting fuch a person with power, and trusting "him with the command of the troops, by whom he is greatly beloved, you may injure both yourself and your children." Nothing can give us a greater idea of the virtue truly heroic of this excellent prince, than his answer to this letter, which was couched in the following terms: "I have perused your letter, in which you M. Aurelius's 66 betray greater fear and uneafiness than becomes an emperor, or is consistent with answer. "the equity of our reign. If the empire is allotted by heaven to Avidius Cassius, it will not be in our power to cut him off. You know the saying of your grand-" father Adrian, that no man cuts off his successor. If Cassius is not destined to the d" empire, he will fall of himself, without our cruelty, into the fatal snare. Besides, " we cannot in justice treat a person as a criminal, who is accused by none, and is, " as you write, beloved by the army, and consequently a man of merit, and a good commander. In cases of treason, even when the crime is proved, the world is 46 apt to think the sufferer injured; which made your grandfather Adrian complain of the hard fate of emperors, who are never thought to have been in danger till "they are killed. I chuse to name Adrian rather than Domitian, who was the first " author of this faying, because a thing, however well faid, has not its due weight " and authority, when it comes from a tyrant. Let therefore Avidius Cassius pursue " his own measures; he is an excellent officer, and a man of great courage, and e " useful to the state. As for my children, to whose safety you would have me to " facrifice him, if he deserves to be more beloved than they, if his life promises " greater advantages to the state than theirs, let Avidius Cassius live, let the children of M. Aurelius perish .. " The good-natured emperor took no farther notice of what Verus had wrote to him; for, upon the return of Cassius from the east, where he had performed great exploits, he put him at the head of an army, which he fent against the Sarmatians, and afterwards appointed him governor of Syria, as we have related above. In the mean time, the Marcomanni, and other German nations, renewing the war with great vigour, Cassius laid hold of that opportunity to seize the empire. Some authors write, that the empress Faustina, being well apprised, f that her fon Commodus was no-ways qualified for the sovereign power, and fearing that some one might seize it, who would destroy her and her little children, solicited Cassius to declare himself emperor as soon as he should hear the news of M. Aurelius's death, and promifed in that case to marry him. They add, that a report being spread of the emperor's death, Cassius immediately caused himself to be proclaimed He assumes the in his room, and that, tho' the rumour proved afterwards false, he found himself title of empetoo far engaged to recede. Others clear Faustina from being any ways privy to the

\* Idem, p. 41-45.

Dio, l. lxxi. p. 810.

t Idem, p. 40, 41.

And is joined by most of the

design of Cassius (G), and tells us, that the report of the emperor's death was spread a abroad by Cassius himself, in order to induce the governors of the eastern provinces to join him, M. Aurelius being greatly beloved, and his fon no less hated ". Be that as it will, he foon became mafter of all the countries beyond mount Taurus, and of Egypt itself, Flavius Calvisius, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The troops in Bithynia were likewise inclined to side with him, but restrained by Clodius Albinus, their commander, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations espoused his cause, but none with more zeal than the Jews w.

> Martius Verus, governor of Cappadocia, was the first who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. M. Aurelius concealed it for some time; but when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted the foldiers with it in a very judicious and modest speech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which Cassius made him for the kindness he ever had, and should ever have for him, notwithstanding his revolt, as he hoped to shew as soon as he had brought him to a sense of his duty. Neither did Cassius on his side utter any injurious reslections against M. Aurelius, but only charged him with neglecting the most important affairs of the state to attend the study of philosophy, and with suffering, thro' an excess of goodness, many disorders, which it was incumbent upon him as emperor to correct. In the mean while, M. Aurelius having terminated the war with the Marcomanni, and other German nations, as the time approached for his fon Commodus to put on the manly robe, c he sent for him from Rome, and gave him it, with the usual ceremonies, on the feventh of July, ordering on that occasion considerable sums to be distributed among the Roman people y. At Rome the senate were no sooner informed of the revolt of Cassius, than they declared him a public enemy, and confiscated his estate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predecessors had done, but into the public treasury. At length M. Aurelius lest Germany, and fet out for Illyricum, with a design to pursue his march thence into the east, and meet Cassius, declaring, that he was ready to resign the empire to him, if the gods should judge it expedient for the public good, that Cassius should reign, and not M. Aurelius: For it is not, added he, any private interest or ambition, but the pub-d lic welfare, that prompts me to undergo fo many labours, to expose myself to so many dangers. He was not advanced far on his march, when news was brought him, that Cassius had been killed by a centurion named Antonius, and another officer of a still inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men 2. Dion Cassius gives us but a confused account of his death; and Vulcatius Gallicanus promises to inform us how he was killed, and where he was overcome, but is not fo good as his word. However, from what he writes it is plain, that a battle or encounter happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by Martius Verus; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore fent him before him into Syria, giving him the government of that province, instead of the government e of Cappadocia. We are told, that a great many letters, written to Cassius by his friends and correspondents, falling into Verus's hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, faying, he did not doubt but that would please M. Aurelius; and if it did not, that he chose however to save many lives at the expence of one 2. Others write, that these letters were brought to M. Aurelius, who ordered

M. Aurclius marches against him.

Cassius is killed ;

> " VULCAT. GALL. in Cast p. 42, 43. w Idem ibid. x Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. Dio, l. lxxi. p. 809, 812. in Aur. p. 32. 2 Dio, p. 812. 2 Dio, p. 813. w Idem ibid. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81.
> 9,812. Y LAMPRID. in Commod. p. 45. & Jul. Cap.

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<sup>(</sup>G) Vulcatius Gallicanus, to clear the empress from this charge, produces two letters written by her to M. Aurelius on occasion of this revolt. In one the expresses herself thus: "My mother Fau-" flina, in the time of the defection of Celsus, ad-" vised your father Antoninus Pius to shew his kind-" ness in the first place to his own family, and next " to others. And truly it is incumbent upon every " good prince to take care of his wife and children.
"Your fon Commodus is yet very young, and your " fon-in-law Pompeianus is stricken in years, and a

<sup>&</sup>quot; stranger. Do not therefore spare men, who, had they conquered, would neither have spared you, " nor your wife and children. You will hear from Cacilius, whom I shall send to you, what reports "have been fpread of you by the wife of Caffins,
by his fon, and his fon-in-law, &c." In the other letter she presses him to pursue Cassius, and his accomplices, with the utmost severity, if he loves her and his children, assuring him, that if he neglects to oppress them, they will not fail to oppress him (15).

a them, fealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his presence b. With Cassius was killed his captain of the guards, and foon after his fon Metianus, whom he had appointed governor of Egypt, to secure that important province. No other person of distinction, at least of the senatorial order, perished on account of his rebellion; nay, these were put to death without the emperor's knowledge, and against his will; for he was greatly concerned that the blood of any fenator should have been shed during his reign: hence, when the head of Cassius was brought to him, he expressed And his head great forrow, turned his eyes away, and caused it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of shewing his mercy. The emperor who is reign of Cassius, or rather his dream, as Dion Cassius styles it, lasted but three months his death.

b and six days. M. Aurelius himself would neither try, imprison, nor condemn any fenator concerned in the conspiracy; but referred the whole to the senate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges. In the mean time, he wrote a letter to the senate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed Pompeianus, his fon-in-law, consul for the ensuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigour, against those whom they were to try: " As for His letter to what concerns the defection of Cassius, I beg and conjure you, conscript fathers, the senate. " to have a tender regard to your characters, and to mine: let no one senator be put " to death; let the blood of no person of distinction be spilt; let such as have been " already banished return, nay, and enjoy their estates. I wish I could raise from the dead those who perished in the first heat of the war. Revenge is never commendable in an emperor; it ill becomes him in his own cause, let it be never so " just. You will therefore pardon the children of Avidius Cassius, his son-in-law, " and his wife. But why do I say, pardon, when they have committed no crime? Let them live in fafety, and enjoy their paternal estate, with all their father's plate and furniture. Let them have full liberty to live where they please, that they may be so many instances of your elemency and of mine. I further beg and desire, that all the senators and Roman knights in general, who have been privy to this rebellion, be by your authority exempted from death, proscription, instany, in short, from all kind of punishment. Allow it to be said to your home. d " nour and mine, that in this rebellion such only perished as were killed in the hurry 46 of the war" d. The fenate not only complied with his request, but returned him thanks for the regard he had shewn even to the most undeserving members of their body. As for the children of Cassius, the emperor took them under his protection, His kindness to forbidding any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and se-the children of verely punishing such as did. Vulcatius tells us, that he even raised the sons of Cassius. Cassius, and Druncianus or Druentianus, who had married one of his daughters, by

emperor, hearkening only to the impulse of his own good-nature, returned her the f following answer: " I have read your letter, my dear Faustina, wherein you advise His letter to "me to treat the accomplices of Cassius with the utmost severity, which you think Faustina on this well deserve. This I look upon as a pledge of the love you bear to your this occasion. " husband and children. But give me leave, my dear Faustina, to spare the chil-"dren of Cassius, his son-in-law, and his wife, and to write to the senate in their 66 behalf. Nothing can more recommend a Roman emperor to the esteem of the "world, than clemency. This placed Cæsar among the gods; this consecrated Augustus; this procured to your father the title of Pius. I am grieved even for the

name Alexandra, to great preferments; which was the more commendable, as the emperor was well apprised, that Cassius's wife, children, and son-in-law, had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring him into discredit with the people and foldiery. Of the many persons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were executed, and some officers of greater distinction banished. Among the latter was Flavius Calvisius, governor of Egypt, who was confined to an island; but the emperor would not suffer his estate to be confiscated. An impostor, who pretended

to be inspired by the gods, and was said to have foretold the revolt of Cassius, was banished to the island of Scyros in the Archipelago. All the accomplices of Calvisius were pardoned, as were likewise the cities that had declared for Cassius. The em-

press Faustina, in a letter which she wrote to her husband on occasion of this revolt e, pressed him to pursue the accomplices of Cassius with the utmost severity. But the

b Val. in excerpt. Dio. CDio, p. 813. Vulcat. Gall. in Cass. p. 43. Noris ep. cons. p. 110. Volcat. Gall. ibid. p. 44. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 33. Vide not. G.

Commodus

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The emperor

goes into the

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power.

death of Cassius, and wish it had been in my power to save him. Be therefore a se satisfied, and don't abandon yourself to fear or revenge. Marcus Antoninus is " protected by the gods f." Some of his friends openly blaming his clemency, and taking the liberty to tell him, that Cassius would not have been so generous, had fortune proved favourable to him, the emperor immediately replied, We have not lived nor ferved the gods fo ill, as to think they would favour Cassius: he added, that the misfortunes of some of his predecessors were intirely owing to their own ill conduct and cruelties, and that no good prince had ever been overcome or flain by an usurper. Nero, Caligula and Domitian, said he, deserved the doom that overtook them; neither Otho nor Vitellius were equal to the empire; the downfal of Galba was occasioned by his avarice, an unpardonable fault in a prince 8. Thus the rebel- b lion of Cassius served only to give new lustre to the unparallelled elemency, goodnature and generofity of M. Aurelius, who could not prevail upon himself to take

THE rebellion being quashed at once by the death of Cassius, M. Aurelius wrote a letter to the fenate, acquainting them, that he had named Pompeianus, his four-inlaw, conful against the ensuing year; adding, that he would have honoured him

away the lives of those who had conspired against his and that of his son-

long before with that dignity, had he not thought himself obliged in justice to confer it first upon several persons of extraordinary merit, and well-deserving of the republic. The fenate, in their answer to the emperor's obliging letter, begged him

to return to Rome, and to invest his fon Commodus with the tribunitial power h. c With the latter request he complied, as appears from several ancient inscriptions. But as for the other request, the emperor either did not return to Rome, or his stay there was very short; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of Callius, he went into the east, and that he had begun his march thither even before he received that news k: it is not therefore likely, that he interrupted it to return to Rome. He had fent Pertinax before him into Syria to make head against the rebels; but

upon the news of the death of Cassius, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of Illyricum, in which province he had gained no less reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the Germans during the Marcomannic war; so that he was greatly esteemed and revered both by the Romans and d

foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the Roman name 1. The emperor took with him into the east his fon Commodus, and his wife Faustina, who died suddenly in a village called Halala at the foot of mount Taurus. She was a woman of a loose Faustina dies. Her character, and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having fuch a father as Antoninus, fuch

a husband as M. Aurelius, whom some did not believe to be father of Commodus ... Dion Cassius writes, that it was questioned whether she died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herself, to avoid the shame of being named among the accomplices of Cassius, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms and revolt". Her chief gallants were Tertullus, Utilius, Orfitus, and Moderatus,

whom nevertheless Antoninus, either not giving credit to what was said of the em- e press, or diffembling her irregular conduct, preferred to several employments. Her lewdness, and her intimacy with the above-mentioned persons, especially with Tertullus, were so publicly known, that a mimic having one day asked his companion

upon the stage, in the presence of the emperor, what was the name of the person who was too familiar with his wife? the other repeated the name of Tullus three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant Tertullus, the first syllable of his name fignifying three times o. Some of the emperor's friends advised

him to divorce her; but he answered, If I divorce her, I must return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I have received of her father. In one place he commends her free and open temper, her fincerity in friendship, and her acquiescence to his f

will P. He bewailed her, according to the emperor Julian 9, after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the most unblemished Extraordinary character. He pronounced himself her funeral oration, and begged the senate to

henours paid rank her among the gods; for which he is deservedly exposed and ridiculed by the her by the emabove-mentioned emperor. He founded a society of young women, whom he
peror and the brought up at his own expence, and called after the empress's name. The village

fenase.

F VULCAT. GALL. p. 32. g Idem ibid. 1 Idem in Cass. p. 45. ONUPH. in fast. p. 235. P. PAGI, p. 218. Norts de votis decennalib. imperator c. 3. & ep. consul. p. 120.

Jul. CAP. ibid. p. 32.

Idem in Pertin.

Idem in M. Aur. p. 30. b Dio, p. 813. Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. I Idem in Pertin. Idem in M. Aur. p. 30.

Jul. Cap. ibid. M. Antonin. de seip. I. i. c. 14.

Julian. Cas. p. 13. m Idem in M. Aur. p. 30. n Dio, p. 813. \* Idem ibid. p. 50. where.

a where the died he made a colony and a city, flyling it Faustinopolis, and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards confecrated to Heiogabalus, the most lewd and debauched of all the Roman emperors. The fenate, out of flattery and complaifance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddeffes a person unworthy of a place among women of any modelty and reputation, but erected statues to her and to M. Aurelius, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, should repair to it, and there offer a solemn sacrifice'. By this fcandalous inflitution, they deferved that their daughters should all refemble Faustina, and their fons Commodus. Faustina being dead, Fabia, the lister of L. Verus, who had been formerly betrothed to M. Aurelius, did all that lay in her b power to induce him to marry her; but he not thinking it adviseable to subject his children to the authority of a step-mother, took in the room of a lawful wife the daughter of one of the deceased empress's domestics; for to that purity, which the christian religion requires and commands, even the most virtuous among the pagan philosophers were utter strangers. As the Syrians, looking upon Coffius as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law passed at this time, enacting, that no one should be fent with the character of governor into his own country ".

THE next confuls were T. Vitrasius Pollio and M. Flavius Aper, both for the second time w. Claudius Pompeianus, the emperor's fon-in-law, and Clodius Albinus, who had restrained the legions in Bitbynia from joining Cassius, as we have related above,

c were likewise consuls this year. M. Aurelius, arriving in the east, freely forgave all The empero's the cities and communities there, which had fided with Cassius, except Antioch, the clemency and inhabitants of that metropolis having distinguished themselves above all the rest cities that had by their zeal for Cassius, and their hatred to him. He therefore published a severe sied with Cassius and their hatred to him. edict against them, deprived them of all their privileges, suppressed their public sius. affemblies, and took from them their shews and spectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being foon appealed, before he left Syria, he restored them to their former condition, and even condescended to visit their city. From Syria he passed into Egypt, where he not only forgave, but inriched with several privileges, the city of Alexandria, which had likewise sided with Cassius. Having d visited most of the chief cities in the east, and given every-where innumerable instances

of his humanity and good-nature, he failed from Smyrna, where he had staid some time, and had feveral conferences with the celebrated fophist Aristides, and arrived at Athens, where he was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. He conferred many favours on the city of Athens, and established there public professors of all sciences, with handsome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer x. From Athens he failed for Italy; and landing at Brundusium, commanded his soldiers immediately to refume, as he did himself, the Roman gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers or foldiers, ever appeared in Italy in a military habit. He returned He returns to

e to Rome with his fon Commodus, whom he named conful, tho' at that time but fix-Rome; teen, for the ensuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of imperator, which he himself assumed for the eighth time, probably on account of some victory gained by Pertinax, governor of Illyricum, over the Germans. At length, on the twenty-third of December, both he and his son Commodus entered Rome in triumph, Which he enters distributing on this occasion large sums among the people and soldiery, that is, as in triumph with his son with his son many pieces of gold a head as he had been years absent, which, according to Dion Commodus. Cassius, were eight v, but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact, only fix. At the same time, he exhibited most pompous and magnificent shews, tho' he took no pleasure himself in such diversions. The following year

f Aurelius Commodus Casar and Quintillus being consuls, Commodus was honoured by the senate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that of Augustus; on which occasion M. Aurelius remitted whatever was due from particu- Instances of his lars, either to the emperor or to the treasury, ever fince the time in which Adrian generofity and had forgiven all such debts 2. The same year he presented the inhabitants of Smyrna good nature. with large fums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almost utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake described at length by Aristides in one of his orations. As the emperor continued all this year at Rome, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example, and partly by wholfome

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, l. lxxi. p. 813. 
\* Dio, p. 814. Philostr. foph. xxxvii. Aristid. orat. 
Oros. l. vii. c. 15. Euser. chron. 
Aristid. orat. xx. Dio ibid. p. 813. w In.
7 Dio ibid. Jul. Cap. p. 29. W IDAT. ONUPH. &c. Oros. l.vii. c. 15. Eusen. chron.

laws, several abuses. He could not suppress the combats of gladiators without dis- a

He marches against the Marcomanni;

And gains à signal victory

over them.

His death.

obliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and blood fied, he allowed the combatants only blunt swords, in the nature of our foils, saying, that with them they might equally display their skill and dexterity b. The next year, when Orfitus and Julianus Rufus were confuls, the Marcomanni and their confederates renewing the war with great vigour, the emperor refolved to march against them in person. But before he left Rome, he married his son Commodus to Crispina, the daughter of Bruttius Prasens; and repairing to the senate, desired leave to take out of the public treasure the necessary sums for carrying on the war, saying, That an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in, but that all belonged to the senate and people s. He then went to the capitol, where he declared b upon his oath, that; fince his accession to the empire, no senator had been put to death by his orders; that such as had perished in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have spared them all, Cassius himself not excepted, had it been in his power so to do. As he was eminently skilled in philosophy, many persons of learning earnestly intreated him to explain to them, before he left Rome, the most difficult and intricate points of the different secus of philosophers, which he did accordingly, spending therein three whole days. They seemed to apprehend, that by his death this knowledge might have been lost; which shews how thoroughly he was versed in the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers d. At length he set out from Rome, with his son Commodus, on the c fifth of August of the year 178, the eighteenth of his reign. The following year, Commodus Augustus and T. Annius Aurelius Verus being confuls the second time, M. Aurelius gained a fignal victory over the Marcomanni, Hermonduri, Quadi and Sarmatians; for which both he and his fon Commodus, as appears from feveral ancient inscriptions, took the title of imperator f. All we know of this action is, that the Roman army was commanded by Paternus, and the Germans were utterly defeated 8; infomuch that all Germany, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to submit to the Roman yoke, had not Antoninus been prevented by death from crowning his conquests with the reduction of so powerful and extenfive a country. He died the following year, Præsens and Sex. Quintilius Condianus de being consuls, on the seventeenth of March, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of Antoninus Pius, nineteen years, and ten or eleven days b. Dion Cassius positively affirms, that he was dispatched by his physicians, desirous to curry favour with Commodus; and adds, that when the tribune came to him the last time for the parole, he bid him go to Commodus, and court, not the fetting, but the rising sun i. On the other hand, Julius Capitolinus feems to ascribe his death to a contagious distemper; for he tells us, that the plague still raged in the army; and adds, that the emperor, with much ado, prevailed upon his fon and his friends not to abandon him; which he took fo much amis, that he abstained from all fort of nourishment. Two days before he e died, he recommended his fon Commodus to the army, and conjured his friends to affift him with their advice. On the feventh day of his illness, he defired to fee his fon again, but immediately difmissed him, lest he should be infected with the same diftemper. When he was gone, he composed himself, as if he designed to sleep, and expired the following night k. He died, according to Tertullian i, at Sirmium, now Sirmich, in Sclavonia; according to the two Victors, at Vendobona, now Vienna, We need not mention the concern of the foldiery and Roman people for in Austria. the loss of so good and so great a prince. His body, or rather his ashes, were conveyed to Rome, and deposited in the monument of Adrian. He was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of priests f appointed to his honour. Whoever had not some image or statue of M. Aurelius in his house, was judged a facrilegious person, says Julius Capitolinus, in whose time, that is, in the reign of Dioclesian, he was still worshipped in most families among their domestic gods m. He was, without all doubt, one of the greatest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. His only fault was, according to Dion Cassius, his too great goodness; for tho' he rewarded with great generosity the good and

He is ranked among the gods.

His fault.

<sup>b</sup> Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 718.

<sup>c</sup> Dio, p. 814.

<sup>d</sup> Jul. Cap. in Cast. p. 41.

<sup>e</sup> Spart. in Comm. p. 50. & Dio, p. 814.

<sup>f</sup> Dio, p. 810. Birag. p. 227. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 34.

<sup>g</sup> Dio, p. 810. & 814.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. & Theoph. Antioch. l. iii. p. 137. Chron. Alex. p. 614.

<sup>l</sup> Dio, p. 814.

<sup>k</sup> Jul. Cap. p. 34.

<sup>l</sup> Tertull. apol. c. 25.

<sup>m</sup> Jul. Cap. p. 34.

rirtuous.

a virtuous, yet he did not restrain and punish with due severity the vicious and wicked; whence some governors of provinces, presuming upon his good-nature, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. Julius Capitolinus blames him for winking at the monstrous excesses of his wife, and for promoting to the fovereign power L. Verus, whom he must have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of that high dignity, fince Antoninus Pius had not so much as honoured him with the title of Casar. The emperor Julian prefers M. Aurelius to Cafar, to Augustus, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time; but at the same time finds fault with him for bequathing the empire to his vicious son Commodus, and not to his fon-in-law Pompeianus, who was a person of extraordinary b parts, and well qualified for so great a trust x. The meditations of M. Aurelius, which tions have reached our times, are highly commended by all the ancients, as an epitome of the best rules, which human reason or philosophy can suggest for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have questioned, whether what has been transmitted to us be the while work, or only an abiltract of it, feeing it confifts of loofe and unconnected fentences, whereof the fense is not always complete. But the ablest critics are of opinion, that M. Aurelius left the work fuch as it is at present, having composed it only for his private use y. It consists of twelve books, of which the first seems to have been composed in the height of the Marcomannic war, while he was encamped on the banks of the Gran in the country of the Quadi. He ended the second book at Carnuntum, c of which city we have spoken above, where he resided, according to Eutropius, three whole years. He seems to have put the last hand to this work before the death of Faustina; for in the ninth book he speaks of her as yet living, and ready to ly-in; that is, before the end of the year 175. the fifteenth of his reign . We must not confound this book with another, intituled borologium principum, which was published under the name of M. Aurelius, but is thought to have been composed by Antonius Guavara a Spanish bishop b. As M. Aurelius was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, especially philosophers, flourished in his reign. Tatian, the disciple of Justin the martyr, tells us, that the pagan philosophers were so far from practifing the poverty which they recommended to others, that, on the contrary, d many of them enjoyed large pensions, receiving of the emperor above six hundred pieces of gold a year, without rendering any fervice to the state, or being commended by any other merit, but that of wearing long beards c. But of the writers who flourished about this time, we shall give a particular account in our notes (H).

\* JULIAN. CES 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 49. Y Vide Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. 1. c. 15. Idem, l. ix. c. 3. Prol. Voss. hist. Græc. TATIAN. 2 M. AUREL. \* TATIAN. p. 157.

(H) The most celebrated among the philosophers Were, Crescentius, Cellus, Lucian, Demonax, Alexander the famous impostor, Sextus the stoic, Sextus the empiric, Numenes, Hermogenes, Aristides, &c. Crescentius was a Cynic philosopher, and, according to the character which Tatian draws of him, intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness (16). He inveighed with great virulence against the christians, whom he charged with impiety and atheilm, tho', in feveral conferences and disputes, he had been convinced of the truth by Justin the martyr, who was chicily at his initigation crowned with martyrdom (17). We do not know that he left any writings behind him. We find two philosophers bearing the name of Cellus, and both of the fect of Epicurus, mentioned by Origen (18). Of these one flourished under Nero, and the other under Adrian, and his immediate successors (19). The latter wrote several books against magic, much commended by Lucian, who inferited to him his history of the celebrated impostor Alexander, which he undertook at his in-stigation (20). Some distinguish this writer from the author of the discourses against the christians, whom Origen consused; but Baronius, and most critics, ascribe to the same writer the books against magic, and those against the christian religion. It

is certain, that Celsus, whom Origen answers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of M. Aurelius: for he not only speaks of the Marcionists, who first appeared about the year 142. the fifth of the reign of Antoninus Pius, but of the followers of Marcellina, a woman of the feet of Carpocrates, who came to Rome in the year 157, the twentieth of M. Aurelius's reign (21). He probably published his work against the christians during the persecution of M. Aurelius; for he represents them as reduced to conceal themselves through fear of being dragged to execution (22). Chrysosom mentions one Celjus, no doubt the same writer, who published some pieces against the christian religion before the time of Porphyrius of Batanea (23). Celsus intituled his work against the christians, true discourses ; but Origen shews, that he aimed at nothing less than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon Origen's answer to Celsus, as the best apology for the christian religion that ever was published (24). Eusebius thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, faid upon that subject (25). Origen wrote in the reign of the emperor Philip, who was killed in the

year 249 (26).
The works of Lucian have reached our times, and

(16) Tatian, p. 157. (17) Eufeb. l. iv. c. 16. (18) Orig. in Celf. l. i. p. 8. (19) Idem ibid. (20) Lucian, pfeud. p. 498. (21) Orig. in Celf. l. viii. p. 424. & l. v. p. 272. Iren. l. i. e. 24. (22) Idem ibid. (23). Chryf. in 1 Corinth. hom. vi. (24) Vide Du Pin. tom. 1. p. 388. 389. (25) Eufeb. l. vi. e. 36. (26) Idem ibid. & Hier. p. 433, 434.

are deservedly admired for the elegance and purity of the style; but filled with impious and atheistical sentiments; whence he had the surname of the Atheist, or the Blasphemer (27). He was a native of Samosata in Syria, and of a mean descent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded causes, and was in his old age register to the governor of Egypt (28). Suides writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the christian religion, without sparing even the author of it; but of fuch a death no mention is made by any writer who flourished before Suidas. Some fay, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced, the christian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong translation of the word Inuny begs in Suidas by conwith the tenets and doctrine of the christians than other pagans. He wrote the life of Softrates of Boso. sia, a famous philosopher, who practised great austerities (29); but that work has not reached us. Some have, against all reason and authority, ascribed to him the life of Apollonius Tyanaus, which was done by Philostratus (30). He wrote, according to Eunapius (31), the life of the philosopher Demonax, whose disciple he had been. He represents him as the greatest philosopher of his time; but, after all, he was only a Cynie, somewhat more polished and civilized than the rest of his brethren. What we find most commendable in him is, that tho' he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well versed in most branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practifed great austerities, and would not suffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being affifted by others, he chose rather to die of hunger, than to suffer any one to perform the least office about him. He was a native of Cyprus; but lived at Athens, where he was highly esteemed in his life-time, and equally regretted after his death. The Ashenians intending to establish in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them, That they ought first to overturn and utterly demolish an altar which they had erected to Mercy. The emperor having defired some of his friends to ask him in his name, what was the best method of governing, he answered, To speak little, to hear much, and to fall upon no provocation into a passion (31). Lucian, in his dialogue on friend-ship, speaks of several wars between the Scythians, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, and the other northern barbarians, especially those of Bosporus, who were in Lucian's time governed first by Leucaner, and afterwards by Eubiotes his natural brother. Lewcanor probably succeeded Rhametalces, who was king of Bosporus in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The ships which faved Lucian, as we shall relate anon, were carrying the embassadors of Eupator, king of the same country, to Pontus, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the Romans, or to receive that which the Romans annually paid to them; for the words end xould's are capable of both fenses. Euboites, in his war against the Scythians, led with him all the Greeks, according to the expression of Lucian (32); that is, as we suppose, the inhabitants of the Greek cities on the Chersonesus, which confirms the opinion of those who maintain, that the kings of Bosporus were masters of that coun-The account which Lucian gives us of the celebrated impostor Alexander, is very diverting. He was a native of Abonitichos, a maritime city of Pamphylia, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. Lucian however, who was not easily deceived, looked upon him as an impostor, ridiculed his miracles, and exposed him in all companies; which so provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to stir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of Abonitichos, against him. Alexander nevertheless, some time after, pretended to be reconciled to him, and even offered him a ship to convey him to Amastris in Pontus, whither his affairs called him. Lucian accepted the offer; but was not a little furprifed, when, at a great distance from land, he observed the pilot bursting all at once into tears, and making various figns to the mariners. Lucian 1magined the vessel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received politive orders from Alexander to throw him into the fea; but could not prevail upon himself, after having lived so long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him however in a desert and barren island, where he must have soon perished, had he not been saved by the vessels of the king of Bosporus, which happened to fail by. He was for profecuting Alexander before the governor of Pontus and Bishynia; but that magistrate dissuaded him from it, telling him, that he could not condemn Alexander, without incurring the displeasure of Rusilianus, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impostor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus Lucian had no other means left of being revenged on Alexander, but by writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece however he did not publish till the impostor's death, which feems to have happened in the reign of M. Aurelius.

Sextus was a native of Cheronea in Baotia, by sect a Stoie, and had been preceptor to M. Aurelius and L. Verus. Most writers suppose him to have been nephew to Plutarch. M. Aurelius went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (33). Apuleius glories in being defeended from him by his mother (34). At the same time flourished another philotopher bearing the same name, but a native of Libya, and by sect a Pyrrhonian (35). He is styled by Galen, and Diogenes Laertius, the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (36). Suidas confounds him with the other Sextus, and the other with Sextus Condianus, who was conful in 180. There are still extant four hundred and thirty fentences of a philosopher named Sextus or Xyslus, which were translated into Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia, under the name of St. Sixtus, pope and martyr (37). St. Austin was for some time deceived by them (38). But St. Ferom, in several places of his works, ascribes them to some philoso-pher of the sect of Pythagoras (39). About this time Numenes is likewise supposed to have flourished, whose writings are often quoted by Eusebius and Theodoretus against the pagans. St. Clement of Alexandria quotes him for this famous saying, that Plato was but Motes speaking Greek (40). He was, according to Suidas (41), a native of Apamea in Syria. He shows, that Plate copied from Meses what he wrote concerning God, and the forming of the universe (42). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine; which goddesses are said to have appeared to him in the attire of common prostitutes, to reproach him by that means with the state to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practifed in the celebration of their mysteries; which is

(27) Suid. p. 55. (28) Lucian. hift. p. 359. & Apol. p. 262. (29) Idem, in vit Demonac. p. 546. (30) Vide Voss. hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 15. (31) Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p. 546—555. (32) Idem, toxar. p. 631. 638. (33) M. Ans. l. i. c. 6. (34) Apul. meta. l. i. p. 103. (35) Ruald. vis. Plutarch. c. 5. (36) Vide Joss. l. ii. c. 1. (37) Bib. patr. p. 565. (38) Aug. retract. l. ii. c. 42. (39) Hier. ad Cre. c. 2. in Exech. xviii. &c. (40) Clem. strom. 1. (41) Suid. p. 242. (42) Idem ibid.

not much to their honour. He published several works, which are frequently quoted by Origen, Eusebius. Eunapius, Theodoresus and Hesychius; but none of them have reached us (43). He seems to have joined together the tenets of Plato and Pythageras: whence he is by some ranked amongst the followers of Plate; by others amongst the Pythagoreans (44). Grones, Arifocles, Antiochus, Alexander, Hermogenes, Aristides, and Phrynicus, were all contemporaries with Numenes. Crones was one of his disciples, and wrote a treatise on the generation of things, which we find quoted by Origen and Plotinus (45). Ariflocles was a native of Pergamus, and first a Periparetic philosopher; but afterwards he abandoned the fludy of philosophy, and applied himfelf to that of eloquence under the celebrated Herodes Atticus. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applause he expected (46).

Antiochus was a native of Æga in Cilicia, by profession a sophist, and one of the disciples of Dionysius the Milesian, of whom we have spoken in the reign of Adrian. Philostratus seems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undefervedly; for he is faid to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have spent his whole estate in purchasing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine (47). Alexander was likewise by profession a sophist, and is greatly commended by Philostratus. He was born in Seleucia, comprised at that time in Cilicia; but afterwards raifed to the metropolis of Isauria. His mother, tho' married, was thought to have had him by a criminal conversation with Apollonius Tyanaus (48), whose chastity has, by some writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the disciples of Favorinus, Adrian's great tavourite, and afterwards secretary for the Greek tongue to M. Aurelius. Hermogenes, a native of Tarfus, gained fuch reputation among the fophists, when he was but fifteen years old, that M. Aurelius went in person to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with presents; but as he surpassed most men when he was but a child, so when he attained to man's estate, he deserved to be ranked among children, says Philostrasus (49). However, he lived to a great age, despised by those who had once admired him (50). Ariflides, one of the most cele-brated sophists of his time, was a native of Adrianothera in Mysia. He is highly commended, on account of his eloquence, by Phrynicus his contemporary (51), by Philostratus (52), and generally by all the ancients; but if he excelled, as he is faid to have done, all the other fophists, several of his orations, which have reached our times (53), convince us, that we have no reason to regret the loss of their works. He was subject to various infirmities, and constantly indisposed. We read in his journal, which he intitles sacred discourses, many things relating to maladies and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of Asculapius in his dreams (54). Notwithstanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of Commodus.

Lucius, or, as he is styled by others, Saturantius Apulcius, was a native of Madaura, a Roman colony, on the borders of Numidia and Getulia, the son of one of the chef men of that city, and of Salvia, one of the descendants of Plutarch (55). He passed his childhood partly in Greece, (for his mother was originally of Thessaly) and partly at Carthage, where he learnt, without the assistance of an instructor, the Latin; but not without much labour, as he himself

owns. From Carthage he went to Athens, where he applied himself to the study of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and music, and thoroughly informed himself of the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers; but embraced that of Plato, which however did not prevent him from studying magic with great application. He is even faid to have been fo well skilled in that art, as to work feveral miracles, which the pagans opposed to those of our Saviour (56). These miracles however are not well attested; and Apuleius himself, being accused as a magician before Claudius Maximus proconful of Africa, endeavoured to clear himfelf from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent difcourse, which has reached our times (57). He is thought to have studied that art in Thessaly, where it was in great request (58). St. Austin (which to us feems very strange) doubts whether what Apuleius writes of his being, by a magic potion, transformed into an als, was true or fabulous (59). The pagans themselves looked upon his metamorphoses as only fit to amuse children (60). He wrote with great elegance both in Greek and Latin; but his ftyle is somewhat affected: he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the most eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accomplishments, ever raifed him to any dignity in the empire, tho' he was far from despiting honours, as appears from the manner in which he speaks of a statue erected to him at Oca, a city of the province of Tripolitana, where he married a woman named Pudentilla; and of the office of pontiff conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beafts. Several pieces of Apuleius are still extant, and some fragments of others, which have been long fince loft. Of the former some are but a bare translation of Aristotle, or of other ancient writers (61). He is often quoted by the ancients, as appears from the collection of fuch quotations prefixed to his works, but especially by St. Austin, who takes great pains to confute his false theology (62).

Amongst the historians who flourished under M. Aurelius, those of chief note are Polyenus a Macedonian, who inscribed to M. Aurelius and L. Verus the eight books of stratagems published by Casaubon (63). He left other works, (and among the rest a description of the city of Thebes) which have been long fince lost (64). Amyntianus wrote and addressed to M. Aurelius the history of Alexander the Great, which was not much admired. He likewise published the life of Domitian, and the lives of some other Latin and Greek princes (65); but none of his works have reached our times. Those of Damophilus have undergone the same fate: he was a philosopher and sophist, brought up, as Suidas informs us (66), by Julianus, who was consul in the year 175. the fitteenth of M. Aurelius's reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor Julian, who supposes him to have been a native of Bithynia. Some of his works he inscribed to Lollius Maximus (67). The history of Greece written by Paufanias in ten books has reached The author describes with great care and exactness the situation and antiquities of each city, and all the curiofities which in his time were to be feen in a country once so famous; but some critics find fault with him for interweaving his hiftory with so many fables, which however are of great use

(43) Vide Jonf. l. iii. c. 10. (44) Idem ibid. (45) Idem ibid. (46) Philostr. soph. xxix. (47) Idem, soph. xxxi. (48) Idem ibid. (49) Idem ibid. (50) Dio, l. lxxi. p. 802. (51) Phos. c. 158. (52) Philos. soph. xxxv. (52) Vide Phot. c. 246, &c. (54) Philos. ibid. Suid. p. 426. (55) Apul. met. l. ii. p. 115. & prol. p. 29. (56) Hier. pf. lxxxi. Latt. l. v. c. 3. Aug. epift. cxxxvi. (57) Apul. apol. (58) Vit. Apul. p. 15. (59) Aug. civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 18. (60) Voss. hist. Grac. l. iv. Macrob. in som. Scipion. l. i. c. 2. (61) Apul. prol. (62) Aug. civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 14. (63) Voss. hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 14. (64) Suid. p. 559. (65) Phot. c. 131. (66) Suid. p. 640 (67) Vide Jons. l. iii. c. 11.

for the right understanding of the ancient writers (68). It appears from the quotations of Stephanus the geographer, that he described after the same manner Phanicia and Syria. He bestows mighty encomiums upon Antoninus Pius, and mentions his wars with the Germans, Sarmatians, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (69). He relates nothing posterior to the reign of M. Aurelius; whence we may conclude, that he either died, or ended his work under that prince. Philostratus speaks of one Paufanias a sophist, a native of Cafaren in Cappadocia, and disciple of Herodes Acticus. Of this Pausanias he observes, that he spent the greatest part of his life at Rome; that in speaking he changed all the quantities, and did not distinguish the letters that had a like found; which however was common to all the Cappadocians (70). Philostratus ascribes to him only some declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be distinguished from the historian of that name, tho' Vossius and Sylburgius take the author of the history and of the declamations to be one and the same writer (71); for we cannot think, that Philostratus would have passed over in tilence so great and important a work, had the sophist been the author of it. Suidas speaks of another Paulanias, by birth a Lacedamonian, who wrote the history of his own country; but we must distinguish him too from the author of the history of Greece, who re-bukes the Lacedemonians with great liberty, and whose dialect comes nearer the Ionic than the Doric, which was the dialect of the Lacedemonians [72]. In the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius flourished one Iamblicus, by birth a Babylonian, and by profession a magician. He published several works in Greek, and among the rest one styled Babylonica (73), which is faid by Tennulius to be still preserved in the famous library of the Escurial in Spain (74). Perhaps it was consumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many inestimable manuscripts lodged in that famous library. Leo Allatius published a fragment of it. Vossius takes Iamblicus's Babylonica to be nothing else but the filly romance, of which Photius has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abstract. Suidas seems to insinuate the fame thing. Photius tells us, that Iamblicus was originally a flave, and relates several particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (75). Theophylus of Antioch has transmitted to us a table of the Roman emperors, from Julius Cafar to the death of M. Aurelius, with the years, months and daps of their respective reigns. This table was made by one of M. Aurelius's freed-men, named Chrylores, and not Crator, as Vossius calls him, led into that mistake by the text of Theophylus, where we read ον ο μεν Κεάτως instead of τομενκλάτως, as it is corrected by Scaliger (76). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of Chryfores, containing the names and chronology of all those who had ruled in Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of M. Aurelius. Scaliger has added it to the chronology of Eusebius. It is likewise to be found in the works of Clement of Alexandria, free from most of the faults which have crept into that of Theophylus. Amilius Parthenianus composed the history of all those who attempted to usurp the sovereign power. He did not end his history before the year 175. for he wrote the life of Avidius Caffius. He is quoted by Vulcatius Gallicanus, who flourished under Dioclesian. Vossius ranks him among

the Latin historians (77). The grammarian Proculus, who instructed M. Aurelius in the Latin grammar, and was on that account raised by him to the confulfhip, published a work on foreign countries, or, as some read it, religions, de regionibus, or religionibus (78). He was by birth an African; but thoroughly versed in the Latin tongue 79). Hephostion and Harpocration, who instructed L Verus in the Greek tongue (80), have both left some works behind them. An excellent piece de re metrica, which feems to be very ancient, and bears the name of one Hephestion, a grammarian of Alexandria, has reached our times, and is common'y ascribed to Herhestion the preceptor of L. Verus. Suidas mentions several other works published by him (81) Another learned piece is still extant on the ten orators of Athens, done by one Valerius Harpocration, supposed to have been preceptor to L. Verus (82). At this time flourished Apollonius of Alexandria, surnamed Dy o.es, who published several grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times, viz. four books on the fyntax, to which is prefixe his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intituled, Some false histories, or rather wonderful histories (%). He was father to one Herodianus, who lived, anding to Suidas, in the time of M. Aurelius, and 10hished several grammatical piec s 84). Ammiscus
Marcellinus reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the mufeum of Alexandria 85). Sylburgius takes him to be the historian Herodianus, who wrote the lives of the emperors, from the death of M. Aurelius to the reign of Gordian; that is, to the year 238 (86) But Vositus speaks of the grammarian and historian as two different persons: and truly the historian might have been born in the reign o' M. Aurelius; but cannot be fald to have flourished unier that prince, fince he was still writing sitty-eight years after his death (87). Artemidorus, author of several ooks on the interpretation of dreams, lived under Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius; for he is quoted by Lueian; and he himself tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the lifts in the combats that were exhibited by Antoninus Pius at Puteoli, in honour of Adrian. He was a native of Ephelus, and in his other works styled himself Artemidorus the Ephesian; but in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the furname of Daldianus, from Daldis, a fmall city of Lydia, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the issue of several dreams. Of these books he inscribed the three first to one Cassius Maximus a Phonician, who, it feems was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend; and the two others to his fon, named likewife Artemidorus (88). Besides these books, he wrote some others, according to Suidas (89), who styles him a philotopher, on the manner of foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the fame subject, and were very numerous; he fpent many years in travelling through all the provinces, and vifiting all the cities of the empire; he conferred with all those who pretended to any knowledge in divination (90); and the fruit of so many labours, journies, inquiries, conferences, &c. was a work the most useless and trifling that ever was published, as is owned by those who have been at the pains of illustrating it with notes (91).

(68) Voss. bist. Grec. l. ii. c. 14. (69) Paus. l. viii. p. 272. (70) Philost. soph. xxxix. (71) Voss. ibid. (72) Suid. p. 466. (73) Phot. c. 49. (74) Voss. ibid. l. iv. p. 582. & Samuel. Tennul. im not. ad lambl. arith. Arnemia, ann. 1668. (75) Phot. p. 241. (76) Vide Scal. in chron. Euseb. p. 396. (77) Voss. bist. Lat. l. iii. (78) Tret. Pollio. histor. trigin. tyrannor. p. 195. (79) Voss. bist. Lat. l. i. c. 12. (80) Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver. p. 35. (81) Suid. p. 1209. (82) Idem, p. 441. (83) Voss. bist. Grec. l. ii. c. 14. (84) Suid. p. 379. (85) Ammian. l. xxii. p. 135. (86) In Herodian. prol. (87) Voss. ibid. l. i. c. 1. (88) Artemidor. l. i. c. 28. l. iii. c. 67. (89) Suid. p. 442. (90) Idem, p. 3. (91) Voss. ibid. l. ii. c. 12.

The same author wrote some books on physic (92). Marcellus of Ida in Pamphylia wrote, in the reign of M. Aurelius, forty-two books in hexameter verse on physic, and is quoted by St. Jerom (93). Marulus, a Latin poet, wrote some stires in the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius, not sparing that prince, nor his predecessor Antoninus Pius; but he patiently tore his railleries (94). Apuleius speaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon Alexander the Great (95). This is probably the writer, whom he calls elsewhere (96) Corvinus Clemens, and who was quastor. Aulus Gellius, or Agellius, must have flourished about this time; for he was disciple to Titus Castricius, to Favorinus, to Herodes Atticus, and to Cornelius Fronto, who a'l lived under Adrian and Antoninus Pius (97). Cornelius Fronto had been consul when Aulus Gellius was yet a youth (98). He bestows great encomiums on the celebrated philosopher and apostate Peregrinus; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life time; for he publicly burnt himself at the sports of the two hundred and thirty-fixth olympiad:

whence we conclude, that Aulus Gellius had done writing before that time; that is, before the year 165. of the chriftian æra, the fifth of the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He studied grammar at Rome, and philosophy at Athens, under Calvisus Taurus, whence he returned to Rome. He lest no work behind him, except his Noëles Attica; for thus he styled the collection of several memorable and amusing events, which he compiled for the use of his children (99). St. Austin commends him on account of his easy and elegant elocution (100); but most critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harsh and improper expressions, and, above all, with want of judgment in chusing for his collection such events as are for the most part of no importance, and only contain some grammatical and trisling remarks. Macrobius however often copies him. The annals of Gellius are frequently quoted by the writers of the Roman history; but the author of these annals, by name Cn. Gellius, lived about the year 620. of Rome, and was contemporary with Cieros (1).

(92) Artemidor. prol. p. 4. (93) Voss. ibid. (94) Voss. poet. Lat. p. 52. (95) Apul. stor. p. 3+4. (96) Idem, apol. p. 338. (97) Aul. Gell. l. xxii. c. 21. (98) Idem, l. xxx. c. 8. (99) Idem, presat. (100) Aug. civit. Dei, l. ix. c. 4. (1) Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 8. Macrob. saturnal. l. i. c. 16.

## C H A P. XXII.

The Roman history, from the death of M. Aurelius, to the death of Alexander, when the empire was first transferred without the consent of the senate.

Commodus was the first emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the second Commodus. that succeeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-first of August of the year 161. and raised to the empire on the seventeenth of March of the year 180. He is commonly called L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus, and fometimes Commodus Antoninus. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheless proved one of the most lewd, cruel and wicked tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; which confirms in some degree the opinion of those, who believed him to be the fon of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother Faustina was said to have had a criminal conversation d. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable His cruelty. instance of his cru-lty at Centumcella, now Civita Vecchia; where finding the water in b which he bathed somewhat too warm, he commanded the person who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he fatisfied, till those who were about him, pretended to have put his order in execution c. After his accession to the empire, he equalled, if he did not exceed, in cruelty, Caligula, Domitian, and Nero himfelf, playing, we may fay, with the blood of his subjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he caused great numbers to be racked and butchered in his presence, merely for his diversion. The ancients relate several instances of his cruelty, very odd and monstrous: he caused one to be thrown to the wild beafts, for reading the life of Ca'igula written by Suetonius, because that tyrant and he had been born on the same

d Jul. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 30.

LAMPRID. in Commod.

day . Seeing one day a corpulent man pass by, he immediately cut him asunder, a partly to try his strength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curiofity, as he himself owned, to see his intrails drop out at once. He took pleasure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of fuch as he met in his rambles through the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the Monopodii; and the latter, that they were now become Luscinii, alluding to the words luscinia, a nightingale, and luscus, one-eyed. Some he murdered, because they were negligently dressed; others, because they feemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great skill in surgery, especially at letting blood; but sometimes, instead of easing by that means those whom he vifited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off, by way of diver- b fion, their ears or nofes. He affumed the name and habit of Hercules, appearing publicly in a lion's skin, with a huge club in his hand, and ordering several persons, tho' not guilty of any crime, to be difguifed like monsters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great destroyer of monsters. In short, the shedding of blood seemed to be his chief diverfion e. As for his lewdness, the author of his life tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himfelf, without restraint or shame, to all manner of abominations, spending whole days and nights in public-houses amongst the meanest of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common profitutes, &c. He kept constantly three hundred c concubines, and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own fisters, and murdered one of them, by name Lucilla, after he had forced her to comply with his incestuous desires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions, is beneath the dignity of an historian, and what we cannot help blaming in Suetonius His skill in ar- and the Augustine writers. He took great delight in shooting with the bow, and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and skill in that art, which we should look upon as fabulous, were they not attested by all the ancients. He excelled all men in strength, and is said to have run an elephant through with his spear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre a hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he entered the lifts with the com- d mon gladiators, having learnt with them in the common school the use of their weapons. He is faid to have fought in the public amphitheatre feven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often subscribed himself in his letters, The conqueror of a thousand gladiators. He seemed to be more pleased with the applause of the populace on these occasions, than any of the ancient Roman captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the people rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be maffacred upon the fpot, and the city to be fet on fire; which barbarous fentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards with much-ado appealed him. Having with his extravagancies foon drained and exhausted his exchequer, he betook e himself to all manner of rapine; loaded the people with taxes; sold the governments of the provinces, and other employments; exempted criminals from the punishment due to their crimes, upon their paying him a fum of money, and allowed others to murder whomfoever they pleafed; fo that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and maffacres, every one purchasing of the emperor the liberty of murdering such as he feared or hated h. But to proceed to the history of his reign according to the order of time.

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His lewdiels

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and deb.nucke-

He enters the lists with the common gladiators.

His avarice.

Commedus, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers; and there, after a plaufible and popular speech to the soldiers, prefented them with the usual donative. He was for returning immediately to Rome, f panting after the diversions of the city; but Pompeianus, who had married his fifter, representing to him how dangerous and shameful a thing it would be for him to return before he had ended the war, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to continue fome time in Pannonia, where he is faid to have gained some advantages over the Quadi, which must have been very inconsiderable, since he did not on that score take upon him the title of imperator. However, both the Quadi and Marcomanni, imagining that he was refolved to pursue the war, and finding themselves no longer in a condition to make head against his victorious troops, sent embassadors to him, with propo-

h Idem ibid.

a fals of an accommodation; which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace He concludes & upon the following terms: 1. That they should not settle within five miles of the peace with the Danube. 2. That they should deliver up their arms, and supply the Romans with a Quadi, &c. certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they should assemble but once a month in one place only, and in the presence of a Roman centurion. And, 4. That they should not make war upon the lazyges, the Buri, or the Vandali, without the confent of the people of Rome. On the other hand, Commodus promifed to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the castles and fortresses which he held in their country, except fuch as were within five miles of the Danube. With the other German nations, which his father had almost intirely reduced, he concluded a very dishonourable b peace; nay, of fome he purchased it with very large sums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he hastened back to Rome, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the furname of Pius, and with all the marks of diffinction that had ever been conferred upon the most deferving princes. Having visited the capitol and other temples, and returned thanks to the senate, the people and the soldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his absence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty-second

THE following year Commodus entered upon his third confulship, having for his collegue one Birrus, or Burrhus, probably Antiftius Burrhus, who had married his e fifter. On one medal of this, and on feveral of the following year, Commodus bears the title of Felix, the Happy; whence it is manifest, that Lampridius, whom most modern antiquaries follow, was mistaken, when he wrote, that this title was not by the fenate decreed to him till the death of Perennis, which happened five years after; that is, in the year 186 m. The next confuls were Mamertinus and Rufus, during whose administration Commodus took the title of imperator for the fifth time, on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants, Albinus and Niger, over the barbarians who dwelt beyond Dacia. The above-mentioned confuls were succeeded by Commodus the fourth time conful, and Victorinus the second time. During their consulship, the Caledonians, having passed the wall which parted them from the Romans, The Caledod committed dreadful devastations, and cut in pieces a Roman army, with their general; nians invade but were in the end repulsed with great flaughter by Ulpius Marcellus, a man of a territories; but mean descent, but an excellent commander, and a strict observer of the military are repulsed by discipline. Of this war the ancients give us no particular account, but only tell us, Ulpius Marthat it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by cellus. his lieutenant, took the title of imperator the fixth time, with the furname of Britannicus; and that Uipius Marcellus, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained fuch credit and reputation, that Commodus, envying him the glory he had acquired, deligned to put him to death; but in the end spared him o. This year Commodus, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counfellors, began to e despise them, thinking himself sufficiently qualified to govern without so many tutors about him, as he expressed it. He therefore discharged them all, employing in their Commodus room either his debauched companions, or such as were recommended to him by them. dismisses his fa-Thus Pescennius Niger was preferred to the command of the armies in Syria, at the and counsellors. recommendation of the wreftler Narcissus; and many others were raised to great employments by means of the emperor's freed men, flaves, concubines, &c. whose imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the senate; which he being well apprised of, began in his turn to put to death, under various pretences, some of the most eminent members of that illustrious body. His fifter Lucilla, feeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great f men in Rome, formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to place in his room a person whom she favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother and her husband Pompeianus. She had the title of empress, and all the honours attending it, being the widow of the emperor Lucius Verus; but nevertheless was obliged to give place to Crispina, the wife of Commodus; which her haughty spirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conspiracy Claudius Pompeianus, to whom she had betrothed A conspiracy her daughter, Quadratus, and many other senators of distinction. It was agreed among formed against him by his suffer him by his suffer. the conspirators, that they should fall upon the emperor while he was going to the Lucilla, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dio, I. Ixxii. p. 817. HERODIAN. I. i. p. 461. Aur. Vict. LAMPRID. ibid. Dio, p. 818. H
DD. p. 471. Goltz. p. 81. 

<sup>1</sup> Vit. Commod. p. 48. Onuph. p. 228. 

<sup>m</sup> Birag. p. 24
Goltz. p. 81. Birag. ibid. Dio, p. 820. 

<sup>o</sup> Dio, I. Ixxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. Val. p. 725. \* LAMPRID. ibid. Dio, p. 818. He-ROD. p. 471. GOLTZ. p. 81. 1 VII. C R GOLTZ. p. 81. BIRAG. ibid. Dio, p. 820. m BIRAG. p. 246.

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amphitheatre through a narrow and dark passage; and that Pompeianus should give a him the first blow. Accordingly they assaulted him in the appointed place; but Pompeianus shewing him, instead of striking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, This present the senate sends you, the guards had time to rescue the emperor, and seize the conspirators, who were soon after put to death. The emperor banished his fifter to the island of Caprea, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murdered P. Herodianus tells us, that one Quintianus was to give the first blow; and Ammianus, who follows him, adds, that Quinotianus actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loss of blood, fainted away 9. But we have chosen to follow such writers as lived nearest those times. This same year the empress Crispina was likewise confined to the island of Caprea, and there murdered by the emperor's order, for imitating b him in his debaucheries r. Quadratus had a concubine, by name Marcia, and a favourite freed-man, named Eclectus. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and distinguished her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empresses, except that of having fire or torches carried before her s. She is supposed to have been a great friend to the christians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly ascribed the profound tranquillity, which the church enjoyed in the midst of so many cruel executions t. One Anterus, or, as others call him, Saoterus, a native of Nicomedia, and the emperor's favourite freedman, was thought to have put him upon the wicked measures which he was pursuing; for he bore a great sway c The captains of with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards caused him to be murdered by one Cleander, of whom we shall speak hereaster. The emperor expressed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conspiracy formed against himself; mantobemur- and being informed, that Tarruntinus Paternus, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employment, under colour of creating him a fenator, and a few days after caused him to be assassinated, with Salvius Justanus, to whose fon the daughter of Paternus had been betrothed, pretending, that they had both conspired to depose him, and seize the empire for themselves ". Salviu Julianus was grandfon to the famous civilian of that name under Adrian, and uncle to Di-Several persons dius Julianus, who was afterwards emperor. The same year were fally accused of d condemned and treason, condemned and executed, Velius Rusus, Egnatius Capito, and the two Quintilii, Maximus and Condianus, who had been all confuls. Sextus Condianus, the son of Maximus, who had been conful in the year 180. and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but escaped, at least for fome time, by causing a report to be spread, that he was dead; but many attesting that he was still alive, diligent fearch was made after him. Many persons, who had never feen him, were accused of having harboured and concealed him in their houses, and, upon that charge, either put to death, or banished. Of Sextus himself we find no further mention in history. Emilius Jungus and Attilius Severus were both banished in their confulship, which they held, it seems, during the two last months of e this year, and with them many senators and knights of great distinction \*. Under the succeeding consuls, M. Eggius Merullus and Cn. Papirius Ælianus, was accused of aspiring at the empire, and put to death, the emperor's savourite minister Perennis. He was captain of the prætorian guards, an excellent commander, and, according to ster put to death Dion Cassius, a man without reproach x. But Herodianus and Lampridius give him a quite different character, and speak of him as one who abused the great authority he had with the emperor, flicking at no violence, murder or injuffice to fill his own coffers, while Commodus was wholly intent upon his pleasures and diversions, in which he encouraged him, that he might govern with an absolute sway; which he did but for a short while, as we shall see anon y. This year Commodus took the title of imperator f the feventh time, probably an account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants in Britain; for the disturbances there were not yet intirely quelled 2. The next confuls were Commodus the fifth time, and Acilius Glabrio the fecond 2. This year, while Commodus was affifting at the Capitoline sports instituted by Domitian in 86. a person, in the habit of a Cynic philosopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midst of

Perennis the emperor's favourite mini-

His downfal and death differently reported.

the theatre; and addressing the emperor, told him aloud, That while he minded

nothing

P Vit. Commod.p. 46. Herod. p. 474. Dio, p. 818. 

4 Ammian. l. xxix. 

5 Dio, ibid. Herod. l. i. p. 486. 

5 Vide Baron. ann. 112. 

8 Vit. Commod. p. 47. Dio, p. 819. 

W Dio, lxxi. p. 819. 

7 Herod. l. i. p. 472. 

7 Vit. Com. p. 48. Herod. I. i. p. 486.
 Vide Bas
 I. lxxi. p. 819.
 Vit. Comm. p. 47.
 BIRAG. p. 248.
 Vit. Com. ibid. \* Noris. epist. conful. p. 116.

a nothing but his pleasures and diversions, he was in danger of losing both his life and the empire, by the wicked practices of Perennis and his children. Perennis caused the pretended Cynic to be immediately seized as a madman, who disturbed the public fports, and foon after ordered him to be burnt alive; which gave the emperor no small jealousy. Not long after, some soldiers arriving at Rome from Illyricum, where the fon of Perennis commanded, shewed to Commodus in a private audience, some medals, on which was engraved the image of the fon of Perennis, as if he had been already emperor; which so alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traitor to be immediately put to death b. Thus Herodian. But Dion Cassius and Lampridius relate his downfal in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in Britain, b diffatisfied either because he had punished them with too great severity on account of fome fedition, or because he had removed several senators, and given their posts in the army to Roman knights his creatures, fent deputies to Rome, fifteen hundred, fays Dion Cassius, (which seems altogether incredible) to complain of him, and charge him with a delign of raising his son to the empire. They were backed by Cleander, and the emperor's other freed-men, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite minister. Hereupon Commodus, naturally timorous, abandoned the traitor to the rage of the provoked foldiery, who, after a thousand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his fifter, and his two fons, underwent the fame His wife and fate. To his eldest son, who commanded the army in Illyricum, the emperor wrote children unuerc an obliging letter, injoining him to come with all possible expedition to Rome, to fate. receive there new marks of the esteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an intire stranger to what had passed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation; but had no fooner entered Italy, than he was cut in pieces by the foldiers who attended him, pursuant to the private orders they had received from Rome c. The other brother was probably killed at Rome with his father. Perennis was succeeded in the post of prime Perennisis sucminister by Cleander; for the emperor himself was so taken up with his pleasures and ceeded by Ciediversions, that he could not bestow one minute on the affairs of the state: he would ander, not even be at the trouble of figning his dispatches; and in several letters to his friends d all he wrote was, Vale, Farewel. Cleander was by birth a Phrygian, and originally a flave, having been fold as such in Rome by auction, as were in those days most slaves. He belonged at first to M. Aurelius, and afterwards to Commodus, who, favouring him above the rest of his slaves, gave him leave to marry Demostracia, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, presented him with his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of Perennis, that he might ingross all the power to himself; which he easily compassed, and abused his authority in a more flagrant manner than Perennis had Wine abuses his ever done. By him all things were openly fet to fale, offices, provinces, public authority. revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. Antifius e Burrbus, who had married one of the emperor's fifters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his minister; but that liberty cost him his life, Cleander having charged him with aspiring at the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all those who espoused his cause, or attempted to defend him. Among these was Ebutianus captain of the guards, in whose room Cleander persuaded the emperor to substitute him-felf, and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of Perennis, that The captains employment had been given to one Niger, who held it only fix hours; another enjoyed of the guards changed daily it but five days, and several others not so long, the timorous emperor changing the and hourly. captains of his guards daily and hourly. Most of these officers lost their lives with f their employment, being accused of treason by Cleander, who courted, and at last obtained, that important post for himself d. After the death of Perennis, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his administration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to Pertinax, whom Perennis had banished into Liguria, his native country,

in Britain, which had mutinied, and raised great disturbances in that island, neither The Roman the Roman foldiers, nor the Britons, being able to brook the tyrannical government of foldiers in Britannical government of full muting.

 Herodian. ibid. p. 474, 475.
 p. 822. Vit. Com. ibid. c Dio, p. 811. Vit. Commod. p. 48. d HEROD. p. 475. Dio.

and kept there for the space of three years, appointing him commander of the troops

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Commodus. Upon the arrival of Pertinax, the soldiers pressed him to assume the a fovereignty; but he, rejecting the offer with indignation, brought by degrees the mutinous foldiery to a fense of their duty, and restored tranquillity to the province, but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was spilt, and Pertinax himself was left upon the spot for dead. As his feverity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the foldiery, he defired to be recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his request till three years after d. This year Commodus took the title of imperator for the eighth and last time, on account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which Clodius Albinus is said to have gained about this time over the Frisians c.

The war of the deserters under the conduct of Maternus.

Under the next consuls, Crispinus and Ælianus, a common soldier, by name b Maternus, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of the same crime, grew in a short time so powerful, the banditti slocking to him from all parts, that he over ran and plundered great part of Gaul and Spain, stormed the strongest cities, and struck the emperor and people of Rome with such terror, that troops were raised, and armies dispatched against him. Pescennius Niger was sent to make head against him in Gaul, where he became very intimate with Severus, who was then governor of the country of Lyons, and wrote a letter to the emperor, commending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of Niger in pursuing the rebels and deserters. Maternus, finding himself reduced to great streights by the brave Niger, divided his men into feveral small bands, and marched privately with them c by different ways into Italy, having nothing less in view than to murder the emperor during the folemnity which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods, and, upon his death, to feize the empire. They all arrived at Rome undiscovered; and some of his men had already mixed themselves with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately seized and executed, and his death put an end to the diffurbances, which some of his followers had begun to raise in other provinces &. The same year broke out the most dreadful plague, fays Dion Cassius, that had been known. It lasted two or three years, and raged with most violence in Rome, where it frequently carried off two thousand persons a day. The emperor, to avoid the contagion, retired to Laurentum, a city of Latium, on the d fea-side h. The following year, Fuscianus and Salinus being both consuls for the fecond time, the emperor gave out, that he defigned to pais over into Africa; but having, under that pretence, exacted very confiderable fums, and even suffered the people to offer up vows for his fafe return on the fifth of April, he spent the money in banquets and revels, and continued at Rome and in the neighbourhood. About this time Severus was translated from the government of Pannonia to that of Sicily, whence he returned to Rome, to clear himself of a crime with which he was charged, viz. of consulting the astrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of usurping the sovevereignty. His cause was heard by the captains of the guards, the collegues of Cleander; and, as Commodus was hated, fays Spartian, Severus was cleared, and his e accuser crucified k. This year great part of the capitol, a samous library, and feveral contiguous buildings, were utterly destroyed by lightning. Eusebius says, it consumed whole quarters of the city, and in them several libraries. At the same time the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occasioned, as some authors write, by Cleander, who, having now nothing less in view than the fovereignty, bought up under-hand all the corn, in order to raise the price of it, and gain the affections of the foldiery and people, by distributing it among them m. Other writers tell us n, that Papirius Dionysius, whose province it was to supply the city with provisions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people rife against Cleander. Be that as it will, the populace ascribed all their calamities and misfortunes to the f Cleander all hated minister, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting in an arbitrary to death and pardoning, banishing and recalling from exile, whom he pleased. Several manumitted slaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the senate; others he made governors of provinces, and raised to the first employments. But his reign was short-lived; for the following year, in which Rome saw for the first, and indeed for the last time, twenty-five consuls, all named by Cleander, and most of

Severus accused and acquitted.

Who is seized,

them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the Circensian games, a troop

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Vit. Com. ibid. & Pertin. p. 54. Albin. vit. p. 81. Nig. vit. p. 75. p. 475. Vit. Com. p. 51. h ldem ibid. l Vit. Com. p. 49. k Spart. in Sever, in chron. Oros. l. viii. c. 16. Dio, p. 823. vit. Com. p. 51. 6 HEROD. l. i. 1 Euses.

a of children, having at their head a young woman of an extraordinary stature, and a fierce aspect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives, and dreadful curses, against Cleander; which being for some time answered by the people with other invectives and curses, the whole multitude rose all on a sudden, slew in a The people rise tumultuous manner to the palace of Quintilius in the neighbourhood of Rome, where against him. the emperor was then residing with Cleander; and renewing there their curses and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been fo grievously and tyrannically oppressed. Hereupon Cleander ordered the prætorian The pratorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which they did accordingly, driving them with horse fall upon great flaughter into the city; but there the populace discharging showers of stones, them; but are b bricks and tiles from the tops of the houses, and from the windows, and the cityguards, who hated Cleander, joining the multitude, the prætorian horse were forced to give way, and fave themselves by a disorderly slight. The people pursued them to the palace of Quintilius, where the emperor was passing his time in the company of some lewd women, utterly unapprised of the tumult, Cleander having forbidden those who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, Marcia, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had passed; and his fister Fadilla, entering his apartment in a great fright, and with her hair dishevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was loft, unless he abandoned Cleander to the fury of the incensed populace. Hereupon the emperor, struck with terror and amazec ment, fent for Cleander; and having caused his head to be struck off that instant, The emperor fent it to the people, the fight of which put an end to the combat, which still continued with great flaughter. His head and body were by the incenfed populace infulted in a most outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and most of his creatures, were at the same time massacred, and their bodies first dragged through the streets, and then thrown into the common fewer". Lampridius tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked against him, for having caused Arrius Antoninus to be falsly accused of treason, and put to death, because he had, while proconsul of Asia, condemned one of his creatures, by name Attalus. Julianus and Regillus were appointed captains of the guards in the room of Cleander and his collegues; but the emperor caused d them both to be soon after put to death, tho' he had ever shewn a particular kindness and affection for Julianus, whom he used to style his father 1. About the close of this year, Pertinax was, at his own request, recalled from Britain, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions, in the room of Papirius Dionysius, who was likewise put to death, with all those who had any ways contributed to the raising

of the price of corn. THE following year Commodus entered upon his fixth confulship, having Petronius Septimianus for his collegue. The several conspiracies which had been formed against himself and his ministers, filling him with jealousies and suspicions, he abandoned himself without controul to bloodshed and cruelty. He put to death, besides many Commodus e others mentioned by Spartian and other writers, Petronius Mamertinus, who had mar-causes many ried one of his sisters; his son Antoninus; Annia Faustina, cousin-german to M. Aure-sons to be put lius; Sulpicius Crassus, proconsul of Asia, and fix consulars on one day. He caused to death. all those who were any-ways related to Avidius Cassius, of whom we have spoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly massacred this year, Dion Cassius gives us a particular account of the death of one Julius Alexander, a native of Emesa in Syria, who being informed, that the emperor had fent thither a centurion with a band of foldiers to murder him, furprised them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with several others, whom he suspected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with slaughf ter, he retired on horseback, with a design to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his escape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being therefore overtaken by those who pursued him, he first killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himself q. This year Severus, who had been one of the twenty-five confuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander of the troops in Illyricum, and Pertinax was sent into Africa with the character of proconful. The following year, Apronianus and Bradua being consuls, a fire

Dio, l. lxxii. p. 823. Herod. l. i. p. 479-481. Vit. Comm. p. 48. Idem ibid. & Dio, p. 823. 4 Dio, ibid,

o Vit. Comm. ibid.

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The temple of Peace confumed by fire,

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broke out in the night-time in the celebrated temple of Peace, preceded, and, as some a writers suppose, produced by a small earthquake; for no thunder was heard r. Dien Cassius writes, that it began in the adjoining houses. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to affies. That magnificent structure had been raised by Vespasian after the destruction of Jerusalem, and inviched with all the spoils and ornaments of the temple of the Jews. The ancients speak of it as one of the most stately buildings in Rome. There men of learning used to hold their assemblies, and lodge their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever else they had of great value. It was likewise made use of as a kind of magazine for the spices that were brought by the Roman merchants out of Egypt and Arabia; so that many rich persons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects b and treasures being consumed in one night, with the temple s. Galen complains, that many of his books were lost by this misfortune'. The fire spread with great violence to other quarters of the city, and consumed a great number of stately edi-And the temple fices; among the rest, the temple of Vesta. The vestals fled to the palace, with the statue of Pallas, which was supposed to have been brought from Troy, and had never before been exposed to public view; but the slames seized the palace itself, and reduced great part of it to ashes, before their rage could be staid. However, the public papers and registers were with much-ado preserved. The conflagration lasted several days, in spite of the utmost endeavours of the people, the soldiery, and the emperor himfelf, who returning on that occasion from the country, exposed his own person, in c order to encourage others to exert themselves by his example. It ceased at length of itself, or was extinguished by a sudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as fent by the gods ". This year Pertinax was preferred from the government of Africa to that of Rome, and Didius Julianus sent to govern Africa in his room. The next confuls were Commodus the feventh time, and Helvidius Pertinax the fecond. This year the Roman troops were defeated by the Saracens, whom we find now mentioned for the first time in history w. Commodus being told, that Severus, who commanded in Illyricum, and Nonius Murcus, who had the command of some other army, aspired at the empire, appointed Clodius Albinus, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, governor of Britain, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, fays Julius d Capitolinus, giving him leave to assume the title of Casar, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in case any disturbances should arise in the empire. Albinus, adds the fame writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of Commodus, which he apprehended to be at hand x. The account which Dion folly, and public Cassius and Herodian give us of the latter end of this prince's reign, is nothing but a detail of his follies, and the shews which he exhibited, and in which he himself acted the chief part. Both these historians were present; and the former, who assisted at the above-mentioned shews in quality of senator, tells us, that he and the other senators chewed the whole time bay-leaves, that by their bitterness they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly; which would have cost them their lives. How- e ever, he owns, that the address and skill which the emperor displayed in shooting with the bow, was univerfally admired and applauded; for a panther having feized a man, and being ready to devour him, Commodus let fly an arrow against the beast with fo much skill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground, before the man He changes the received the least hurt y. A few days before his death, he changed the names of some of the months, calling August Commodus, September August, October Hercules, November Invincibilis, December Exuperatorius, and January Amazonius; which last title he himself assumed, because he had first sallen in love with Marcia upon seeing her painted in the dress of an Amazon. He was likewise for changing the name of the city itself, and calling it Colonia Commodiana, or The colony of Commodus. Upon f this head he wrote to the fenate, styling himself in the letter, Imperator Casar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Potestatis XVII. Imperator VIII. Consul VII. Pater Patriæ, &c. The fenate readily complied with his defire, and not only flyled Rome Colonia Commodiana, but the house in which they assembled, The bouse of Commodus. They had given him before, by way of derifion, fays Lampridius, the title of Pious, upon his

names of some months.

Thems.

His vanity.

Dio, & Herod. ibid. Galen. de libris fuis, p. 263. Nige p. 27. \* Vit. Albin. p. 79. y Dio, F HERODIAN. l. i. p. 485. Dio, p. 829. Dio, & HE GALEN. ibid. HEROD. p. 482. w Vit. Nigr. p. 77. t GALEN. ibid. \* Vit. Albin. p. 79. p. 484. Herod. p. 826.

railing

a raising to the consulship one of his mother's gallants; the title of Happy, for having compassed the death of Perennis; and that of Hercules, in consideration of his extraordinary strength, and his killing many thousand wild beasts in the amphitheatre. He had often appeared on the public stage in the Amazonian and other fantastical dresses; He aels and but this year he was not ashamed to enter the lists with the gladiators, to act, and to dances in pubdance in the theatre quite naked. Not fatisfied with these follies, he resolved to lie quite naked. appear on the first day of the ensuing year 193. as conful, and at the same time as He designs to gladiator, and, in order to that, to cause Erucius Clarus and Sosius Falco, the two appear on the confuls elect, to be murdered. This design he imparted to Martia the night before like a conful it was to be put in execution, telling her, that the confuls were to be murdered the and gladiator. b following night; and that he intended to march in procession, not from the palace,

and with the enfigns of the imperial dignity, as was usual on the first of January, but from the school of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. Marcia threw herself at his feet, and conjured him, with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he exposed his life, by trusting it to men destitute of all honour and probity. But Commodus, without giving ear to her remonstrances, ordered Lætus, captain of the guards, and Eclestus his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himself in the house where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. These two officers did likewise all that lay in their power to divert him from so strange a resolution; but to no purpose: for the empec ror, instead of yielding to their intreaties, flew into a great passion; and retiring to

his chamber, as if he defigned to repose a little, it being then about noon, he set down on a piece of paper the names of many illustrious senators, and other persons of distinction, whom he designed to murder, in order to inrich himself with their estates, and at the head of the fatal lift the names of Marcia, Lætus and Eclectus. Having left He dooms Marthis paper upon his bed when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the Roman Cia, Lætus and Eclectus to custom, a little child, with whom he used to amuse himself, entering his bed-chamber, death; innocently took it up to play with it; but Marcia meeting him, fnatched it out of his hand, imagining it to be fome writing of consequence. She was greatly surprised, when, upon viewing it, she found herself, Lætus and Eclestus, doomed with the rest

d to destruction. She immediately acquainted Latus and Eclestus with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon resolved to be before-hand with the tyrant . Such Who conspire is the account which Herodian gives us of this conspiracy. But Dion Cassius, who had against him. already related the death of Domitian with these very circumstances, tells us only in this place, that Lætus and Eclettus, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of Commodus, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with Marcia to dispatch him. Julius Capitolinus writes, that they acquainted Pertinax with their design, who did not strive to divert them from it 2. But Dion Cassius b and Herodian c assure us, that he was altogether unapprifed of their attempt, the conspirators not having time to e think of any thing but dispatching the tyrant, and securing themselves. Be that as it will, the conspirators agreed, that the safest and most expeditious way was to dispatch him with poison; which was accordingly administred to him by Marcia, as

he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed fome wild beafts. The emperor, being foon after seized with a heavy slumber, retired to refresh himself with a short sleep (for he slept, as historians observe, at all hours); and Eclestus, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping by that means to conceal the cause and manner of his death; but Commodus awaking when the company was scarce gone, was seized with a violent vomiting; and suspecting that poison had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon f the conspirators, searing he should void the poison, and escape, sent in haste for his great favourite Narcissus, the famous wrestler, who being gained over by them with great promises, threw himself upon the emperor, and seizing him by the throat, He is murdered itrangled him 4. Thus died Commodus, the last night of the year 192. after having lived thirty-one years, and four months, and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which stood on mount Calius, where he then resided, because he could not sleep, as he said, in the imperial palace . His body was privately conveyed away, and buried in the fields; but was afterwards

<sup>2</sup> Her. D. l. i. p. 486, 487. 
<sup>a</sup> Jul. Cap. in Pert. p. 55. 
<sup>b</sup> Dio, l. li. p. 490. 
<sup>d</sup> Idem, l. i. p. 488. Dio, p. 828. Comm. vit. p. 52. b Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 830. e He-vit. p. 52. e Vit. Com. p. 51; ROD. l. ii. p. 490. Eusen. chron. p. 226.

taken up by Pertinax, who succeeded to the empire, and deposited in the monument of

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Adrian.

His statues are pulled down, and his acts annulled.

The conspirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy; which Eutrosius a feems to have believed. His death was no fooner known, than the fenate affembled, without waiting for the return of day, and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curses, ordered his statues to be broke to pieces, his name to be razed out of all public infcriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the streets, and thrown into the Tiber. When Pertinax, who had already been declared emperor, answered, that it was buried, they defired to know who had been so bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than Nero or Domitian f. Tho' he was thus generally abhorred as a monster of cruelty, and an enemy to mankind, yet the emperor Severus flyled himself his brother, caused him to be ranked among the gods, appointed priests and sacrifices to b his honour, and ordered the anniversary of his birth to be observed with great solemnity 8. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for establishing a company of merchants, and a fleet, for conveying corn from Africa to Rome, when any misfortune should befal the fleet that transported it from Egypt ". Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the son of M. Aurelius: One Manilius, who had been fecretary to Avidius Cassius, and privy to his conspiracy, having made his escape, and concealed himself ever since his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of Commodus, to whom he offered to discover many things of great importance: but Commodus would not fo much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them i. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, c when he followed the advice of the wife counfellors whom his father had placed about him. No mention is made in history of his children; but it appears from an ancient medal, that he had fome, who must have died very young k. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we shall give an account in our note (1).

Commo-

f Vit. Com. p. 53. Dio, p. 830. B Vit. Com. ibid. & Dio, p. 824.

Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 725. K Spart. l. vii. p. 659.

h Vit. Com. p. 52.

(I) Julius Pollux inscribed to Commodus, when he had only the title of Cafar, his onomasticon, which is still extant, and consists of ten books. It is a collection of fynonymous words used by the best Greek writers to express one and the same thing. He was one of the preceptors of Commodus, who being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonious voice, honoured him with the professorship of eloquence lately founded in the city of Athens (41). He was, according to Philostratus, who ranks him among the fophists, well acquainted with the Greek tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, no great writer himself, his style being quite flat and lifeless. He was a native of Naucratis, once a famous city of Egypt, on one of the arms of the Nile, to which it gave its name (42). He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age (43). In the library of the duke of Bavaria is lodged a manuscript chronicle done by one Julius Pollux, and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor Valens; which plainly shews, that it is not the work of this Julius Pollux, but of another, who flourished near two hundred years after his time (44). Phrynicus was contemporary with Pollux, and likewise inscribed to Commodus, when he was only Cafar, a work, of which Photius had read thirty-five or thirty-fix books. It was a collection of words, phrases, and some sentences extracted out of the best Greek writers, and alphabetically digested. But these thirty-six books might have been reduced, according to Photius, to fix or feven, by retrenching the author's uscless di-gressions and repetitions. In some of these books Phrynicus addressed himself to Commodus; in others to Basilides a sophist of Miletus, and to his other friends (45). A collection of Attie words, done by Phrynicus, has reached us, with a letter to one Cor-

nelianus prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work compiled by him at the request of Cornelianus, which contained a collection of many Greek words commonly used, but not quite pure and Attic. He owns, that some of them are to be found in the ancients; but maintains, that they were therein faulty, and ought not to be imitated (46). We find one Attidius Cornelianus governor of Syria in the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius; and to him, in all like shood, the above-mentioned letter is a idressed (47). Thrynicus is not mentioned by Suidas. Philofiratus speaks of one Aristenetus of Byzantium, who flourished under Commodus, and ranks him amongst the most eloquent men of his time (48). As for Ariflenetus, the author of some letters that are still extant, it is manifest, that he wrote after the foundation of New Rome; that is, either under Confiantine, or after his time. Both he and Apollinaris Sidonius fpeak of a celebrated mimic, by name Caramailus; whence some writers conjecture, that these two authors lived at the fame time; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (49). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagin, tho' in his time paganifm was almost utterly abolished, his work being a conjused heap of follies and abjurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the least tin-cture of christianity (50). Those who have been at the trouble of illustrating these letters with comments, diftinguish the author of them from Ariflenesus quoted by Stephanus the geographer (51), and from another of the same name, who was consul with Honorius in the year 404, and trankly own, that they know not who he was. They even feem inclined to think it a mere rhapfody, published under the name of Ariftenetus, which was prefixed to the first letter. The whole work scems to be a

(41) Philoft. soph. xxxviii. p. 590. (42) Idem. p. 488. (43) Suid. p. 559. (44) Voss. hist. Grac. l. iv. c. 17. (45) I'hot. c. 158. (46) Vide I'etr. Hallicum de vit. S. A'bericii, p. 114. Duacii, ann. 1636. (47) M. Aur. vit. p. 25. (48) Philost. soph. xxxvii. p. 587. (49) Voss. rhet. p. 115. (50) Vide Aristsnet. l. i. epist. 26. Paris. ann. 1686. (51) Steph. p. 203.

collection

Commodus being dead, and his body privately conveyed away, Latus and Eclestus Latus and Ecrepaired without delay to the house of Helvidius Pertinax, whom they judged the lectus effer the most deserving person in the senate, and the most worthy of the empire. As the tinx, death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, Pertinax, roused out of his sleep, (for it was about mid-night) by their entering his house, did not doubt but they had been fent by Commodus to murder him. However, he ordered his domestics to let them into his room; and upon their appearing there, without rifing from his bed, or betraying the least concern, he told them, That as Pompeianus and he were the only friends of M. Aurelius left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a facrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant, and with great firmness bid them strike, and put their orders in execution. Lætus, admiring his constancy and intrepidity, told him, that b the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the perfon in the fenate the most worthy of it. Pertinax, suspecting some treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumstances of the death of the tyrant, fent fome of his friends to the place where his body lay; and upon their return, no room being left for any further doubt, he yielded to their intreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with Lætus their captain, caufing in the mean time a report to be spread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that *Pertinax* reigned in his room. The soldiers were greatly surprised to see him appear in the camp at that time of night; but Latus, assembling e them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the most deserving person in the senate, who, he was sure, would be received with great joy, and acknowledged by all the armies of the empire, fince he had every-where given fignal proofs of his courage, prudence and other princely vir-Pertinax himself spoke after Latus, and in his speech promised to each soldier three thousand drachma's, which would have gained them over to his interest, had he not added very unfeafonably, that he hoped by their means to reform feveral abuses; for they concluded from thence, that he designed to restore the ancient discipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by Commodus. This occasioned an universal discontent, which however they diffembled for d the present; and a small number having at first saluted him with the title of emperor, Who is acknowthe rest followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, and, after the ledged by the usual facrifices, accompanied him, crowned with laurel, to the senate; where he was guards, and received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the new contrast of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the greatest demonstration of the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable his the greatest demonstration of the greatest demonstration received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable by the new consuls Quin-by the senate. tus Sosius Falco and Caius Julius Erucius, and by all the magistrates and other senators, who had affembled upon the first news of the death of the tyrant. Among the rest came Pompeianus, who, in congratulating him upon his new dignity, could not help bewailing at the fame time the unhappy end of his brother-in-law Commodus; which Pertinax was fo far from refenting, that he pressed him to accept the empire, and would have willingly yielded it to him, fays Capitolinus, could Pompeianus have e been prevailed upon to accept it. When the fenators had taken their places, Pertinax, before they had conferred upon him the title of Augustus, earnestly intreated them not to lay so heavy a burden upon him in his old age, but to pitch upon some other more able to discharge such an important trust, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for so high a station. He was not satisfied with begging them in general to chuse another, but particularly named Acilius Glabrio, who had been twice conful, and pretended to derive his pedigree from Anchijes the father of Æneas, took him by the hand, and earnestly intreated him to place himself upon the imperial throne; but

<sup>1</sup> Herop. l. iv. p. 482-493. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 830. Vit. Pert. p. 55.

collection of several passages copied out of Plato, Lucian, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expression. Athenaus, whose work, intituled, Dipnosophijia, has reached our times, lived under Commodus; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he speaks of him, till after his death (52). But he must have been then very old; for he had known Panera-tes, a famous poet in the reign of Adrian, fince Calaubon pretends, that Atheneus himself speaks in that place, and not Callixenes, whom he had quoted

before (53). Suidas, who supposes him to have flourished under M. Aurelius, styles him a grammarian, and teils us, that he was a native of Naucratis in Egypt (54). We have but an abridgment of his Dipnolophista, made, according to Casaubon, at Constantinople five or fix hundred years tince. This writer is highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, by fuch as are fond of the Grecian antiquities. He pub lished other works; but none of them have reached our times (55).

(52) Athen. l. xii. Voff. hift. Grac. l. ii. c. 15. (55) Voff. bift. Grac. L. ii. c. 15.

(53) Athen. l. xv. p. 677. (54) Suid. p. 111.

Glabrio,

Is bonoured

with all the

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titles peculiar

Glabrio, and with him all the rest, declaring, that they would acknowledge no other a prince but Pertinax, he was in the end obliged to yield m. Capitolinus, tho' no-ways He accepts the favourable to Pertinax, cannot however help owning, that he was raised to the emempire against pire against his will, and that he had ever shewn an utter aversion to the sovereignty, and to all the badeges of the fovereign power; in confirmation of which, he alledges a letter written by Pertinax himself, and recorded by Marius Maximus n. After the fenate had faluted him with the title of Augustus, he returned them thanks in an oration fuited to the occasion, which was received with loud acclamations both of the fenate and people, who were come in crouds to pay their homage to the new prince, whom they highly esteemed and revered. The consuls pronounced, according to custom, his panegyric: after which Falco, who was one of them, upon the b emperor's commending Latus, captain of the guards, and owning himself indebted to him for the empire, is faid by Capitolinus to have rebuked the new prince with great freedom for countenancing one who had been the chief minister of the crimes of Commodus. Pertinax heard him without the least emotion, and only told him, when he had done speaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey; that Latus had put the orders of Commodus in execution against his own inclination, and shewn, as soon as he was at liberty to act as he pleased, what were his private fentiments o. Pertinax received, with the title of Augustus, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of the father of his country not excepted, which is to the imperial faid to have never before been given to any prince on the first day of his reign P. c To the rest he desired that the title of the prince of the senate might be added, which had been laid aside ever since the times of the republic 4. At the same time the fenate decreed the title of Augusta to his wife Flavia Titiana, and that of Casar to his fon. But he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whose conduct he disliked; and as to his son, he told the senate, that he should enjoy the title they had decreed him, when he deserved it. He would not even suffer his son, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace; but fent him and his fifter to the house of Flavius Sulpicianus, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiousness of the court. From the fenate, the emperor went to offer the usual facrifices in the capitol, visited d the other temples, and then, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, repaired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the first day of the new year, to all the magistrates, and the chief men of the senate, pursuant to an ancient custom, which had been neglected by Commodus. Dion Cassius saw that day, for the first time, Pompeianus in the senate; for during the last years of Commodus's reign, he had lived constantly in the country, alledging his old age, and the weakness of his eyes, for not affilling at the deliberations of the senate. But these complaints, says Dion, ceased when Pertinax was raised to the empire, and returned as foon as he died's.

education of Pertinax.

Thus Pertinax began his reign, to the great satisfaction of Rome, and of all the e provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, no one doubting but he would soon restore the state to its former The birth and lustre, and redress the abuses and disorders introduced by Commodus. He was born on the first of August of the year 126, the tenth of Adrian's reign, in a little village called Villa Martis, at a small distance from Alba Pompeia, now Alba, in the duchy of Montserrat. He is commonly styled by historians, and in most inscriptions, Publius Helvius Pertinax. His father, by name Helvius Successus, had either been a slave himself, or was the son of an enfranchised slave, and followed the mean profession of drying wood, and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of Pertinax to his fon on account of his obstinately adhering for some time to the same f calling, which however he was afterwards perfuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-school in Rome, his father having taken care to have him instructed, when very young, in the Greek and Latin languages. But that profession not answering his expectation, he betook himself to a military life, and served first in Syria, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as a common foldier; but was foon raifed to the rank of a centurion, by the interest of Lollius Avitus, or rather Lollius Gentianus, his father's

o Idem, p. 55.
P Idem idiu.
Dio in excerpt, Val. p. 729. M Herod. Dio, ibid.
 N Vita Pert. p. 59.
 I lxxii. p. 832.
 Herod. l. ii. p. 494.
 Vit. Pert. p. 55.
 Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 831.
 Vit. Pert. p. 52.
 Vict. epit.

a patron. Having in that post distinguished himself under Lucius Verus, M. Aurelius's His rife and collegue in the empire, during the Parthian war, he was rewarded with the com- preferments. mand of a cohort in Syria, and afterwards employed in Britain, or, as fome read, Bithynia, Masia, Italy, and Germany, in which last place he commanded the Roman fleet. From Germany he was sent into Dacia, and there, upon some talse information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by M. Aurelius, notwithstanding the esteem he had for him. Capitolinus writes, that he was governor of Dacia, and charged with aspiring at the empire. Be that as it will, M. Aurelius, being soon after convinced of his innocence, created him fenator, honoured him with the enfigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the first legion, which he led against the b Germans, who had made themselves masters of Rhatia and Noricum. These countries he recovered in one campaign, for which eminent fervice M. Aurelius made him conful. He was afterwards fent into Syria against Avidius Cassius; and upon his death recalled from thence to guard the banks of the Danube, and command the army in Illyricum. Having acquitted himself in that office to the general satisfaction both of the Romans and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two Masia's, then to that of Dacia, and lastly to the government of Syria, which he held to the reign of Commodus, when he returned to Rome; but did not continue long there, being ordered by Perennis, who then governed with an absolute fway, and suspected all men of merit, to quit the city, and retire to Liguria, his c native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embellished the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not fuffer his father's cottage, or rather shop, which stood in the midst of them, to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfal of Perennis, he was by Commodus fent into Britain, to restore the ancient discipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compassed, not without exposing himself to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own request, and upon his return charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions; then appointed proconful of Africa; and lastly governor of Rome, which employment he held when Commodus was killed ". The conspirators judged him, as we have related above, of d all the great men in Rome, the most worthy of the empire. And truly he was, according to Herodian, in every respect well qualified for so important a trust, being a man of great wisdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameless character w. Dion His character. Cassius cries him up on account of his mild temper, his goodness, and his application to business; and adds, that he was grave without being sullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance x. Aurelius Victor styles him a person thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the ancient Romans Y. The other Victor says, that he was an enemy to all pomp, and outward appearance; that he received persons of every rank and condition with e great affability, and treated them as his equals. Julius Capitolinus is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice, and want of fincerity; but that writer lived a hundred years after Pertinax, whereas both Dion Cassius and Herodian were personally acquainted with him. The emperor Julian charges him only with having been privy to the conspiracy 2; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the filver statues of Com- His conduct. modus, which had been pulled down by a decree of the senate, to be melted, and and excellent turned into money; and fold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, administration. his horses, his gold and silver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which parf ticular mention is made of chariots fo contrived as to shew the hour, and measure the way 2. By this means he raised money wherewithal to pay the prætorian guards what he had promifed them, to discharge several debts contracted by Commodus, and to give a bounty to the people. At the same time he restored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjustly taken from them by Commodus, recalled such as had been banished for the pretended crime of treason, put them in possession of their estates, and punished with the utmost severity those who had been any-ways accessory to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inherit-

<sup>\*</sup> Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55. HEROD. l. ii. p. 493. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 183. Vict. epit. W HEROD. ibid. Dio, p. 832. & in excerpt. Val. p. 743.

\* Vie. Pert. p. 54, 55. HEROD. l. ii. p. 493. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 183. Vict. epit. W HEROD. ibid. Julian. C. 55. p. 14. W HEROD. Ibid. Vit. Pert. p. 56. Vo 4. VI. Nº 2. Сc ances

fied with him.

They revolt, raife Falco to she empire.

to Rome, and enter the palace.

of Pertinax.

His death.

ances from fuch as had children or lawful heirs of their own, faying, I had rather a be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by dishonourable methods. He abolished all the taxes laid by Commodus on the rivers, ports, and high-ways; and would not fuffer his name to be fet up, according to custom, in such places as belonged to the emperors, faying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public b. Thus by the mildness of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the senate and people; but by attempting to restrain the licentiousness of The pretorian the prætorian guards, he disobliged both them and their commander Lætus, who at first had been so zealous in his cause. The private men, not doubting but he would restore the ancient discipline among them, had, three days after his accession to the empire, attempted to set up another, viz. Triarius Maternus Lascivius, a senator of b an illustrious family; but he, escaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to Pertinax, affured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from Rome. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by Commodus. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiousness of the preceding reign, not being able to brook, attempted and attempt to to raise Falco, the consul, to the empire. Pertinax, who was then at Oftia giving the necessary orders for supplying the city with provisions, returned in great haste to the palace; and repairing from thence to the fenate, complained there of Falco, whom the fenators were for condemning immediately as a traitor, and a public enemy. But Pertinax, rifing up, cried out, that in his reign no fenator, however guilty, c should be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. Falco, being thus difmissed, retired to his estate, where he lived in safety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the defign of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their resolution to him. However that be, the foldiers, highly exasperated against Pertinax, who laboured to revive the ancient discipline, and stirred up underhand by Lætus, who did not think his former services sufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare, that they would no longer obey the orders of *Pertinax*, nor acknowledge him for emperor. To exasperate them still more, Lætus caused several of them to be publicly executed as privy to the late conspiracy, pretending, that he obeyed therein the orders of d Pertinax, tho' the prince was quite unapprifed of these proceedings. By this means Three hundred the mutiny increasing daily, on the twenty-eighth of March a body of about three of them march hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the rest, leaving the camp, and passing through the streets of Rome with their drawn swords, went strait to the palace, which they entered without opposition, the emperor's freed-men and officers either betaking themselves to flight through fear, or treacherously opening all the gates to them. Pertinax, in the mean time, knew nothing of what passed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guard had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor dispatched Sulpicianus, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of Rome, to appeale the tumult in the camp, and ordered e Latus to stop those who had entered the palace. But Latus, covering his face, that he might not be known, instead of obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own house. As the mutineers still advanced, some of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, advised him to retire, and conceal himself, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his affistance. But Pertinax rejected their advice, faying, that to fave his life by flight was a thing altogether unworthy The intrepidity of an emperor. He therefore resolved to go forth, and meet them in person, believing that, awed by his presence, they would return to a sense of their duty. Accordingly he appeared unexpectedly before them, and asked them, without betraying the least fear or concern, whether they, whose duty it was to defend the emperor's per- f fon, were come with an intent to betray and murder him? At the fame time he represented to them the heinousness of their crime, the ignominy which it would cast upon their memories, and the fatal consequences of so black a treason, with fuch spirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to sheath their swords, and retire. But a Tungrian, by name Tausius, darting his javelin at the emperor's breast, and crying out, The foldiers fend you this, the rest fell on with great fury, and dispatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no resistance; but covering his head with his robe, and calling upon Jupiter the avenger,

2 received their blows. Eclectus alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but after having killed two of the foldiers, was himself run through, and lett dead by his mafter, for whose fafety he had facrificed his life. The soldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a spear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could affemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they fo tenderly loved. And truly it was no fooner known, that Pertinax had been murdered, than the enraged populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces against the authors of his death, ran up and down the streets in quest of them. The senators were no less concerned for his death, than the people; He is univerb the more, because they were now convinced, that the soldiers would suffer none to saily lamented. reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to lose than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death, but either shut themselves up in their own houses, or in those of the soldiers of their acquaintance, thinking themselves there most safe. Such was the unfortunate and much-lamented end of Publius Helvius Pertinax, after he had lived fixty-fix years, feven months, and twenty-fix or twenty-eight days; and reigned, according to Dion Cassius, eighty-seven days, that is, from the first of January to the twenty-eighth of March d. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by Didius Julianus, his successor, in the butying-place of his wife's family. The emperor Septimius Severus, with the title of e emperor, took the name of Pertinax, which he knew would, above any thing elfe, recommend him to the army in Illyricum, and to the Roman people. He punished with great severity all those who had been accessory to his death, disbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a most magnificent funeral, at which was Honours paid carried the effigies of the deceased prince, pronounced himself his panegyric, and him after his caused him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the son chief priest death.

restored the empire to its former lustre, had he reigned longer i. Pertinax had sent, as we have related above, Flavius Sulficianus, his father-in-law, to appeale the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards; but in the mean time the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three hundred foldiers arriving foon after with his head fluck on a fpear, Sulpicianus was not ashamed to apply to the murderers of his fon-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they resolved to make the most of it, caused it to be proclaimed on the ram- The empire parts of the camp, that the empire was exposed to sale, and the best bidder should exposed to sale, have it. When news of this scandalous proclamation was first brought to Rome,

to his father. The day of his accession to the empire was yearly celebrated with the circensian games; and his birth-day, for many years after, with other sports c. He performed great things, fays Herodian, during his short reign, and would have

Didius Julianus, the wealthiest man in the city, was entertaining some of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midst of their mirth and jollity, advised him, as he had e more ready money than any man in Rome, not to lose the opportunity of making so valuable a purchase. Julianus, ravished with the dazzling prospect of rule and empire, hearkened to their advice, rose from table, and hastened to the camp; where he represented to the foldiers, whom Sulpicianus was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his fon-in-law; and gave them it under his hand, that he would reftore all things to the condition they were in under Commodus. This pleased the licentious and diffolute soldiery, who had committed in that prince's reign all forts of disorders with impunity. However they would hear what they both offered, and suffered them to bid upon one another, Sulpicianus in the camp, and Julianus at the gate; till the latter, rising at once from five thousand drachma's a man to six thousand two hundred and sifty, to be immediately paid, filenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed And purchased emperor, on condition, that he should forgive his competitor, and never take the by Didius Juli-

least notice of his aspiring at the empires. Spartian relates his accession to the empire in a different manner: according to him, the senate assembled upon the news of the emperor's death; but Julianus coming too late, and finding the doors shut, was accosted by two tribunes, P. Florianus and Vectius Aper, who encouraged him to seize

on the empire. Julianus, believing that Sulpicianus had been proclaimed emperor e Dio, p. 834, 835. Herod. l. ii. p. 498. Vit. Pert. p. 58. p. 840—842. Vict. epit. Vit. Pert. p. 59. Herod. p. 495. Herod p. 499.

d Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 834. с 1210, f Herod. ibid.

His extraction and preferments.

by the prætorian guards, answered, that the empire was already disposed of; but a they nevertheless carried him to the camp against his will, where, upon his warning them not to chuse one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of Pertinax, and his promifing to respect the memory of Commodus, he was proclaimed Augustus upon the above-mentioned condition 8. M. Didius Severus Julianus, thus raised to the empire, was descended of an illustrious family, come originally from Milan, in which city his grandfather was born. The emperor was the fon of Petronius Didius Severus, and Æmilia Clara, the grand-daughter of the celebrated civilian Salvius Julianus, who flourished under Adrian, and compiled the perpetual edist. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of January of the year 133, the fixteenth of Adrian's reign, and brought up by Domitia Lucilla, the mother of M. Aurelius. That prince, who b had a particular affection for him, created him first quæstor, then ædile, afterwards prætor; and when the time of his prætorship expired, gave him the command of the twenty-second legion, quartered at that time in Germany. Not long after, he appointed him governor of Belgic Gaul, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the Chauci, who had made an irruption into the Roman territories; for which fervice he was rewarded with the confulship. After he had discharged that office, he was sent into Illyricum, which country he defended with great valour against the neighbouring barbarians, and was on that account preferred to the government of Lower Germany; whence he was recalled to Rome, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions. He narrowly escaped being c put to death in the reign of Commodus, as privy to the pretended conspiracy of Salvius Julianus, his uncle by the mother, and was for some time confined to the city of Milan. But Commodus, ashamed of having caused so many other senators to be inhumanly massacred, not only discharged Julianus, but preferred him to the government of Bitbynia, and afterwards to the confulship, in which he had Pertinax for his collegue, whom he succeeded in the proconsulship of Africa. Hence Pertinax used to call him his collegue and his successor, which was afterwards interpreted as a presage of his being succeeded by Julianus in the empire i.

ALL authors agree, that Didius Julianus was possessed of immense wealth; but His character. disagree as to his character. Dion Cassius, who had been named by Pertinax to the d prætorship, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amassing riches by any means, however shameful and unjust, and at the same time sparing no expence to please and satisfy his palate. He spoke without judgment, fays that writer, and uttered fuch things in public as made him be pitied by all men of fense. He was underhand a great encourager of disturbances and troubles in the state, and is supposed to have privately stirred up the soldiers against Pertinax, tho' his nephew had married that prince's daughter. Dion Cassius adds, that he himself in pleading had often reproached him in public with his crying injustices k. Herodian writes, that he was generally despised on account of his disorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleasures and diversions. Spartian, e on the other hand, tells us, that in all his governments and employments under M. Aurelius, he acquitted himself with great integrity; from which however he was said to have swerved in the reign of Commodus. He adds, that he was so covetous, as not to allow himself sometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is pointblank contrary to what we read in Dion Cassius and Herodian, both which writers lived at that time in Rome. Spartian however owns, that Julianus was charged with eating and drinking to excess, with gaming, and using such weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, tho' in his youth he had never been addicted to any of these vices m. He shewed himself, according to that writer, kind, assable, and obliging to all men; and was fo far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the f contrary, he seemed rather to debase himself too much. As soon as he was declared emperor, he appointed, at the request of the prætorian guards, Flavius Genialis and Tullius Crispinus their commanders. At the same time he accepted the name of Comname of Com- modus, which they begged him to take upon him; and this name is still to be seen on some of his medals ". After the usual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the fenate. The people did not offer to oppose their march; but no acclamations were heard; some, who were at a distance, even uttered

He takes the modus.

k Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 835. SPART. in Jul. p. 60. D SPART, ibid. 1 Idem, vit. Jul. p. 61. m Julian. vit. p. 63. 1 HEROD. L ii. p. 498. n BIRAG. p. 262,

a invectives against him. As for the senators, those among them who were the most

grieved to ice him emperor, were the most forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on his accession to the empire. Among these was, as he himself owns, Dion Cassius the historian. Julianus made a speech in the senate, says Dion, who was present, worthy of himself, wherein he desired them to confirm what the soldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them; but told them at the same time, that he was the fittest person they could chuse. The senate immedately passed a He is acknowdecree declaring him emperor, and his family patrician, and investing him with the ledged by the tribunitial and proconsular powers. At the same time his wife Manlia Scantilla, and senate. his daughter Didia Clara, were honoured with the title of Augusta. From the senate b he repaired to the palace, where he found the body of Pertinax, which he caused to be honourably interred, and passed the night in great agonies, resecting on the sate of Pertinax, which he apprehended might in the end be his own P. Thus Capitolinus; but Dion Cassius, who was an eye-witness of what passed at Rome under Julianus, tells us, that the new prince, entering the palace, and despising the frugal supper which had been prepared for Pertinax, (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the same day) ordered a magnificent feast to be got ready, and passed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceased prince in the place where he had been murdered 1. The next morning, the senate and the Roman He receives knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a most obliging manner, calling them in a very c them, says Capitolinus, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his son. obliging man-He went afterwards to the senate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to administer, in conjunction with them, the sovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occasion he received, according to Capitolinus, the title of the father of his country, which however does not appear on any of his medals. From the fenate he went to the capitol to offer there the usual facrifices, the fenators, who attended him, striving to shew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, strangers to all dissimulation, openly He is hated, loaded him with curses and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to refign and openly the power, which he had purchased of the soldiery in so shameful a manner. They cursed, by the d even discharged showers of stones at him, and wished aloud, as he was facrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appeale them with great promises; but they answered boldly, that they scorned to receive any thing from such an usurper and parricide: insomuch that, to differfe them, (for they flopt up the way) he was obliged to order the foldiers to fall upon those who stood nearest, which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exasperated the people to such a degree, that they all took arms; and in the circus, where the emperor affisted at the public games, renewed their curses and imprecations both against him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the affistance of the other armies and generals, namely, of Pescennius Niger, who at that time commanded a powerful army in Syria. All this Julianus bore with great patience, says Spartian; and, during his short reign, gave many instances of an extraordinary sweet temper. He appointed Repentinus, His governhis fon-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of Sulpicianus, father-ment. in-law to the deceased emperor; and, to gratify the soldiery, re-established many

in the different provinces of the empire, the most famed were Pescennius Niger in Syria, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, and Clodius Albinus in Britain. Clodius Albinus Clodius Albiwas a native of Adrumentum in Africa, but descended from the Postbumian and Ceio-nus, his exf nian families, two of the most illustrious in Rome. His father Ceionius Posthumus traction and gave him the name of Albinus, because at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children usually are, the Latin word albus importing white. He was brought up in Africa, where he studied the Greek and Latin languages, in which he was well versed. The ancients cry up his knowledge and learning, and mention with great commendations a treatise which he composed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to pursue the peaceable prosession of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at school, that verse of Virgil, \_ Arma amens capio, nec fat rationis in armis; — especially the first part of it,

Among the many great captains, who commanded at this time the Roman armies

things, which had been appointed by Commodus, and abolished by Pertinax.

· Dio ibid. P Vit. Pert. p. 61. 9 Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 836. r Vit. Pert. p. 61.

Arma amens capio, that is, I am for following the profession of arms, right or wrong; a I am for a military life at all events. He therefore entered into the service very early, and, by the interest of Lollius Serenus, Babius Matianus, and Ceionius Postbumianus, men of rank, and nearly related to him, was first raised to the command of a troop of Illyrian horse, and soon after to that of the first and sourth legions. He commanded the army in Bithynia in the year 175, the fifteenth of the reign of M. Aurelius, and restrained them from joining, as they designed, Avidius Cassius, for which fervice he was rewarded with the confulfhip. In the reign of Commodus he was appointed governor of Gaul, where he gained great advantages over the Fristans, and other neighbouring nations. From Gaul he was translated into Britain, which government he held at this time'. The emperor Commodus, suspecting that Septimius b Severus, governor of Illyricum, and Nonius Murcus, who commanded an army in some other province, defigned to revolt, in order to engage Albinus in his cause, wrote a letter to him, if Capitolinus is to be credited, giving him leave to assume, if he saw occasion, the title of Casar, and all the badges of that dignity; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand (K). The same writer adds, that some time after, a salse report of the death of Commodus being spread in Britain, Albinus, giving credit to it, encouraged his foldiers to abolish monarchy, and re-establish the ancient republican government; which gained him the affections of the fenate, but provoked Commodus to such a degree, that he immediately sent Junius Severus to succeed him in the go- c vernment of Britain; but he did not arrive there before the death of Commodus was publicly known in that province. M. Aurelius had a particular value for him, and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by Capitolinus (L) ", well qualified, on account of his feverity and gravity, for the His character. command of an army. But his severity seems to have bordered upon cruelty; for he is faid never to have pardoned the least fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any-ways remiss in their duty. He was unjust to his domestics, insupportable to his wife, and to all surly and morose. He was very proper in his dress, but quite otherwise in his repasts, minding nothing but plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is faid by Capitolinus to have often eat at d a breakfast five hundred figs, a hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, a hundred beccafico's, and four hundred oifters w. Sometimes he abstained altogether from wine, and fometimes drank to excess even in the time of war. He was far from being chafte, but abhorred and punished with the utmost severity all forts of unnatural lust. As he was, notwithstanding his many vices, a man of great courage and skill in military affairs, he was commonly called a fecond Catiline. The

Vit. Alb. p. 79-84.

Idem ibid. p. 79.

\* Idem, p. 83.

w Idem, p. 83.

(K) This letter was conceived in the following terms: Besides the other letters, which I have written to you concerning your fuccessor, and the affairs of the public, this, you fee, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand; in which I give you leave, whenever you shall see occasion, to take upon you at the head of the army the name and quality of Cafar. For I hear, that Septimius Severus and Nonius Murcus speak ill of me to the army, in order to estrange from me the minds of the soldiery, and pave themselves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to assume the name of Cafar, and to present the soldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I send you letters for my receivers, fealed with the head of an Amazon, which receivers, sealed with the head of an Amazon, which you will deliver to them, when you have occasion for the money; otherwise they will not supply you with it out of the treasury. That you may not be without the badges of the dignity ro which I raise you, I give you leave to wear a scarlet robe even in my presence: the purple you shall have the first time I see you, but not inriched with gold, which my great grandfather Elius Verus never wore, tho' adopted by Adrian (56).

(L) M. Aurelius wrote the following letter con-

(L) M. Aurelius wrote the following letter con-

cerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entrusted Albinus, of the family of the Ceionii, with the command of two cohorts. He is, 'tis true, an African, but free from the vices of that country. He is the fon-in-law of Plantillas, and, besides, a man of great experience, of a grave and composed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the necessary discipline in a camp: at least, I am sure we need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his falary, and defire you to encourage him, affuring him, that his services shall not remain unrewarded (57). The same prince wrote another letter concerning him foon after the rebellion of Avidius Caffins, in which he expresses himself thus: The fidelity of Albinus deserves the highest encomiums; for when the forces in Bithynia were ready to revolt, and join Cassius, he spared no pains to maintain them in their duty, and deseat their evil designs. I therefore think him worthy of the confulfhip, and accordingly design to substitute him in the room of Cassius Papirius, who is dangeroully ill, and, as I am informed, past recovery. But of this take no notice till he is dead, lest it should come to the ears either of Papirius himfelf, or his friends, which would give me great concern (58).

f emperor f.

a harangue he made to his troops in Britain against monarchy gained him the affections of the senate to such a degree, that no prince, says his historian, was ever loved by them so much as he x.

Caius Pescennius Niger Justus, as he is styled on some medals v, was descended Pescennius of an equestrian family, and born at Aquinum. He had but a small estate, and little Niger, his exof an equeltrian family, and born at Aquinum. Fie had out a little traction, pre-learning; but nevertheless raised himself from the degree of a centurion to the first ferments and military employments in the empire. He had some command in Gaul, where he character. contracted a great friendship with Septimius Severus, at that time governor of the country of Lions, who recommended him to the emperor Commodus as an excellent soldier, and experienced commander. He was afterwards made conful, at the request b of the troops under his command 2. Herodian calls him a gallant foldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illustrious conful, and an unfortunate empe-For 2. He kept the foldiers to their duty, and would not suffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the foldiers, upon any account whatsoever. He caused two tribunes to be stoned for having deducted a very inconsiderable fum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten foldiers to be beheaded for stealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it adviseable to spare their lives, and only oblige them to pay to the countryman the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his foldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to use plate, or have any gold or filver c about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in case of any misfortune, set themselves off with their spoils. He suffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the foldiers to content themselves with bisket. Some troops, that were in garison on the frontiers of Egypt, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other answer, than that they were but at a small distance from the Nile. He required nothing of the foldiers, but what he practifed himfelf. In his garb and dress he little varied from a common soldier, and his diet was the fame with that of the meanest in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered in all feafons and climates. He obliged even his own domestics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not seem to walk at their d ease, while the soldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage. He had constantly before his eyes Marius, Hannibal, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being faluted emperor, the person, who, according to custom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric, began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and defired him to fay fomething in praise of Marius, of Hannibal, or of some other renowned commander, who was dead. Tell us, faid he, what they have done worthy of imitation; for to praise the living is an useless task, especially to praise an emperor, who can punish, reward, proscribe and condemn: as for me, I only defire to please while I live; when I am dead, then praise me, if I deserve it. If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have restored e the empire to its former lustre, without using that cruelty for which Severus is blamed b. For tho' he was naturally severe, says Herodian c, yet he governed with great mildness, and was always ready to contribute to the diversions of the people; which gained him the affections of the Syrians, especially of the Antiochians, who delighted in nothing but shews and spectacles. Spartian commends him on account of his chastity, which the Gauls, says that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues. On the other hand, Victor the younger styles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdness. Dion Cassius speaks of him as a person no-ways remarkable either for his good or bad qualities. However, it is certain, that he was univerfally esteemed and beloved by the people of Rome, who all wished to see him

Severus was a person endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every respect Septimius infinitely superior both to Albinus and Niger. He was generally esteemed, and not character. undefervedly, the most active, vigilant, laborious, and enterprising man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greatest commanders of ancient times, a great master of civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, a constant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great diffembler, full of deceit,

<sup>7</sup> Birag. p. 264. SPART. in Nigr. p. 75.
6 HEROD. l. ii. p. 501. & l. iii. p. 518.
6 HEROD. ibid. Vit. Nigr. p. 74. \* Idem, p. 83. b Vit. Nigr. p. 75-77.
Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 842.

<sup>\*</sup> HEROD. 1. iii. p. 501. 4 Vit. Nigr. p. 76.

and ever ready to facrifice his reputation, and every thing elfe, to his interest and a ambition 8. He was naturally inclined to crucky and avarice, but more to crucky; for we find some instances of his generosity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is faid never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action h. He was an enemy to all pomp and shew, frugal in his diet, contenting himself for the most part with roots and greens, but sometimes, tho' feldom, drinking to excess. In the field, his diet was the same with that of the common soldiers; he shared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which, notwithstanding his severity, gained him the affectis extraction, tions of the soldiery. Severus was born at Leptis, a city of Libya Tripolitana, but his ancestors had been Roman knights, and afterwards admitted into the senate; for b he was nephew by the father to two confuls, M. Agrippa and Septimius Severus; the latter was twice consul. His father, M. Septimius Gela, had another son, named likewise Geta, and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her son, has been transmitted to us k. Severus was born on the eleventh of April in the year 145, the

eighth of the reign of Antoninus Pius. He studied first in Africa, and afterwards at Rome, the Greek and Latin tongues; declaimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himself to the study of philosophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to Spartian, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius, in each branch of polite literature. Dion, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts 1; and Spartian owns, that he spoke to the end of his life the Latin tongue with c the African accent m. He was instructed in the knowledge of the law, together with Papinianus, by Q. Cervidius Scavola, who published various books of jurisprudence, whereof some fragments are still preserved in the Pandests n. He seems to have had likewife some knowledge of physic, and is said to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial aftrology, a science to which the Africans were generally addicted P. In his youth he was accused of adultery, but acquitted by Didius Julianus, at that time proconful of Africa. Afterwards he came to Rome, where, after he had pleaded for some time with little success at the bar, he was, by the interest

of his uncle Septimius Severus, admitted by the emperor M. Aurelius into the senate,

and appointed governor of the island of Sardinia, whence he was fent to command d the troops in Africa in quality of lieutenant to the proconful. Upon his return from

Education.

And employments.

Africa, he was created prætor; and after his prætorship preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in Syria. On his journey into that province, he visited the city of Athens, and received some affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted them by his predecessors. Next, he was raised to the government of Gallia Lugdunensis, or the country of Lions, where, by his affability, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From Gaul he was removed to Pannonia, which province he governed with proconfular authority, as he did afterwards that of Sicily. Upon his return to Rome, he was accused of having consulted the astrologers about his attaining the empire; but as e Commodus began then to be universally hated, he was acquitted, and his accuser crucified. He was raised soon after to the consulship, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in Illyricum to defend the banks of the Danube q. He His wife Julia. married to his first wife one Martia; and upon her death Julia, a native of Emesia in Syria, for no other reason but because the astrologers had told her, that she was to marry a sovereign. She is styled in several inscriptions Julia Domna Augusta, the mother of the armies, of the senate, of her country, &c. r. By her Severus had Bassianus, commonly known by the name of Caracalla, born the fourth of April 188. Geta, born in Milan, the twenty-seventh of May 189. and two daughters, who were married after their father's accession to the empire. Julia dishonoured with her lewd- f ness her husband and family, and had the mortification to hear herself publicly reproached by a Caledonian lady with the same vices which she pretended to condemn in her s. She was likewise accused of conspiring against her husband, and charged with several other crimes by Plautianus, who did all that lay in his power to dif-

<sup>\*\*</sup> Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. Vict. epit. Tertuil. apol. c. 4. h Herod. l. iii. p. 527. ldem, l. ii. p. 507. h Spart. vit. Sev. p. 64. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 742. Grut. p. 268. l Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 741. m Vit. Sev. p. 71. lvit. Citacall. cum not. Cisaub. p. 132. & Jons. l. iii. c. 12. Gralen. ther. t. ii. p. 457, 458. leg. go. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 866. l Vit. Sev. p. 64, 65. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 840. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. Spon. p. 270. Spanh. l. vi. p. 628. l Aur. Vict. Sever. vit. p. 71. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 869.

a credit her with the emperor; infomuch that, to retrieve her reputation, she betook herself to the study of philosophy, and kept continually about her a great number of fophilts, philosophers, mathematicians, geographers, and persons eminent in the various branches of learning, which has rendered her name famous in history . Julia had a fifter named Masa, who was married to one Julius, who had by her two daughters, Sommis and Mamea, the former the mother of the emperor Heliogabalus, and the latter of Alexander, who succeeded him.

To resume now the thread of our history, and return to Didius Julianus: while he was striving to gain the affections of the Roman people by the mildness of his government, news was brought him, that Pescennius Niger had revolted in Syria, and Pescennius was acknowledged emperor by all the eastern nations, and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from Illyricum, where Severus had east, and Sevebeen salured by the army which he commended there with the server which he commended there will be seen to the server which he commended the server with the server been faluted by the army, which he commanded there, with the title of Augustus. rus in Illyri-The armies in Gaul likewise swore allegiance to him, as soon as they heard, that he cumhad taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities in Europe, except the city of Byzantium; so that Severus having fecured the provinces behind him, and left fome troops to guard the banks of the Danube, began his march to Rome. As he was well apprifed, that Albinus, governor of Britain, was in a condition to thwart his deligns, he wrote an obliging letter to him, wherein he declared his intention of adopting him, and gave him c the title of Casar, which Albinus assumed at the head of his army, with all the badges of his new dignity, bestowing on that occasion great encomiums on Severus. As for Niger, Severus did not so much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive him, well knowing, that he would not hearken to any proposals whatsoever ". Julianus, in the mean time, repairing to the senate, caused Severus to be declared an enemy Severus deto his country, and likewise his soldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited clared a public time. Deputies were even fent by the fenate to persuade the soldiers to quit the enemy. party of Severus, and join Julianus. Among these was Vespronius Candidus, a confular of great authority, Valerius Catulinus, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which Severus had with him, and one Aquilius, a centurion, d the chief minister of the cruelties of Commodus, with orders to dispatch Severus as soon as his troops had deserted him. But the deputies, instead of exhorting the troops to abandon Severus, joined him themselves, and encouraged the soldiers to pursue their march, and revenge the death of Pertinax. Hereupon Julianus, having first paid the prætorian guards the larges he had promised them, ordered them to their arms, and at the same time sent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at Misenum, and with the prætorian guards made up a considerable army. But as they had been long inured to idleness, they scarce knew how to make use of their arms, and shewed great backwardness to make head against the enemy, who were In his march e advancing with long marches, being received every-where with loud acclamations, to Rome he is and supplied with plenty of provisions, upon their giving out, that they were going every where to revenge the death of Pertinax, a prince universally beloved. Julianus, finding loud acclamahe could not depend upon his troops, caused the palace to be fortified, as if he tions. could have maintained himself there after losing all the rest. At the same time, he ordered Marcia and Latus, the chief authors of the death of Commodus, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured Severus; dispatched a great number of affaffins, to try if he could by any means murder Severus, with promifes of immense

rewards, if they succeeded in the attempt; and caused an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abomif nable mysteries of magic w. While Julianus was thus losing his time in useless preparations, Severus arriving at Ravenna, made himself master of that city, and the fleet riding there; which so terrified Julianus, that, distrusting his troops, he ordered the senate to assemble on the twenty-ninth of May, when one of his ministers defired them in his name to fend out the vestals to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire; which proposal being rejected as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, Julianus, as some authors write, was so provoked, that he assembled his troops, with a design to put all the senators to the sword, if they did not comply with his request. But he foon changed his mind, and went to the fenate in person, with a proposal of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>t</sup> Риіlos. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. i. с. 3. & foph. lvi. p. 617. w Dio, p. 838. Vit. Jul. p. 62. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 837. HEROP. l. ii. p. 513.

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quite different nature, which was, that they would pass a decree, declaring Severus a Julianus causes his partner in the empire. The decree passed without opposition, and was imme-Severus to be diately fent to Severus, who not only rejected the offered affociation, but, at the instigation of Julius Latus, ordered Tullius Crispinus, captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being spread, that Crispinus had private orders to dispatch him. Hereupon Julianus, being quite at a loss what to do, and the fenate declining to affift him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at Capua to take arms, under the command of Lollianus Titianus, and wrote an obliging letter to Pompeianus, the son-in-law of M. Aurelius, who then led a retired life at Tarracina, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But Pompeianus wisely declined the offer, pleading his old age, and b the weakness of his sight; which however would have served him well, says Dion Cassius, had he seen any effectual means of relieving his distressed country x. In the Julianus aban. mean time the troops sent by Julianus into Umbria to guard the passes of the Apennine mountains, declared for Severus; and the prætorian guards themselves, abandoning the emperor whom they had fet up, agreed not to oppose Severus, upon his promising them impunity, provided they delivered up to him those who had murdered Pertinax y. Julianus, seeing himself thus deserted by his troops, shut himself up in the palace, with Genialis, one of the captains of the guards, and Repentinus his fonin-law. The guards in the mean time, having feized fuch of their comrades as had who had been substituted either to Falco or Erucius, the ordinary consuls of this year

Severus de-

been any-ways concerned in the death of Pertinax, acquainted therewith Silius Meffala, c 193. Messala immediately assembled the senate, when a decree passed, depriving clared emperor, Julianus of the empire, sentencing him to death, declaring Severus emperor, and degraded by the appointing divine honours to Pertinax. This decree was carried to Severus by fenate, and put some of the chief men in the senate, who intreated him, in the name of the rest, to hasten his march to Rome. At the same time the senate sent a band of soldiers to the palace, with orders to put Julianus to death; whom they sound drowned in tears, and ready to resign the empire, upon condition that they spared his life. Some authors write, that at the fight of the armed band, he only faid, What crime bave I committed? whose life have I taken away 2? Others tell us, that he implored the faith d of Cafar, giving that title to Severus 2. Be that as it will, his head was struck off by a common foldier, and his body, according to Aurelius Vistor, exposed to public view. Such was the end of Didius Julianus, after he had lived fixty years, four months and as many days, and reigned two months and fix days. Severus, upon his arrival at Rome, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his ancestors on the Via Lavicana, about five miles from Rome b.

A hundred fenators fent to meet Severus.

Severus received the news of his competitor's death, when he was yet some days journey from Rome. However, he pursued his march with his troops in battle-array, and incamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and dismay. The senate deputed a hundred persons of great distin-Etion out of their body to congratulate him upon the death of his rival, and his accession to the empire. Severus received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and caused them to be searched, as if he suspected their sidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, presented them with seven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to flay, and return to Rome with him. He appointed Flavius Juvenalis captain of the guards, with Veturius Macrinus, whom he had named before to that employment. At the fame time he dispatched an express to Plautianus, injoining him to seize the children of Pescennius Niger, and of all the officers who served under him. He had the good luck to intercept several letters and edicts sent by Niger to the senate and people of f Rome, which he would not fuffer to be read to them . When he approached Rome, he caused all those to be executed, who had any hand in the death of Pertinax; and fent orders to the other foldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in the great folemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining, that they were to attend in that dress the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, Severus sent them word to wait in a body till he was at leifure to receive and harangue them; and in the mean

time

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 729. Vit. Jul. p. 63. 

Dio, p. 838. Herod. p. 510. 

Dio, p. 868. Vit. Jul. p. 66. 

Vit. Sever. p. 66. & Nigr. p. 75. HERODIAN. l. 111. p. 526.

a time gave private orders to his own troops to furround them at a distance, and shut them up on all fides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue. He then ascended the tribunal; and betraying great anger and resentment in his countenance, reproached them in most bitter terms for murdering their prince, and such a prince as Pertinax; for felling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like so many cowards and traitors, Julianus, whom they themselves had chosen. He told them, that he could inslict no punishment upon them answerable to the enormity of their crimes; that nevertheless he granted them their lives; but commanded them forthwith to quit their horses, and all their mili- He disbands all tary badges, and retire without delay a hundred miles from Rome, folemnly declar- the pratorian b ing, that whoever among them should be found within that distance of the city, guards. should irremissibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunderstruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being surrounded on all sides by the armed troops of Severus, who obliged them to quit their horses, and stripped them even of their tunics. Thus stripped and degraded, they retired with that shame and confusion, which were justly owing to the heinousness of their crimes d. Dion Coffius tells us, that one of their horses followed his old master, throwing down and treading under foot all those who endeavoured to stop him; insomuch that the unhappy foldier, finding his horse would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and running himself through with the same sword, sell dead by him. The same o historian adds, that the faithful horse betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his master's hand c. Severus entered Rome, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the His entry into standards of the prætorian guards reversed. He came to the gate on horse-back, and Rome. in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the senators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewise wore, who, on this occasion, were all clad in white. The streets through which he passed, were strewed with slowers, the houses adorned, and covered with rich tapestry, and the whole city perfumed with sweet odors. Severus, having visited the capitol, and the usual temples, retired to the palace; but the soldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, portico's and other public buildings, spread d themselves all over the city, and committed every-where great disorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houses, if they were not plentifully supplied with provisions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inspired them with a great aversion to the new emperor f. The next morning Severus went to the fenate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had scarce begun to speak, when he was interrupted all on a sudden by dreadful cries of the soldiers without, The soldiers demanding an immense sum of the senate, which had been formerly given to the mutiny. troops that had attended Augustus to Rome, and was consequently, said they, due to them. The senate, altogether unapprised of the cause of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, ftruck with horror and difmay. The emperor himfelf betrayed fome fear; but however, starting up, he went out to them; but could not appeale the mutinous multitude, without promising them part of what they demanded; that is, two hundred and fifty drachma's a man, instead of two thousand five hundred. Then returning to the senate, he excused himself for having assumed the title of empe- The emperor's ror without their consent, pretending, that he had done it purely to revenge the death speech to the of Pertinax, and deliver them from the tyranny of Julianus. He promised to govern fenate. with great moderation, and tread in the footsteps of M. Aurelius and Pertinax, adding a folemn oath, by which he bound himself to the observance of all the laws; and particularly swore, that no senator should, for any crime whatsoever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been first tried and condemned by the senate; nay, he f obliged the senate to pass a decree, declaring such emperors as acted otherwise, those who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great fatisfaction to the generality of the fenators; but men of discernment, and such as were better acquainted with his dark and referved temper, with his falshood and diffimulation, gave no credit to his fair promises; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a second Tiberius. However, they unanimously conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, invested him with the tribunitial and proconfular powers, created him high pontiff, &c. Severus acquainted the senate with his

d Herod. p. 510. Dio, p. 839. Herod. p. 512. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 640. 2 Vit. Sever. p. 66. e Dio, ibid. f HEROD. P. 512.

having

The friends of Iulianus pro-[cribed.

guards chosen.

Severus lets out against Niger.

Niger prepares for war.

The site of Cx- having bestowed on Albinus the title of Cxfar, begged they would confirm it to him, a far confirmed to caused several medals to be struck with his name, statues to be erected to him, &c. He distributed large sums among the soldiery and people, which are taken notice of on several medals of this year b; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people, was his confecrating and inrolling with extraordinary pomp and folemnity the emperor Pertinax in the number of the gods. This apotheolis, perhaps the most magnificent that had ever been seen in Rome, is described at length by Dion Cassius i. Before he left Rome to march against Niger, he caused the senate to proscribe all the friends and adherents of Julianus; executed without mercy such of them as were discovered, and feized, and even attempted, out of hatred to that prince, to abolish the decrees of the celebrated civilian Salvius Julianus, his great-grandfather. In the next place, be New pretorian he chose new guards in the room of those whom he had cashiered, and sour times as many, which filled Rome with foldiers, and proved very chargeable to the state; for their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Besides, the natives only of certain countries, viz. of Spain, Macedon, Noricum, and above all of Italy, had been hitherto admitted to serve in the guards; but Severus, without any regard to their countries, chose the most resolute and brave men in his army, and appointed, that, for the future, they should be always taken from among the other troops; by which means the guards, who of late had ferved only for shew, became the flower of the Roman forces; and the hopes of a less toilsome and more honourable and advantageous warfare encouraged the rest to discharge their duty with more punctuality and c exactness; but on the other hand, the Italian youth, (for the guards had hitherto been mostly natives of Italy) having no longer that resource, turned either robbers or gladiators: hence this regulation was no-ways pleasing, either to the Romans, or to the other inhabitants of Italy k. About the same time the emperor gave his two daughters in marriage to Probus and Aetius, and honoured both his fons-in-law with the consular dignity. To the former he offered the government of Rome; but he declining that employment, it was conferred upon Domitius Dexter. The emperor, having thus fettled affairs in Rome, and supplied the city with great plenty of corn, set out in the beginning of July on his march into the east against Niger, whom he had never once named during his stay at Rome. His troops mutinied the first day at a place d called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from Rome; but the mutiny was foon quelled. However, he incamped there the first night, when his brother Geta came to wait upon him, expecting some great preferment; but Severus ordered him to return to his government, and shewed no inclination to employ him. Before he decamped, the children of *Pescennius Niger* were brought to him, whom he received and entertained with the same kindness as if they had been his own. He pursued his march with all possible expedition, having dispatched an express to the commander of the troops in Illyricum, injoining him to hasten into Thrace, and wait for him there. He ordered Heraclius to attempt the recovery of Bithynia, which province had declared for Niger; and wrote to Albinus in Britain, to hold himself ready to march upon the first notice. e

In the mean time Niger, hearing that Severus had been acknowledged emperor by the senate and people of Rome, and was already advancing by long marches against him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, injoining them to guard the narrow passes, especially that of mount Taurus between Cappadocia and Cilicia; raised new forces in Antioch, and all the other cities of Syria, and sent deputies to demand succours of the neighbouring princes. He went in person to view the fortifications of Byzantium, in which city he left a numerous garifon, looking upon it as a place of the utmost importance. From Byzantium he advanced to Perintbus, called afterwards Heraclea, where, in a skirmish between his men and those of Severus, whose party the city of Perintbus had embraced, a confiderable number of the latter were flain, f and among them several persons of great distinction. Hereupon the senate, to curry favour with Severus, declared Niger a public enemy, and likewife Æmilianus, then proconful of Asia, a person of extraordinary talents, long experience, and generally esteemed the greatest statesman of his age m. Spartian writes, that Niger, improving the advantage he had gained at Perintbus, made himself master of all Greece, Macedon and Thrace, and thereupon offered to take Severus for his partner in the empire; which proposal he rejected with contempt and derision a. The following year 1946

Severus

h Birag. p. 268. i Dio, p. 88. p. 733. l Vit. Sever. p. 67. Val. p. 734. n Vit. Nigr. p. 67. 1 Dio, p. 840. HEROD. p. 512. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. Val. p. 67. HEROD. l. ii. p. 512, 513. Nig. vit. p. 76. Dio, in excerpt.

a Severus and Albinus were both confuls the second time, and Niger in all likelihood took upon him the same dignity; for on some medals he is styled conful. We know nothing of what passed in the war between Niger and Severus, till the arrival of the latter before the city of Byzantium, which he befieged this year; but meeting with a vigorous resistance from the numerous garison, he left some of his troops before the place, and ordered the rest to cross the sea, and march towards Cyzicus, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by *Æmilianus* at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle enfued, in which much blood was shed on both sides; but Æmi- Emilianus, lianus was in the end defeated, and obliged to shelter himself first in Cyzicus, and after-Niger's gene-wards in another city not named in history, where he was taken, and put to death and slain. b by the generals of Severus; for the emperor himself was not, it seems, present at the battle of Cyzicus P. Not long after, another battle was fought between Nicea and Cius, two cities of Bitbynia, which proved far more bloody than the former, Niger commanding his own troops in person, and Candidus, an officer of great experience, those of Severus. Both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expressed, as appears from Dion Cassius's account of the engagement; but Niger, in spite of his Niger himself utmost efforts, was at last obliged to save himself by flight beyond the streights of overthrown. mount Taurus; which he caused to be fortified and well guarded q. After this victory, Severus wrote to Niger, offering to let him live in fafety, provided he laid down his arms, and disbanded his troops; which Niger seemed inclined to do; but was c diverted from it by Aurelianus, whose daughters were betrothed to his sons. He therefore retired to Antioch, in order to raise there troops and money. In the mean time the cities of Laodicea and Tyre declaring for Severus, Niger detached against them a body of Moors, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put most of the inhabitants to the fword, and fet fire to their houses, which were in great part consumed, but afterwards restored by Severus. In the mean time Severus's army, advancing to the foot of mount Taurus, was stopped there, and quite disheartened, at the fight of the strong works, and the great number of troops that defended them; infomuch that despairing of being able to open themselves a passage, they had some thoughts of returning: but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with fnow, falling in the night-time, the d fortifications were utterly demolished the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which so terrified Niger's men, now persuaded that the gods savoured the enemy, that they betook themselves to slight, and lest Severus's troops to enter Cilicia, without offering to make head against them. Niger had already raised a new army, confisting chiefly of the Antiochian youth, who were very zealous and sanguine in his cause; but utter strangers to military discipline. However, Niger placed them fo advantageously, that when they were attacked by the regular and well disciplined troops of Severus, under the command of Valerianus and Anulinus, they not only repulsed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been snatched out of their hands by a dreadful and unexpected storm of thunder and lightning; e which discharging itself in their faces, prevented them from pursuing the advantage

end gained a complete victory. This battle, by far the most bloody of the three, Athird battle, was fought on the very spot where Alexander the Great first vanquished Darius; that in which Niger is, near the city of Issue, at a place called Pylæ Ciliciæ, or the Gates of Cilicia, it being is utterly dea narrow plain on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, inclosed on one fide by the sea, and on the other by steep mountains, on which Niger's forces were posted. Niger

who pursued him, overtaking him at a small distance from Antioch, cut off his head, Niger is stain.

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P HEPOD. P. 516. Dio, p. 842. Vit. Sev. p. 67. Dio, l. lxxiv p. 843. Nig. vit. p. 76.
   · BIRAG. P. 264.
                                                                                                      9 Dio, p. 842.
F HEROD. I. iii. p. 519, 520. Dio, l. lxxiv p. 843.
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and carried it on the point of a spear to Severus, who caused it to be first shewn to the inhabitants of Byzantium, and then fent it to Rome r. Thus Dion Cassius and Herodian; but Spartian tells us, that Niger, being dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner, and in that condition brought to Severus, in whose presence he expired '.

they had gained, and disheartened them to such a degree, that no longer doubting but the gods were averse to their cause, they began to despair of success, and retire. Hereupon Severus's troops, refuming their courage, renewed the charge, and in the

is faid to have lost in this battle twenty thousand men. Of the dead on the side of Severus no mention is made in history. Niger, after this overthrow, retired to Antoch; but not thinking himself safe there, continued his flight towards the Euphrates, with a delign, as was supposed, of taking shelter among the Parthians: but those Severus punishes without mercy such as had sided with Niger.

Severus was not present at any of these battles; but where ever he was, (for as to a that particular we are left by historians quite in the dark) he foon made all those who had fided with his competitor, feel the effects of his refentment. He put fuch of the fenators to death, as had ferved under Niger in quality of generals or tribunes. He spared the lives of the other senators; but banished them to the islands, and seized their estates. He caused an infinite number of other persons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without confidering whether they had engaged in the war by force or constraint. Many who had never feen Niger, were involved in this general massacre of his friends and partizans t. Herodian writes, that Severus persuaded Niger's generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cause which they had embraced; and after gaining the victory by their treachery, b murdered both them and their children ". He first banished the wife and children of Niger, and afterwards caused them, and all those of his family, to be murdered, and their estates to be confiscated. Spartian names six illustrious persons of the Piscennian family, who were put to death by his orders ". However, he would not fuffer a pompous inscription on the basis of a statue of Niger at Rome (M) to be erazed, saying, Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered . He punished with exemplary feverity fuch cities as had fided with Niger, especially Antioch, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, subjecting it as a mere village to Laodicea; which heightened the jealoufy between these two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the intreaties of his eldest fon, then an infant, he reinstated the city of c Antioch in its former rights and privileges v. He obliged fuch cities as had affifted Niger with money, tho' not by choice, but constraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raise it?. The next consuls were Scapula Tertullus and Tineius Clemens, during whose administration, Severus, passing the Euphrates, reduced the inhabitants of Ofrhoene and Adiabene; who, taking advantage of the late disturbances, had murdered the Roman foldiers left among them, and shaken off the yoke . He likewise entered Arabia; for the Arabians too had either revolted, or joined Niger, but were in the end obliged to submit to Severus b. Herodian writes, that he overran all Arabia Felix c; and Eutropius and Victor cry up his exploits in that country, d speaking of them as if he had been the first who reduced Arabia to a Roman province. But Arabia Petræa had long before been made a province by Trajan; and as for Arabia Felix, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in Severus's time, or afterwards. Eusebius tells us, that Severus subdued the Adiabenians and Arabians, who had affisted Niger d. He likewise made war upon the Parthians; but did not bring them under subjection, as Spartian pretends e. For these wars the senate decreed him the titles of Arabicus, Parthicus, and Adiabenicus, which, with that of imperator the fifth time, are given him in the inscriptions of this year 195. the third of his reign f. He refused the triumph which was likewise decreed him, that he might not feem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title e of Parthicus he likewise rejected, lest his assuming it should provoke the Parthians 8. The Scythians defigned to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were stopped, and deterred from putting their design in execution, by a dreadful florm, in which three of their chiefs were struck dead with lightning h. In the beginning of the following year, when Cn. Domitius Dexter, governor of Rome, was conful the second time, with L. Valerius Messala Thrasea Priscus, the city of Byzanium surrendered after a three years siege. It was at this time by far the greatest, and the most populous and wealthy city of Thrace, fortified with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, and defended by a great number of towers, seven of which were

The city of By-

He makes war

upon the Adia-

beniane, Ara-

bians and Parthians.

him. He was dear to both the Antoninus's, and to the whole empire. As his name was Niger, (that is, black) we have caused a flatur to be creded to him in black marble, that it might answer his name. This statue was, as Spartian informs us, a present from the king of Thebes to Statius Posthumius.

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, I. lxxv. p. 851. & in excerpt. Val. p. 734. 

\* Herod. l. iii. p. 521. 

\* Vit. Nig. p. 79. 

\* Herod. l. iii. p. 523. 

\* Diog. p. 1921. 

\* Vit. Car.cal. p. 85. 

\* Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 737. 

\* Dio, l. lxxv. p. 848. 

\* Herod. l. iii. p. 528. 

\* Dio. in p. 948. 

\* Herod. l. iii. p. 528. 

\* Dio. in p. 948. 

\* Herod. l. iii. p. 528. 

\* Evit. Sever. p. 67. 

\* Vit. Sever. p. 67. 

\* Vit. Sever. p. 67. 

\* Vit. Sever. p. 67. 

\* OLTZ. p. 849.

<sup>(</sup>M) The house of Niger was still standing in Dioelesian's time, as Spartian informs us, and in one of the rooms his statue done to the life in the black marble of Thebes, with an epigram on the basis to this purpose: Here stands the great Niger, the terror of Egypt, the ally of Thebes, who had proposed a golden age to all. Kings, nations, Rome itself, loved

a built with such art, that the least noise heard in one of them, was immediately conveyed to all the rest. This city Niger seized at the first breaking out of the war, placed a numerous garifon in it, and supplied the inhabitants with great flore of warlike machines, most of them invented and built by Perifeus, a native of Nicea, and the greatest engineer of his age. Severus laid fiege to this place when he first arrived in Thrace, left a confiderable body of troops to carry it on, and, after the defeat and death of Niger, purfued it with the greatest part of his army by land, and by fea with all the ships he could assemble from the different ports of Asia. The Byzantines defended themselves, before the death of Niger, and even after his head had been shewn to them, with fuch resolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expressed. They baffled all the attempts of the affailants, killed great numbers of them, crushed such as approached b the walls with huge stones, and when stones began to fail them, with the statues of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, to submit, and open their gates to the conqueror, who put all the magistrates and soldiers to the sword; but spared the engineer Periscus. The city, with its stately theatres, baths and public And destroyed. buildings, was laid in ashes; the inhabitants were stripped of all their effects, and publicly fold for flaves, and the walls levelled with the ground; those walls, says Dion Cassius, which were the strongest rampart of the Roman empire against the incursions of the barbarians k. The chronicle of Alexandria, and the modern Greek writers, c tell us, that Severus himself rebuilt in great part the city of Byzantium, calling it Antoninia, from his fon Caracalla, who affumed the name of Antoninus. After the furrender of Byzantium, Severus fent his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of Latus, Anulinus, and Probus, to reduce part of Mesofotamia; which they did accordingly: and the country they conquered, perhaps Acabene, or Arctacene, was by Severus made a new province, whereof Nifibis was declared the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of Egypt, given only to Roman knights m.

AFTER these successes, Severus began to think of destroying Albinus, whom he had Severus relulled asleep with the title of Casar, while he was employed against Julianus and Niger. solves to destroy d As Albinus was as much beloved by the fenate, as Severus was hated on account of his Albinus. cruelty, and many persons of great distinction had even solicited him to come to Rome, and there assume the title of emperor, Severus thought he could not use too much dispatch in crushing him. However, not judging it adviseable to declare himfelf an open enemy to one who had not given him the least provocation, he had recourse to treachery, and wrote a pompous letter to the fenate in his commendation, and another to Albinus himself, filled with the most tender expressions of friendship, calling him his dearest and intirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the sovereign power; but those who brought him this letter, had secret orders to draw him aside, Sends assays under colour of communicating to him in private some affairs of the utmost import-to murder him.

e ance, and dispatch him with their daggers. They were likewise provided with poison, in case they could prevail upon any of his domestics to administer it to him. After Albinus had read the letter, the affaffins, purfuant to their directions, told him they had fomething to communicate to him by word of mouth, which required the utmost fecrecy. Hereupon Albinus desired them to attend him into a gallery; but observing, that they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from entering with them, he began to suspect some treachery, and caused them to be seized, and put to the question, when the violence of the torments extorted from them a full confession of the errand on which they were come. Hereupon Albinus betook himself to open Albinus causes force; and having affembled a mighty army, caused himself to be proclaimed em-himself to be f peror in Britain, and thence passed over into Gaul, where he was joined by many proclaimed empersons of great distinction, both Gauls and Spaniards. Severus, upon the first news of his revolt, leaving the east, hastened through Thrace and Illyricum into Gaul. Some writers tell us, that before he fet out on his march, he caused a young virgin to be facrificed, hoping to learn from her intrails what fuccess would attend him in this war. At Viminacium, a famous city in Upper Mæsia on the Danube, he gave the title of Cafar to Bassianus his eldest son, and on that occasion distributed large lums among the foldiers. At the same time he obliged his son to quit the name of

Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 847. Dio, ibi \* Dio, ibid. Herop. 1. iii. p. 523. 7—850. " Suid. p. 257. 1 Chron. Alex. p. 620. Suid. p.

Baffianus, and style himself thenceforth M. Aurelius Antoninus, for whom Severus ever a

Is declared a

public enemy.

had a great esteem and veneration o. Before Severus reached Gaul, several skirmishes happened between the troops that had declared for him there, and those of Albinus, in one of which, called by Herodian a battle, the generals of Severus were utterly defeated, and their troops dispersed P. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow passes of the Alps, and prevent his competitor from entering Italy. In the mean time the senate declared Albinus a public enemy; after which declaration, one Numerianus, who kept a grammar-school at Rome, hastening into Gaul, passed himself there upon the inhabitants for a fenator fent by Severus to raise troops; and having by this means got together a considerable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of Albinus's b horse, and gained some other small advantages; which Severus no sooner knew, than he wrote to him as a senator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commissioned him to levy what forces he could. Having therefore raised a small army, he continually harassed Albinus's men, took many prisoners, and intercepted a great sum of money, which he sent to Severus. When Albinus was deseated, he went to wait upon Severus, told him who he was; but despising the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a small pension, and retiring into

S. verus marches against him.

engage near Lyous.

The two armies

Severus in great danger.

the country, spent the rest of his life in quiet and solitude 9. In the beginning of the following year, when Lateranus and Rufinus were confuls, Severus, having passed the Alps in the midst of winter, approached Lyons, where Al- c binus then resided, with a design to enter Italy early in the spring. He was not a little alarmed at the sudden and unexpected arrival of Severus; however, having with incredible expedition drawn together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon Lupus, one of Severus's generals, and defeated him with great flaughter r. Hereupon Severus advanced in person against his rival; and Albinus not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men, were drawn up on the nineteenth of February in the neighbourhood of Lyons, probably in the spacious plain between that city and Trevoux. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no less a reward was proposed for the conqueror than the Roman empire; as the British legions were no-ways inferior either in d courage or experience to those of Illyricum, and both armies expected to share the fortune, whatever it was, of their generals, the engagement was one of the most sharp and bloody recorded in history. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expressed, without any considerable advantage on either side, Albinus's lest wing was utterly deseated, and obliged to take shelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confusion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn Severus's men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained so great an advantage over them, that the emperor himself, who flew to their assistance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmost confusion, and obliged, if we believe Herodian, to save himself by flight, after having c quitted, that he might not be known, all the badges of the imperial dignity . Spartian writes, that he was wounded, and believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room; and Dion Cassius, that his horse was killed under him, and he himself in imminent danger of losing his life ". The same author adds, that feeing his men fly, he threw himself sword in hand upon the sugitives, and forced them to return to the charge; which they did with fuch fury, that the enemy, not able to withstand them, began to give ground; which Latus perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horse under his command, and completed their overthrow. Lætus had declined engaging fo long as the victory continued doubtful, with a design, as was supposed, of setting up for himself, after the two f parties had destroyed each other w; and hence it was, that Severus, as Herodian informs us x, instead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him foon Albinus intire- after to death. Albinus's army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to Lyons, ly defeated, and whither they were pursued by the conquerors; who, entering the city with the fugitives, first plundered it, and then laid it in ashes v. Albinus, who had concealed himself in a house on the Rhone, finding no means of making his escape, laid violent hands on himself z. Thus Dion Cassius. But other authors write, that being mor-

9 Dio, l. lxxv. p. 851. PDio, 862. w Idem ibid. P Herod. l. iii. p. 524. Sev. vit. p. 68. 524. Dio, p. 851. Vit. Sev. p. 63. Vit. Sever. p. 68. thid. HEROD. l. iii. p. 524. Dio, p. 851. Vit. Sev. p. \* HEROD. l. iii. p. 524. Idem, p. 525. Dio, p. 853.

tally

a tally wounded either by himfelf, or fome of his own men, he was brought in that condition to Severus, in whose presence he expired a. Be that as it will, Severus The cruelty of beheld with great pleasure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it several times, Severus. causing his horse to tread it under foot, lest it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrified, and torn in pieces by the dogs, and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the Rhone. The head he caused to be cut off, and fent it to Rome, ordering it to be fet up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at first his wife and children; but foon after changing his mind, he caused them to be inhumanly massacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of Albinus, all his friends, and most distant relations, without distinction of fex or b age, were by Severus's orders barbaroufly flaughtered, and their effates confifcated. Most of the great men of Gaul and Spain, who had shewn any attachment to Albinus, underwent the same fate. By means of these murders and confiscations, he amassed an immense treasure, inriched his toldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him b.

AFTER this victory, all the cities that had declared for Albinus, were foon reduced, and the inhabitants punished, some with death, some with the confiscation of their estates; so that Severus, seeing all quiet in Gaul, and likewise in Britain, which he divided into two provinces, let out for Rome, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and difmay, those who had favoured c Albanas, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in Gaul. Their apprehensions were heightened by a letter which Seve- Severus's letrus wrote to the senate, when he sent the head of Albinus to Rome; for in that letter he ter to the se-

complained of their affection to Albinus, as if they had all privately favoured and nate. affilted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; cried up the conduct and government of Commodus, whom he had never mentioned before but as a tyrant and monster; and, in speaking of the head of Albinus, used this expression; I fend it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and see with your eyes the effects of my rejentment. Both the senate and people were thunder-struck with this letter; they expected nothing but a general maffacre, the more because they were d informed, that Severus had feized the papers of Albinus, and by that means discovered all his friends and correspondents. However, as he drew near, the senate went

out to meet him, and received him with all possible demonstrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where he ordered great sums to be distributed among the people and soldiery. The next day he went to the senate, and there read a speech filled with bitter invectives against the partizans of Albinus; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of Sylla, of Marius, and of Augustus, as necessary precautions; ascribed the ruin of Pompey, and the death of Cafar, to their unfeatonable elemency; and mentioning Commodus, ftyled him a god, and bestowed the highest encomiums upon him; adding, that e none but infamous and abandoned wretches could censure or blame the conduct of

fuch an excellent prince ". Having ended his speech, he returned to the palace, and His cruelties in filled the city with maffacres and bloodshed. In a few days forty-two senators, most Rome. of whom had been confuls or prætors, were facrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of persons of an inferior rank. Herodian tells us, that he cut off all those, who, on account of their birth or riches, bore any sway in the senate or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare suspicions, and many for no other crime but that of being possessed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant d. While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the senate, and, out of hatred to the fenators, caused them to rank Commodus with the usual ceremonies among the gods, to appoint priefts, and inflitute an annual fellival to his

honour. He condemned Narcissus, the famous wrestler, who had strangled him, to be devoured by the wild beafts, and spared none who were suspected of having been any ways privy to his death . After Severus had spent some months at Rome, and there cut off, not only the partizans of Albinus, but such as gave him the least umbrage, he took leave of the fenate, and, with his two fons Caracalla and Geta, fet out Goes into the for the east, with a design to make war upon the Parthians, who, under the conduct east to make of their him. Walnut had made them follows matters of great part of Messachusia war upon the

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Alb. & Sev. p. 68. b Vit. Sev. p. 68. c Dio, 68. d Dio, p. 853. Herod. p. 527. Vit. Sev. p. 69. e Dio, l. lxxv. p. 526. Vit. Alb. p. 60. & Sev. ev. p. 69. Vit. Sev. p. 69.

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of their king Vologeses, had made themselves masters of great part of Mesopotamia. Parthans.

He imbarqued with his army at Brundusium, and arriving in Syria, marched strait to a Nisibis in Mesopotamia, whence the Parthians retired into their own country upon the first news of his approach. He was met on his march by Augarus, or Abgarus, king of Osrboene, who styled him his prince and protector, delivered up to him his children as hostages, and supplied him with a considerable body of archers to be employed in his intended expedition against the Parthians f. The following year, Tib. Saturninus and C. Gallus being confuls, Severus having made vast preparations for the war against the Parthians, began his march about the end of the summer, judging the autumn the most proper season for that expedition. He followed the course of the Eughrates, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the rest marching on the banks of the river. To pais from the Euphrates into the Tigris, he caused b the canal Naarmalcha, made formerly by Adrian, to be cleanfed, and by that means arrived in a short time at Seleucia and Babylon, both which places he found abandoned Hetakes Seleu- by the enemy, and took without opposition. Thence he advanced to Ctefsphon, the metropolis of the Parthian dominions; which he invested, and took after a laborious and Cteliphon. fiege, during which his foldiers, for want of provisions, were obliged to feed upon fuch roots as they found in the fields; which bred various diftempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to furren ler; but the king, who had shut himself up in it, found means to make his escape, attended by a small body of horse; which was a great disappointment to Severus. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the foldiers, who put all the men to the fword; but spared the women c and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thousand, they fold for flaves. After the reduction of Ctefiphon, Severus wrote to the fenate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he caused to be represented in painting, and exposed to public view. The senate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of Parthicus Maximus; which is to be seen on several medals of the next and the following years 8. Spartian tells us, that the army, in the transports of their joy for Caracalla made the reduction of Ctefiphon, proclaimed Caracalla, the emperor's eldest fon, his parta partner of the ner in the sovereign power, and at the same time gave the title of Cajar to his second fon Geta h; which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the fenate. Caracalla had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of April of this year 198. d Severus, not thinking it adviseable either to keep Ctesiphon, or pursue Vologeses, set out on his return into Syria about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is supposed to have concluded a treaty with the Parthians; for we read of no wars

empire.

cia, Babylon

Disturbances in Britain.

from their daily incurlions k.

Lætus murdered.

Severus

THE following year, when P. Cornelius Aullinus and M. Aufidius Fronto were confuls, Severus, on his march back into Syria, attacked the city of Atra, Barsemus, king of that place, having formerly fent confiderable fuccours to Niger; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having loft a great many men, and most of his warlike engines!. About this time Severus caused two officers of great distinction to be put to death, viz. Julius Crispus, tribune of the prætorian guards, and Lætus, one of his best generals; the former for faying, that Severus exposed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardships only to satisfy his private f ambition and vanity. Latus's crime was, according to Herodian, his having afted with treachery in the battle of Lyons, as we have related above. But Dion Cassius, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and foldier, tells us, that Severus put him to death, for no other reason but because he was greatly beloved by the soldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear m. After he had allowed some respite to his harassed troops, and amassed an immense quantity of provisions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of Atra; but all his enforts against that

between them and the Romans till eighteen years after, and Vologeses reigned peaceably to his death, which happened after that of Severus. While Severus was thus employed in the east, some disturbances arose in Britain, where the Caledonians taking

up arms, invaded the Roman dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Lupus, whom Severus had appointed governor of Britain, not finding himself in a condition to make head against that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing, that Severus could not fend him timely affiftance, was forced to e purchase a peace of the enemy, and, with large sums, redeem the Roman territories

attacks the city of Atra; but is \* Idem ibid. Dio, p. 854. Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 278. Onurn. in fast. p. 70. Dio, l. lxxv. p. 854. & in excerpt. Val. p. 746. k Idem, obliged to raise GOLTZ. p. 85. 1 Idem, p. 844. the siege. p. 851, 866. \* ldem, p. 855.

place

a place proving unfuccessful, he was forced to raise the siege anew, having lost, during the eighteen days it lafted, most of his machines, and an incredible number of men ". Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of Trajan and Severus, the two greatest commanders among the Roman emperors, as it did afterwards those of Artaxerxes, who, about the year 226. re-established the Persian on the ruin of the Partbian empire. Severus fpent most part of the following year, when Tib. Claudius Severus was conful the fecond time, with C. Aufidius Victorinus, in fearching after fuch of Niger's partizans as had not yet been discovered, and in gleaning, to use the expression of Tertullian o, after the vintage. Many persons of distinction, who believed themfelves to be fafe, were on this occasion seized, and condemned without mercy, such b especially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches P. next year, when L. Annius Fabianus and M. Nonius Mucianus were confuls, Severus gave the manly robe to his eldest fon, tho' he was then but fourteen years old, and named him could with himself for the year following. They both entered upon their confulship in Syria; and on that occasion the emperor gave a largess to the soldiers. Severus went, during his consulship, into Arabia, and from thence into Pa- Severus visus lestine, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their fine, Egypt, fleady adherence to Niger. While he was in Palestine, he published an edict, forbidding, under the severest penalties, the subjects of the empire to embrace either the Jewish or Christian religion; which gave rise to the fifth general persecution 4. c From Palestine he passed into Egypt, where he visited the tomb of Pompey the Great, and then purfued his rout to Alexandria, to which city he granted a public council or fenate; a mark of distinction which they had often begged in vain of other emperors'r. During his stay in Egypt, he visited all the cities, and viewed with great attention the curiofities of that ancient kingdom, especially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the statue of Memnon, &c. He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and caused such of them as contained any secret knowledge to be conveyed into the sepulchre of Alexander the Great, which he ordered to be shut up, that no one might for the future either fee the body of that prince, or peruse those books'.

THE next consuls were Septimius Geta, the emperor's brother, and Fulvius Plau-Plautianus his d tianus, his great favourite. Some writers call Plautianus the emperor's kiniman; chieffavourite. others fay, that he was only his countryman, being a native of Africa, as was Severus. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean descent; and some add, that in his youth he had been banished, for stirring up and heading the populace in a sedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in Rome, and was so passionate for him, that not in conversation only, but in public, in his speeches to the senate and people, he extolled him more than Tiberius had ever done his favourite Sejanus. He created him captain of the prætorian guards, and shared with him His great the power and wealth of the empire; for Plautianus was said to be possessed of as power. great riches as Severus himself, and thought to be no less powerful; at least greater e court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The fenators and foldiers fwore by the fortune of Plautianus; public vows and facrifices were offered for his fafety, as if he had been emperor, and Rome was filled with his statues, mostly erected by the authority of the fenate. His table was better ferved than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no access to honours but through his favour, his house was constantly crouded with senators, knights, and great part of the people, all folicitors for admission to Plautianus, who was harder of access than the emperor. Geta, the brother of Severus, and the empress Julia, stood no less in awe of him than the rest, well knowing, that his authority was of far greater weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was most notoriously abused by the f favourite minister, who condemned, banished, and even put to death, many illustrious persons, whom he hated or suspected, without consulting the emperor, nay, without his knowledge; for tho' whatever the emperor faid or did was immediately carried to Plautianus, yet Severus was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his minister; and hence looking upon him as a man without

n Idem, I. lxxv. p. 555.

O TERTUL. apol. c. 35.

P Vit. Sev. p. 69.

USEB. l. vi. c. 2.

P Vit. Sev. p. 70.

Dro, in excerpt. Val. p. 737.

Vit. Sev. ibid. 9 ldcm, p. 70.

reproach, he continued to heap upon him all forts of honours. He had already distinguished him with the consular ornaments, and created him senator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards; and this year he not only

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appointed him conful, but, to the great furprize of Rome, and the whole empire, a

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declared his intention of marrying his eldest fon Caracalla to Fulvia Plautilla, the daughter of Plautianus; which he did accordingly this very year, foon after his ries his son Ca- return to Rome; for having settled the affairs in the east, he arrived unexpectedly at Rome about the latter end of May, and, according to Herodian, entered the city in triumph. Spartian writes, that he declined the triumph decreed him, because he could not fit in the triumphal chariot by reason of the gout; but suffered his son Caracalla to triumph over the Jews, who had, it feems, revolted, but had been again brought under subjection by Severus u. The emperor, upon his return, distributed immense sums among the soldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man more than any other prince had ever been known to give, and added to this extraordinary largefs b most magnificent shews, which lasted seven days w. When the shews were over, the nuptials of Caracalla and Plautilla were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. Dion Cassius writes, that what Plautianus gave his daughter on this occasion, would have been a fufficient dower for fifty queens; and adds, that he appointed a hundred persons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpose privately caused to be made eunuchs, tho' some of them were married, and even had children; which, as that writer observes, highly provoked both the senate and people against him . About this time Severus gave the manly robe to his fecond fon Geta, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-seventh of May of this year 203. the tenth of his father's reign y. The following year, L. Fabius Septimius Cilo being c consul the second time, with L. Libo, the emperor, notwithstanding his great kindness for Plantianus, being offended at the great number of statues erected to him in all the public places of the city, caused some of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being spread, that he was differed, several governors of provinces, looking bi flatues to be upon him already as a public enemy, caused his statues to be pulled down in their governments; but paid dear for their over-hafty zeal, some of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the senate, and condemned to banishment. Among the latter was Racius Constans, governor of Sardinia, who was tried by the emperor in person, in conjunction with Dion Cossius, and several other senators. Severus on this occasion solemnly declared, that he would never suffer the least affront or d injury to be offered with impunity to Plautianus; but nevertheless, before a year was over, he changed his fentiments, and fuffered him to be put to death in his presence. His ruin was chiefly owing to Caracalla, who, not able to bear with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife Plautilla, hated both her and his father-in-law Plautianus, openly declaring, that if ever he obtained the fovereign power, they should both foon feel the effects of his refentment. Hereupon Plautianus resolved to be before hand with him, not doubting but upon his death he should be able to seize the empire for himself, as Severus was now stricken in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time Geta, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and finding there was no hope of his recovery, defired to fee Severus before he died, and acquainted e him with the haughty, imperious and tyrannical conduct of his favourite minister. Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and to leffen by degrees his overgrown power; which he was no fooner apprifed of, than he resolved to exert the authority he still enjoyed, and secure, by the murder both of the emperor and his fon, the fovereignty to himself; at least Saturninus, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to Severus, that Plautianus had charged him to affaffinate them both, and shewed him his orders in writing. Herodian 2 and Ammianus Marcellinus 2 seem not to question in the least the truth of his deposition; but Dion Callius looks upon the whole as a contrivance of Caracalla to destroy Plautianus, whose haughty behaviour he could no longer brook b. Be that as it will, f they all agree, that Plautianus, coming to the palace of his own accord, or fent for by the emperor, as Dion will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where Caracalla then was, in order to clear himself from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince rushed upon him with a great fury, snatched his sword from his side, which He is murder- he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered those who were present to dispatch ed by his orders. him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himself. His body was cast into the street; but soon after taken, by the emperor's orders, and

interred.

W Vit. Sev. p. 63. W Dio, l. lxxvi. w Dto, l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860. Herod. ibid. iii. p. 531, 533. Ammian. l. xxix. p. \* Dio, p. 859. Y Vit. Sev. p. 268. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 861.

a interred c. Severus immediately affembled the fenate; but without uttering any invectives against Plautianus, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, fince some loved to excess, and others abused the love that was shewn them. He did not seem to believe, says Dion Cassius, that Plautianus had ordered the tribune to murder him; but nevertheless prosecuted, and condemned either to death or banishment, all his friends and creatures. His daughter Plautilla, and his brother Plautius, were banished to the island of Liparis, where they were murdered by order of Caracalla, soon after his accession to the empire d. Herodian writes, that they were banished to Sicily, and there generously supported by Severus during his life-time . This year, the 957. of Rome, the 204. of the christian æra, and the twelfth of the reign of Severus, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the fecular games f.

THE next confuls were the emperor's two fons, Caracalla the second time, and Geta the first. During their administration, Severus continued either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, and applied himself wholly to the administration of justice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian Papinianus, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief Papinianus province of that officer was to decide law-suits with the emperor, or in his name. made captain Papinianus, in the discharge of this important office, employed as his counsellors of the guards. Paulus and Ulpianus, two men eminently accomplished in the knowledge of the laws. As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, Severus was at leifure to reform many Severus re-

c abuses; which he did accordingly: but is blamed by most of the ancients, on account abuses, enasts of his excessive severity, especially by the emperor Salien who at letters in the abuses, enasts of his excessive severity, especially by the emperor Julian, who thinks his cruel in-good taws, &c. flexibility, as he styles it, his greatest fault 8; for he never pardoned the least transgression. He enacted several laws, which are mightily cried up by the writers of those times, as equally just and necessary. Many of them are still extant in the Code. He allowed no power to his freed-men; nor would he fuffer the fenate to diffinguish them with any honours. He chose for governors of the provinces men of unblemished characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and by that means he left the exchequer exceeding rich at his death, tho' he had found it quite d empty, and had been engaged in several expensive wars. When he died, corn was found in the public granaries sufficient to supply the city for seven years, and oil in the

store-houses, which he built at a vast charge, for the consumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of Rome, but all the places in Italy that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to supply for ever the indigent people of Rome with a certain quantity of oil every day, which was in part to be fent yearly by the inhabitants of Libya Tripolitana, who of their own accord submitted to that burden out of regard to Severus, who was of the fame province, and had obliged them, by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country, and laid waste their But this contribution proving in process of time very burdensome to them, e Constantine remitted it. Severus repaired most of the public edifices of Rome, and

raised an incredible number of new ones in Rome, in Antioch, in Alexandria, in Byzan-tium, and in most of the great cities of the empire. The following year, when Num-Several sense mius Albinus and Fulvius Æmilianus were consuls, was remarkable for the death of death. many illustrious fenators, inhumanly massacred by the emperor's orders. Among these were Quintillus Plautianus and Apronianus, both persons of unblemished characters, and of great authority in the senate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illustrious birth, and extraordinary accomplishments. They were both accused of having consulted the astrologers about the death of Severus, and their own fate, and condemned, without so much as being heard. Bæbius Marcellinus, another f senator of great distinction, was condemned by the senate, and that instant hurried to

execution, upon the deposition of a single evidence, who charged him with having listened while Apronianus was consulting the astrologer. The evidence had been suborned by Pollenius Sebennus, who was himfelf foon after condemned at the fuit of the people of Noricum, whom he had tyrannically oppressed, while he governed that province. The following year, when Ager and Maximus were confuls, the northern inhabitants The Britons reof Britain invaded the Roman territories, and putting to flight the legions that guarded volt. them, committed every-where most dreadful ravages. Virius Lupus, then governor,

e Herod, l. iii. p. 535. f Censor. e. b. 71. b Vit. Sev. p. 67. Dio, p. 869. C. Idem ibid. Herod. p. 534. d Dio, p. 862. e Hero 7. Zos. l. ii. p. 669. g Jul. Cæs. p. 14. Vit. Sev. p. 71. 77. Zos. l. ii. p. 669. Ju Dio in excerpt, Val. p. 741, &c. Vol. VI. N° 2.

or, as Ulpian calls him, prefident of Britain, not thinking himself in a condition to a withftand the enemy, retired before them, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in that province; who apprehending that the whole island, unless awed by a powerful army, would soon revolt, and shake off the yoke, resolved to go thither in person; and accordingly, having made the necessary preparations for this expedition, he set out for Britain the ensuing year, while his two sons were consuls, Caracalla the third time, and Geta the second. Before he lest Rome, he

invested his fon Geta with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title of

Augustus, which he had bestowed three years before on his eldest son Caracalla; so

that there were now three Augustus's at a time, which had never happened before.

he marched early in the spring of the ensuing year, when Pompeianus and Avitus were

confuls, against the Maata, who bordered on the Roman dominions, and the Caledonians, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but

bridges, and drying marshy grounds, fifty thousand of them are said to have

perished k. Herodian writes, that the Caledonians incessantly harassed the army on

their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thousands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whether the Romans could not follow them 1. The emperor, though stricken in years, and troubled with the gout, purfued his painful march, furmounting with great chearfulness all difficulties, till he

reached the most distant and northern coasts of the island, laying the country waste

far and wide, and putting all to fire and fword; infomuch that the Caledonians were

where he had left his fon Geta to administer justice during his absence. For this expe-

dition he was honoured by the senate with the title of Britannicus Maximus, and his

in the end obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the Romans part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Dion Cassius adds, that Severus, during his stay in the most northern parts of Britain, observed with great exactness the length of the days and nights, of the fummer and winter m; which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of Scotland, at least fix months. Having thus concluded a peace with the Caledonians, he returned to the fouthern parts of Britain,

nevertheless, what by the enemy's ambuscades, what by the hardships the Roman c foldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods, building

The emperor took both his sons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove b them from Rome, where they abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war. The Britons were no sooner informed of his arrival in their island, than, dreading his power, they sent embassadors to him, offering to submit upon honourable terms. Severus detained the embassadors till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed them, without granting them their request. He passed the first winter, it seems, in the southern parts of Britain, whence

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Geta invested nitial power, and declared Augustus.

Severus's expedition into Britain.

He over-runs the whole island.

two fons with that of Britannicus ".

His wall in Britain.

Severus spent great part of the following year, when Man. Acilius Faustinus and Triarius Rufinus were confuls, in building a wall in Britain from fea to fea, to fecure his e conquests, and part the Roman territories from those of the more northern Britons not subject to Rome. No mention of this wall is made either by Dion Cassius or Herodian, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of Severus in Britain. However, Spartian speaks of it, and calls it the chief ornament of Severus's reign; nay, he pretends, that, on account of this wall, he was honoured by the senate with the title of Britannicus. There is a great disagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work, and its fituation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the Roman fide with a rampart and palifades. Spartian styles it a wall or ditch P. Orosius supposes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart, and a great number of towers at a small f distance from each other 9. Beda thinks it was a wall, built not with stone, but turf, and supported by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground r. The same writer is of opinion, that it was raised by Severus in the same place where a new wall was built by the Romans about the middle of the fifth century, when they intirely abandoned the island; that is, so far as we can judge from the context, on the isthmus, which he described before, between the friths of Forth and Clydes. Buchanan likewife places this wall on the fame isthmus '; and adds, that, in his time, fome remains

In what place it was built.

> \* Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 867.
>
> PAGI, p. 207.
>
> Vit. Sev. p. 71.
>
> P Herod. l. 111. p. 507.
>
> P Oros. l. vii. c. 17.
>
> BUCHAN. rer. Scot. l. i. p. 16.l. 19. p. 116. & l.v. p. 135. n Goltz. p. SS. P. Pagi, p. 207. Vit. Sev. l.i. c. 5. Idem ibid. c. 12. r Bed. hift, Ang.

a of it were still to be seen. On the other hand, Camden maintains Severus's wall to have stood a great way more to the south, that is, between the mouth of the Tyne and Solway frub. The learned Usher is of the same opinion, and alledges very strong reasons to support it w. However, we cannot persuade ourselves, that Severus, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and obliged the enemies of Rome to yield to him part of their country, should have abandoned to them a considerable portion of the Roman dominions, viz. the countries lying between Northumberland or Cumberland, and the friths of the Forth and Clyde. For that these countries belonged to the Romans before Severus's time, Usher himself owns; and maintains x, that Antoninus built his wall on the above-mentioned ifthmus. We do b not find, that the northern Britons seized any part of the Roman dominions in the reign of M. Aurelius, nor in that of Commodus; for the they passed the wall in the time of Commodus, yet they were driven back by Ulpius Marcellus, and restrained within their ancient bounds, that is, according to Usher, within the two abovementioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that Severus thus curtailed the Roman empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as they are called by the Roman writers, fuch an extensive country, after having, at immense charge, and with the loss of fifty thousand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Besides, Spartian tells us in express words, that Severus's wall reached from sea to sea; and Eutropius, that it was but thirty-two miles in length "; which proves, that it stood on the abovee mentioned isthmus, and could stand in no other part of the whole island. Severus, having ended his wall, retired with his army to Eboracum, now York, where he was feized with a lingering distemper, occasioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldest son, who, notwithstanding the extraordinary affection Severus had ever shewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldness hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the fight of the whole Caracalla army. For while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle-array, was con-attempts to cluding a treaty with the Britons, and receiving their arms, Caraculla, who stood father. behind him, drawing unexpectedly his fword, in the fight both of the Roman and British army, advanced to stab him, and would have put his wicked design in exed cution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of those who stood next to the emperor. Severus, turning about that instant, saw his son with a naked sword in his hand; but without betraying the least surprize, or uttering a single word, pur-fued the business in hand, received the arms of the Britons, and signed the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he fent for his fon; and, in the presence of Papinianus, captain of the guards, and Castor, his chief chamberlain, first reproached him with his black and wicked attempt; then offering him a drawn fword, If your ambition to reign alone prompts you, faid he, to imbrue your hands in the blood of your father, execute your impious purpose rather in this place, than in the fight of the e whole world, and in the presence both of our friends and enemies: if you are not yet abandoned to such a degree as to murder your father with your own hand, order Papinianus to commit the parricide: you are emperor; he must obey you?. We

fpeech. THE following year, when Gentianus and Bassus were consuls, the Meate and The Mexice Caledonians, understanding that the emperor was indisposed, and not in a condition and Caledonians revolt. to take the field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms; and affembling their forces, attempted to pass the new wall, and invade the Roman dominions; which so provoked Severus, that he ordered Caracalla to lead the whole army against f the enemy, and entering their country anew, to put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. The young prince, seeing himself, contrary to his expectation, intrusted with so great a command, made it his whole study to debauch the officers and foldiers, with a defign to depose his father. Many tribunes and cen- Caracalla turions, hearkening to him, publicly declared, before the army fet out from York, attempts to that they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and father. disabled by the gout from marching at their head, and discharging the duties of an emperor. These speeches were soon carried to Severus, who immediately summoning the army to affemble, caused himself to be taken up, and placed upon his

do not find, that Caracalla was touched with remorfe, or any-ways affected, by this

w Ush. Britan. eccles. antiquit. p. 606. <sup>2</sup> Dio, p. 868.

<sup>\*</sup> Idem ibid. p. 1024.

<sup>♥</sup> EUTROP. 1. viii. c. 10.

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tribunal; whence, in most bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and a treachery, such of the officers as had seconded the wicked attempts of his son; ordered them all to be beheaded that instant in his presence; and then, addressing himself to the army, struck with terror and dismay at the fight of so many executions, asked them with an imperious and majestic air, whether they were yet satisffied, that the head ruled, and not the feet a? Some writers tell us, that he would at the same time have put his son to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards b; others, on the contrary, fay, that the captains of the guards advised him to deliver himself, by the death of his unnatural son, from the dangers that threatened him, but that he could not by any means prevail upon himfelf to follow their advice. After this, his distemper being greatly increased by the b uneasiness of his mind, he was soon reduced to the last extremity; when he sent for his two fons, caused the speech of Micipsa to his children, in Salust, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim; to inrich the foldiers, and gain their affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the rest of their subjects d. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing c. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his ashes were to be inclosed, on seeing it, Little urn, said he, you shall contain one, for whom the whole world was too little f. Before he expired, he ordered the golden statue of Fortune, which always flood in the emperor's room, to be carried into the rooms, first of his eldest, and c then of his youngest son 8. As his pains increased, especially in his feet, he called for poison; but no one daring to administer it to him, he is said to have glutted Severus dies. himself with coarse meats, which soon put an end to his life . He died at York on the fourth of February of the year 211. after having lived, according to Dion Cassius, fixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned seventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at York with great folemnity, and his ashes conveyed by his two sons to Rome, in a golden urn, or, as others will have it, in an urn of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and deposited at Rome in the stately mausoleum of the emperor Adrian. He was foon after ranked among the gods, with the usual ceremonies, d His charafter. described at length by Herodian k. Severus was, without all doubt, a person of most extraordinary parts; but all his good qualities were quite eclipsed by his excessive cruelty, and infatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuse his cruelty, which they fosten with the name of severity, and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the state, could never have been rooted out. It was faid of him, if Spartian is to be credited, as it had been formerly faid of Augustus, That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died. He was, according to the same writer, greatly esteemed, nay, and generally loved after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations. Galen tells us, that his greatest pleasure was to do good to all; and e adds, that he kept constantly by him a great store of treacle, and other expensive remedies, to relieve such as wanted them; by which means he saved the lives of many persons, namely, of Antipater, his Greek secretary; of the son of Piso, to whom Galen inscribed his treatise on treacle; and of a lady of distinction, named Arria, for whom Severus had a particular value, because she applied herself to the study of philosophy, and the reading of Platom. But after all, the most we can say in his commendation is, that Severus deserves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good princes. Of the writers, who flourished in his reign, we shall

Severus

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<sup>a</sup> Vit. Sev. p. 71. Aur. Vict. b Vit. Caracall. p. 89. c Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 868. d Dio, p. 868. c Vit. Sev. p. 73. c Dio, p. 869. s Vit. Sev. p. 74. b Vict. epit. l Dio, ibid. k Herod. l. iv. p. 540. l Vit. Sev. p. 71. m Gal. de ther. l. ii. p. 457, 458.
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give an account in our note (N).

it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long fince lost. The sophist Antipater, a native of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote likewise the history of Severus's reign, and was for that work first appointed the emperor's Greek secretary, afterwards charged with the care of educating his two sons Caracalla

<sup>(</sup>N) Among the writers who flourished at this time, we may reckon the emperor himself; for he wrote the history of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great severity. Sparsian commends it as a sincere and impartial account of the transactions of his reign (59); and Victor speaks of

Severus was succeeded by his two sons Bassianus and Geta, whom he had invested is succeeded by with the sovereign power, during his life-time, and by his last will appointed to his sons Carareign jointly after his death. The former, commonly known by the nickname of Caracalla, a Gaulish word for a kind of cassock used in Gaul, and by him first introduced among the Romans, gave, from his infancy, many instances of an extraor-Their different dinary sweet and mild temper; but as he grew up, abandoned himself to all man-tempers. ner of cruelty, and proved in the end a most inhuman and bloody tyrant; whereas the latter, who in his tender years seemed no less void of humanity than his father,

and Geta; then honoured with the confulfhip; and lastly, preferred to the government of Bithynia; from which employment he was soon removed, on account of his excessive cruelty (60). His history has not reached our times. Galen, the prince of physicians, was still alive in Severus's time; for he lived, according to Suidas, seventy years (61). He was a native of Pergamus, and the son of one Nico, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewise well versed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to understand and teach the Greek tongue in its greatest purity. His son Claudius Galenus was born in the year 131. the fifteenth of Adrian's reign, as appears from F. Labbe, who collected out of Galen's works, and published in 1660. all the passages in which that writer makes any mention of himself (62). He came to Rome, while L. Verus was making war upon the Parthians in the east, being at that time thirty-two or thirtythree years old (63). He staid in Rome about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence, three or four years after, he was invited into Italy by M. Aurelius, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refused to attend that prince into Germany, and continued at Rome, where he is supposed to have spent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different subjects, viz. on physic, rhetoric, philosophy, and some grammatical pieces (64). Jonssus takes the treatise on treacle not to be his, because he does not mention it among his other works (65). The same writer maintains the history of the philosophers, ascribed to Galen, to be nothing else but the sive books of Plutarch upon the opinions of philosophers (66). Some find fault with Galen for crying down all those of his profession, who in his time were in any repute at Rome (67). Diogenes Laertius, the author of the lives of the philosophers comprised in ten books, flourished, according to Vossius, under Antoninus Pius; but, according to Jonssius, whose conjectures seem to us better grounded, under Severus (68). He was a native, as Jonssius conjectures, of Laertes, a small city of Cilitia, and thence took the surname of Laertes. tius. After he had taken great pains to inform him-felf of the different tenets of the various fects of philosophers, he embraced the worst of all, that is, the Epicurean. His work is greatly esteemed by the learned, but in many places strangely corrupted. Casaubon ascribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himself, who, according to him, wanted either memory, judg-ment, or time, to digest the materials which he had collected (69). Before he wrote the lives of the philosophers, he published a great number of epi-grams in all kinds of verses, which he styled Pammetra, that is, all forts of measures (70). native of Laranda in Lycamia, flourished, according to Suidas (71), under Severus, and wrote several Greek poems. Pisander, who, in the reign of the

emperor Alexander, wrote some histories, or rather fables, in Greek verse, was his fon. Hermocrates, the fophist, would have proved the most eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twentyeighth year of his age. Severus often heard him, and with great pleafure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the east, to marry the daughter of the sophist Antipater; but he divorced her soon after (72). Julius Titianus, the father of the orator of the same name, who was preceptor to the son of Maximinus, about the year 235. published many pieces mightily cried up by the ancients; and, among the rest, a description of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the style of Cicero; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different styles of authors, and was thence called the ape of his time (73). C. Julius Solinus, whose description of the earth, under the title of Polyhistor, has reached us, flourished, according to fome writers, under Severus; but others, with Voffins, are quite at a loss about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after Pliny the elder, and before St. Ferom; that is, after the first century, and before the end of the fourth (74). Dodwel observes, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes, from some conjectures, that he flourished after Cenforinus, who wrote in the year 238 (75). His work is, for the most part, copied, and not very judicioully, from other writers, especially from Pliny the elder. Under Severus flourished Philostratus, author of the life of Apollonius Tyaneus; which work he undertook at the request of the empress Julia, the wife of Severus. Photius commends the elegance and foftness of his style; but thinks his construction not always agreeable to the rules of grammar (76). We have shewn, in the foregoing volume, how little credit his life of Apollonius deserves (77). In that history he promises to clear his hero in another work, from the aspersions of the philosopher Enphrates (78). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to Eusebius, a native of Athens, and the fon of Philostratus Verus, who published a great many works, and, among the rest, one against the sophist Antipater (79). Besides the life of Apollonius, Philofiratus wrote four books of pictures, or descriptions, a treatise on heroes, letters on friendship, and the lives of the sophists in four books. All these works have reached our times. Under Severus lived two other writers of the same name, viz. Philostratus, the fon of Nervianus, to whom some writers ascribe the lives of the sophists; and Philostratus, a native of Lemnos, who wrote some descriptions: of these, the former was great nephew, and the latter grandfon by the mother, to the author of the life of Apollonius (80).

(60) Herod l. ii. p. 514. Philostr. soph. 50. Galen. ther. t. ii. p. 458. (61) Suid. p. 590. (62) Gal. vit. Jons. l. iii. c. 11. (63) Gal. prog. c. 3. (64) Suid. ibid. (65) Jons. l. iii. c. 12. (66) Idem ibid. (67) Vide Salmas. not. in Spart. p. 732. (68) Jons. l. iii. c. 12. (69) Diog. Laert. not. Cafaub. p. 18. (70) Hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 13. (71) Suid. p. 211. (72) Philostr. soph. 51. (73) Voss. bist. Lat. l. iii. p. 720, 721. (75) Dod. append. ad dissert. Cyprian. c. 15. (76) Phot. c. 44. (77) Hist. Univers. vol. V. p. 691, &c. (78) Philos. vit. Apoll. l. i. c. 10. (79) Euseb. in Hier. p. 435. (80) Vide Casaub. in Spart. p. 30. Vol. VI. N. 2.

changed, we may fay, by degrees, his temper, and became, in regard of his affa- a bility, moderation, and complaifance towards all, the darling both of the people and foldiery. They shewed, from their childhood, an utter aversion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their common sports and diversions. This natural antipathy increased as they grew in years, notwithstanding all the intreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father, and their preceptor Antipater, who were continually laying before them the many evils that must necessarily attend the division and disagreement of brothers. But all to no purpose; for Severus no sooner expired, than Caracalla strove to have his brother excluded by the officers of the army from any share in the sovereignty; but the soldiers protesting, that they would equally obey both the fons of Severus, fince he had appointed both to succeed him, b he was forced to acknowledge his brother partner in the empire, and fuffer the foldiers to take the usual oath of allegiance to both. After this, Caracalla led his army towards the borders of the Maata and Caledonians, who had begun hostilities anew; but instead of attacking those warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and restored to them the lands which Severus had obliged them to yield to him . Before he left Britain, he discharged Papinian, captain of the guards; caused Castor, his father's chamberlain, and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with Evodius, another of the deceased emperor's freed-men, and formerly his own preceptor; and dispatched assassins into Italy to murder Plautilla, who had been his wife, Plautius her brother, c and a celebrated charioteer, of the faction in the circus opposite to that which he

ful treaty with the Britons.

favoured o. Herodian tells us, that, before he left Britain, he dispatched, under various pretences, the phylicians who had refused to poison his father, and all the deceased emperor's friends, especially such as endeavoured to promote a good understanding between him and his brother P. Such was the beginning of the reign of Caracalla. The two brothers left Britain about the middle of the summer, and set out for Rome with their mother Julia, and the ashes of their deceased father. Misunderstand- Caracalla attempted on the road to murder his brother Geta; which attempt increased ing between the their mutual animolities and jealousies to such a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their separate guards, and with no less wariness than if they had been d in an enemy's country, lodging constantly in different houses, and carefully watching the motions of each other. They were received with great folemnity at Rome, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obsequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they divided into two; for it was larger, if Herodian is to be credited, than any city in the whole empire, except Rome. This division between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire, into factions; infomuch that, to avoid the many inconveniences and diforders thence arifing, a division of the empire was proposed. To this expedient they both hearkened; Geta, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that if Caracalla would but yield to him Asia and Egypt, he would retire to Antioch or Alexandria, and leave him in quiet possession of e the rest of the empire. But this scheme was defeated by their mother Julia, throwing herself at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that they would divide her too between them 4. Towards the close of this year, Caracalla attempted anew to murder his brother, during the feast of Saturn; which occasioned almost an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodshed r.

THE following year, when the two brothers Julius and Caius Asper were consuls, Caracalla, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpose of destroying his brother, and ruling alone; but finding him guarded both against poison and open force, pretended a defire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother Julia, invited him to an interview in her chamber. Geta readily accepted the invitation, f and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not suspecting the least treachery in a proposal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderness. But he had no sooner entered her chamber, than some centurions, whom Caracalla had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, rushing in, Geta murdered sword in hand, fell upon Geta, and dispatched him, with many wounds, in his moin the arms of ther's arms, who, in endeavouring to fave him, was wounded in the hand . Caracalla himself seems to have imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother; for Dion

n Dro, l. lxxviii. p. 882, & feq. Carac. & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91.

o Dro, l. lxxvii. p. 870. & lxxvii. p. 870. & ldem, p. 539—543. Dro, L lxxvii. p. 871. 1. lxxvi. p. 867. \* Dio, p. 871. 4 HEROD. l. iii. p. 543.

a Cassius tells us, that he afterwards confectated in the temple of Serapis the sword

with which he had murdered him '. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years, and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year, and twenty-three days; for his father died on the fourth of February of the year 211. and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-seventh of the same month. He no sooner expired, than Caracalla, leaving the palace with great haste and precipitation, slew through the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and difmay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conspiracy had been formed against him; that he must have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies, had not his innocence prob tected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went strait to the place where the ensigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and asylum; and there throwing himself upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from so great and imminent a danger. To the soldiers, who crouded about him, he expressed himself with the same ambiguity; but by degrees let them know, that he was fole fovereign, and in a condition to bestow upon them what wealth and honours he pleased; and that they might immediately feel the effects of his generofity, which he faid was no longer checked or restrained, he doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largess of two thousand five hundred drachma's a man, which Caracalla gains he gave them leave to take that instant out of the public treasury. Thus was the the soldiery with an imexchequer, which his father had, by innumerable murders, and unjust confiscations, mente largels. been filling for the space of eighteen years, emptied in one day. Caracalla having, by this extravagant largels, secured the affections of the foldiery, told them in the end, that his brother Geta had attempted to murder him, but had lost his life in the attempt. Hereupon Caracalla was faluted fole emperor by the whole army, and the unhappy Geta declared a traitor, and a public enemy w. There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood of Alba, now Albano, where the murder of Geta was highly refented; but Caracalla, hastening thither, soon appealed them, by exaggerating to them the pretended treachery of his brother, and promifing them an immense donative. Caracalla passed that night in the camp of the prætorian d guards, and the next day went to the senate, with a cuirass under his robes, guarded by all his troops, fome of whom he even placed among the fenators, to be ready in case any of them should attempt to revenge the death of Geta. His speech turned His speech in upon the wicked designs of Geta, whom he faid he had slain unwillingly in his own the fenate. defence, leffening the heinousness of his crime by the example of Romulus, and others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers. In withdrawing from the fenate, he pronounced aloud the following words: "I give leave to all "those who are in banishment, to return home; I except none, by what crimes soever they may have deserved that punishment "." From the senate he returned to the palace, leaning upon Papinian and Chilo; whence he caused the body of his deceased Performs the e brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of the Septimian family on the obsequies of his Appian way; and when the funeral coremonies were over, prevailed upon the fenate eaustes him to to rank him with the usual folemnity among the gods v. Finding, upon his return be ranked to the palace, his mother Julia, bewailing with other women the death of her fon, among the transported with rage, he was at first for putting them all to death; but in the gods. end got the better of his passion, and even shewed great kindness to Julia, ordering the same honours to be paid to her as to himself. Spartian, and some other writers, pretend, that she gained his favour by facrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither Herodian, nor Dion Callius, charge Julia or Caracalla with any fuch crime; and those, who do, suppose Julia to have been only f step-mother to Caracalla, which is now by all writers agreed to be a gross mistake. We are told, that Caracalla, on hearing the name, or beholding the images or statues of Geta, used to burst into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his massacring, without distinction of sex, age, or quality, all the friends of Geta 2. Dion Cassius writes, that he began this general massacre by ordering all his domestics, Orders all his to the number of twenty thousand persons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death friends to be to utter his name; infomuch that no one durst use it thenceforth, even on the stage, massacred. where it was commonly given to flaves. He likewise ordered all the money with

The death of Papinian.

Many illustri-

ous persons

inhumanly

massacred.

his name to be melted down, and the inscriptions erased. Among many illustrious a persons, whom the inhuman tyrant sacrificed to his rage and jealousy, as the friends of Geta, no one was more universally, or more deservedly regretted, than the celebrated Papinian, the greatest civilian, in the opinion of Zosimus 2 and Cujas b, that ever was, or ever will be. As Severus had recommended chiefly to him his two fons, he spared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated the wicked attempts of Caracalla; on which account he was by him reckoned among the friends of Geta. Besides, the tyrant desiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compose a speech for him, excusing the crime, which he designed to pronounce in the senate, Papinian, whose love for justice, to use the expression of Zosimus, was equal to his knowledge of it, answered with great firmness, It is not so easy a thing to justify a b parricide, as to commit it; and it is a second parricide to defame an innocent person, after baving taken away his life. The emperor, provoked at this answer, ordered his head to be immediately struck off, and likewise his son's, who was then quæstor, and had but three days before exhibited most magnificent sports c. L. Fabius Chilo, another of Severus's great favourites, for whom Caracalla himfelf had a particular esteem, (for he used to style him his true friend, his benefactor, his father) was in the next place doomed to destruction, for having, together with Papinian, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was fent with a band of foldiers to feize him in his house, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the presence of the emperor. But the people, and c the city-guards, whom Chilo had commanded while governor of Rome, moved with compassion in seeing a person of his rank thus ignominiously treated by the insulting foldiery, like a common malefactor, rescued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces against the authors of such outrages; which so frightened Caracalla, that he declared he had given no such orders; and, to appeale the multitude, caused both the tribune and foldiers to be immediately put to death d. He spared Chilo, but vented his rage without controll upon many other illustrious persons, both of the fenatorial and equestrian order, not sparing any for whom either his father or brother had ever shewn the least kindness or esteem. Among these unhappy victims were, a daughter of the emperor M. Aurelius, whom the other emperors had treated d with the utmost respect, but Caracalla ordered to be strangled for shedding a few tears, when news was brought her of the death of Geta; Septimius Severus Afer, the fon of Geta, brother to the late emperor Severus, to whom Caracalla had fent the day before a dish from his own table, as a token of his friendship; Pompeianus, who had been twice consul, had commanded armies in several wars, and was grandson to the emperor M. Aurelius, by the empress Lucilla; Helvius Pertinax, son to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no less hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewise provoked with a satirical jest; for when the titles of Parthicus and Sarmaticus were decreed to him by the senate, Pertinax moved, that the surname of Geticus might be added to the other two, alluding c not so much to the victory which Caracalla pretended to have gained over the Geta, as to the murder of his brother Geta e. Some of Geta's enemies fared no better than his friends; but the death of no man occasioned greater surprize in the city, than that of Latus, one of Caracalla's most intimate friends, and the first who had advised him to dispatch his brother. He did not even spare the vestal virgins, some of whom he ordered to be strangled for having bewailed the death of Geta. In short, The cruelty of no sex, rank, or age, escaped his cruelty. The people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at Rome caused great numbers of them to be put to death, sometimes out of revenge, and sometimes only for his diversion; for he delighted in nothing so much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodshed. The people f having one day rallied, at the Circensian games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to rush in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the fword; but as the foldiers could not in fo great a croud distinguish them from the rest, they fell indifferently upon all, sword in hand, and made a dreadful

havock of the disarmed multitude, sparing only such as had money enough about them to redeem their lives f. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raising money than Caracalla, or squandered it away with more prodigality. He

C. Vit. Car. p. 88. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 742. r. p. 87. Herod. l. iv. p. 546. <sup>a</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 637. <sup>b</sup> Cuj. in cod. Theod. <sup>c</sup> Vit. C <sup>d</sup> Vit. Car. p. 86. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 872. <sup>e</sup> Vit. Car. p. 87. b Cuj. in cod. Theod.

a often used to say, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Pursuant to his maxim, he impoverished his subjects in all the pro-Loads his subvinces of the empire, loading them with excellive imposts and taxes; for which, jetts with as well as for his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he, like a true tyrant, shewed her his naked sword, saying, As long as I bave this, I shall never want. However, he gave away such immense sums, mostly to persons who least of all deserved them, viz. to his guards, bussions, players, gladiators, charioteers, freed-men, &c. that he was in the end obliged to coin false money, which he fpent at home, while he employed what true gold and filver he could extort from his subjects in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were constantly threatb ening him with wars. He shewed on all occasions the utmost contempt for the senate, intirely neglected the administration of justice, took no care of the provinces, and raised to the highest employments the meanest, and in every respect the most infamous and unworthy persons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of Rome to an eunuch, named Sempronius, who was by birth an Iberian, by profession a poisoner and magician, who had been banished by his father Severus, and confined to a defert island. He appointed one Theocritus captain of the guards, who had been first a slave, and afterwards a dancing-master and stage-player. One Epagathus, another manumitted slave, bore likewise great sway at court, and with the other two ruled and controuled both the empire and emperor, setting all things to by his freedc fale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men, both men innocent and guilty h. Caracalla was author of the famous law declaring all the free Declares all subjects of the empire Roman citizens. This constitution is commonly ascribed to the subjects of M. Aurelius; but that it was published not by that prince, but by Caracalla, we the empire Roman citiare told in express terms by Dion Cassius i, whose authority is of far greater weight zens. with us, than that of Aurelius Victor, who was, as we conjecture, led into that mistake by the words of Ulpian, ascribing the above-mentioned law to Antoninus k, though from the context it is manifest, that Ulpian speaks in that place of Antoninus Cara-calla, and not of M. Aurelius Antoninus. St. Chrysostom, whom some writers have followed, supposes Adrian to have been the author of this law!. Tho' the name d and privileges of Roman citizens were by this conflitution made common to all the subjects of the empire, yet the ancient distinction of colonies, of Latin, municipal, and free cities, subsisted long after, as appears from the Theodosian code m and digests n. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the best civilians, is not the province of an historian.

Caracalla, finding himself generally hated at Rome, on account of his cruelties, resolved to leave the city, and visit, after the example of Adrian, all the provinces of the empire. Pursuant to this resolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth confulship, and named Decius Cælius Balbinus, afterwards emperor, for his collegue, he fet out for Gaul, where he caused the proconsul of the His ernelties e province of Narbonne to be put to death, and made such havock of the people, that in Gaul. he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at Rome. He did not even spare the physicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized; but, upon his recovery, caused them to be put to death. In the beginning of the following year, when Messala and Sabinus were consuls, he returned to Rome, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the Gaulish fashion, which he wore himself, distributed among the people, and would fuffer none to wait upon him but in that dress. From this habit the emperor was Whence the nicknamed Caracalla, or Caracallus, for such was its Gaulish name P. Hence Scaliger name of derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word cassock, the caracalla Caracalla. f being a kind of cassock. At Rome it was called Antoniniana, from Antoninus, which was one of the emperor's names. His stay at Rome was very short; for this very year the Catti, the Alemanni, whom we find now mentioned for the first time in history, and several other German nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the Roman dominions. The Alemanni inhabited at this time the present duchy of Vir-

\*\* Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 758. & l. lxxvii. p. 875. 
\*\* Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 877. 
\*\* Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 755. 
\*\* Digeft. 1. t. 5. l. xvii. 
\*\* Cod. Th. 2. t. 21. p. 189, 190. l. iv. t. 9. l. iii. p. 370. 
\*\* Digeft. 50. t. 15. l. i. p. 1921. & l. viii. p. 1923. 
\*\* Vit. Car. p. 87. 
\*\* Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 890. 
\*\* Spartian. p. 72. Euses chron. p. 230.

temberg, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neigh-

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K k

bouring

against the Catti and Alemanni.

bouring nations 4. They had entered into an alliance with the Catti, whom we a have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incursions into His expedition the Roman territories. Caracalla therefore marched against them, but in that expedition approved himself a better soldier than commander. For tho' he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the bravest of the enemy to a single combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchase a peace with vait sums, and the liberty of retiring with fafety into the Roman dominions. Having asked some women, whom he had taken in the countries of the Catti and Alemanni, which they chose, to be fold for slaves, or put to death, they all preferred death to slavery. The emperor nevertheless ordered them to be fold; but they all laid violent hands on themselves, and some of them after having put to death their children s. It was b no sooner known in Germany, that he had bought a peace of the Catti and Alemanni, than all the nations inhabiting that extensive country flew to arms, threatening him with destructive war, unless with them too he shared his treasures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly pensions, and by that means reducing himself to fuch streights, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin false money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he fuffered no one to be prefent except the interpreters, whom he caused to be immediately put to death, lest they should divulge what had passed. However, the barbarians themselves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade Italy, in case any misfortune should be al him, and to march strait to Rome, which, he said, they might take c with great ease. During his stay in Germany, he caused Gaiobamarus, king of the Quadi, to be treacherously murdered; and having ordered all the youth of Noricum to take arms, and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them all to the fword ". For his pretended victories over the Alemanni, he took the title of Germanicus and Alemanni us w.

THE following year, when Latus was conful the second time with Cerealis, Caracalla, leaving Germany, led his army into Dacia, where he gained fome small advantages over the Geta, and then pursued his march through Thrace to the Helejpont, He passes over which he crossed, not without danger of being shipwrecked; and arriving in Asia, hastened to Pergamus, hoping to be delivered by the god Æsculapius, worshipped d in that city, from all the maladies, fays Herodian, both of his body and mind; but the god, continues that historian, was deaf to his prayers; so that he left Pergamus, after having inriched it with many privileges, as if he designed to bribe the deity, and pursued his journey to Ilium, where he viewed the remains of ancient Troy, and visited the tomb of Achilles, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, tho' an implacable enemy to the Trojans, from whom the Romans pretended to derive their origin. From Ilium he went to Nicomedia, where he spent the winter. In that city he invited Dion Cassius to sup with him, during the feast of Saturn; for he obliged most of the senators to attend him in all his journeys, to defray his travelling charges, and to build in the cities, where he passed the winter, theatres, e circus's, and amphitheatres, for public sports x. Hittorians observe, that, to gain the affections of the foreign nations, he dreffed after the manner of the countries through which he passed: thus in Germany he assumed the German habit, and chose fuch of the German foldiers as were most strong and active, for his guard. When he entered Macedon, from a German he became a Macedonian in habit and behaviour. For pretending to be a great admirer of Alexander, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was represented, but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening countenance, and bending his head fomewhat to one fide. He ordered several statues to be set up in Rome, to the honour of that hero; and among the rest, some with two faces, one resembling Alexander, and the other himself. He f ordered himself to be styled Alexander, and Antoninus the Great, called a squadron of his army a phalanx, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of Alexander. He had no sooner entered Asia, than he forgot Alexander, and studied in all things to refemble Achilles, whose tomb he had visited. Thus he travelled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing-stock of other nations, and the shame and disgrace of his own. The following year, when C. Atius Sabinus was conful the fecond time, with Cornelius Anullinus, Caracalla, leaving Nicomedia after

His levity.

<sup>9</sup> Vide Vorburg. hist. Rom. Ger. p. 473. & Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, 750. Dio, l. Ixxviii. p. 891. <sup>9</sup> Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, 750.

t Dio, l. Ixxviii. p. 891.
& 754.

w CAR, vit. p. 89. Goltz. p. 93. Birag. p. 293.

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876. " Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749. \* Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.

a the fourth of April, (for he celebrated his birth-day there) crossed Bithynia, Afia, and the other provinces, on his journey to Antioch, in which city he was received with extraordinary pomp. During his stay there, he wrote to the senate, that he was well apprifed they did not approve of his conduct; but so long as he had an army at his command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred y. He was very defirous of picking a quarrel with the Parthians, who were involved in a civil war, occasioned by the ambition of the two sons of the late king Vologeses; but they complying with all his demands, he postponed his intended expedition against them, and bent his mind on the reduction of Ofrboene and Armenia, tho' the kings of these two countries lived in perfect amity with the Romans. However, Caracalla, having b invited them to Antioch, as friends and allies of the Roman people, caused them to He treachebe arrested there, and imprisoned, without the least colour or pretence for so doing. roussyleizes and Hereupon Olyppene impediately submitted, and was according to form without the Hereupon O/rhoene immediately submitted, and was, according to some writers, kings of Osthoreduced to a Roman province; tho' others maintain, that it was long after governed ene and Armeby its own princes 4. All we know for certain is, that Caracalla established a Roman nia. colony at Edessa, the capital of Osrboene 2, and that, in the fourth century, the whole country was subject to the Romans. The Armenians, notwithstanding the captivity of their king, made a vigorous resistance; gave a total overthrow to Theocritus the comedian, who was fent against them at the head of a numerous army; bassled all the efforts of Caracal a; and maintained themselves in possession of their ancient libere ties b. From Antioch the emperor proceeded to Alexandria, where he made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, being highly provoked against them for the many lampoons, which, agreeable to their fatirical humour, they had published on occafion of the death of Geta. He gave private orders to his numerous troops, who were Orders a genedispersed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter ral massacre as and pillage their houses, and put all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age or condition. His cruel orders were executed with fuch barbarity, as can hardly be expressed; the whole city floated in blood; every house was filled with carcases; and the return of day discovered in every street the sad monuments of the mighty butchery: but the tyrant, not yet fatiated with blood, commanded the flaughter to d be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleasure of beholding it from the temple of Serapis, where he had passed the preceding night, imploring, during the general massicre, the protection of that deity. When the soldiers were tired with flaughter, Caracalla wrote to the fenate, acquainting them, that he had revenged the affronts offered him by the Alexandrians; but that it was not necessary to specify the number of the dead, nor their condition, since none had perished but fuch as were guilty. Before he left the city, he stripped it of all its privileges; suppreffed the celebrated affembly of learned men; ordered all strangers who lived there, to abandon the place; and that fuch as had escaped the general massacre, who were very few, might not have the fatisfaction of feeing one another, he cut off all e communication of one street with another, by walls built for that purpose, and guarded by the troops he left there. However, as the tyrant died foon after, Alexandria speedily recovered its former splendor, and continued to be the first city of the em-

pire after Rome. FROM Alexandria the emperor returned to Antioch, with a design to make war upon the Parthians, and, by some memorable exploit, deserve the surname of Parthieus, which he seems to have preferred to all others. In order to have some pretence His treachery for declaring war, he fent an embaffy to Artabanes with rich presents, to desire his towards the daughter in marriage, not doubting but the Parthian would deny him his request; which happened accordingly, Artabanes alledging, that his daughter, brought up f after the Parthian manner, could never be reconciled to the customs of the Romans d. Herodian writes, that Caracalla perfifting in his demand, Artabanes at length complied with it; suffered him to enter his dominions; dispatched orders to his governors to receive and entertain him every-where with the utmost magnificence; and went out himself in person to meet him, as he approached the royal city of Ctesis bon, where the nuptials were to be folemnized. Artabanes was attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed, and in their gayest attire. But Caracalla, abusing the confidence they reposed in him with a treachery

У Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 879. Некор. l. iv. p. 519. Spanii. l. ix. p. 775. b Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 875. \* SPANH. l. ix. p. 775. 880., Vit. Car. p. 87. d Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 896.

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Spanh. I. ii. p. 86. & Syncel. p. 359. \* HEROD. l. iv. p. 549. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 879,

Honoured by

the fenate with

the title of Par-

hardly to be matched, gave the signal to his foldiers to fall upon them sword in hand; a which they did accordingly, and made a terrible flaughter of the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing less than such a reception. However, the king had the good fortune to make his escape unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of such an emperor as Caracalla, the cruel and perfidious monster, inraged that Artabanes had escaped him, wrecked his fury on all the countries through which he passed on his return to Syria, leaving every-where difmal monuments of his barbarous cruelty, and infatiable avarice e. Thus Herodian. But Dion Cassius writes, that Caracalla, upon the Parthian king's refusing him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any further declaration of war; ravaged great part of Media; destroyed several cities; took Arbela; and there demolished the tombs of the Parthian monarchs, infulting their remains in a b most outrageous manner. The same writer adds, that as the irruption was sudden and unexpected, he no-where met with the least opposition, or even saw the sace of an enemy. Spartian indeed speaks of a tumultuary engagement between the Parthians and Romans, in which Caracalla let loose wild beasts against the enemy s. But with us his authority is of no weight, when clashing with that of Dion Cassius. The emperor returned from this memorable expedition to Edessa, whence he wrote boasting letters to the senate, as if he had subdued the Parthians, and reduced all the east. The senate, tho' informed of what had passed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of Parthicus, which above all he feemed to covet h. The following year, when C. Bruttius Prasens and T. Messius Extricatus were consuls, a bloody doom at length c overtook this man of blood. He had often rallied as a coward, and threatened with death, Macrinus captain of the guards; besides, about this time a soothsayer declared publicly in Africa, that Macrinus, and his fon Diadumenus, were destined to the empire. Hereupon the soothsayer was immediately sent to Rome, where he repeated and maintained the same thing before Maternianus, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he reposed in him an intire confidence, had injoined to employ all possible means, even the detestable mysteries of magic, in order to discover, whether any one privately aspired at the empire. Maternianus therefore did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the foothfayer; but the letter being delivered to Julia, whom Caracalla had left at Antioch, with full power to d open and read all his dispatches, (for he himself was still at *Edessa*, where he had passed the winter) Macrinus, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it, before Julia could transmit it from Ant:och to Edessa. This intelligence was conveyed to him by Ulpius Julianus his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier dispatched from Rome strait to the court at Edessa'. Herodian writes, that a pacquet being brought to the emperor, while he was busied in driving a chariot at the public shews, he ordered Macrinus to read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that Macrinus found among the rest the letter of Maternianus. Be that as it will, Macrinus was, as all authors agree, informed before the emperor of what Maternianus had wrote; and therefore being fensible, that he e could not use too much dispatch k, he immediately gained with great promises two brothers, Aurelius Nemesianus and Aurelius Apollinaris, both tribunes of the guards; Julius Martialis, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refuling him the post of a centurion; Martius Agrippa the admiral; Rhatianus, tribune of the second legion, and several others, who put their design in execution on the eighth of April of this year 217. while the emperor was going on horse-back with a small retinue from Edessa to visit a temple of the moon at Carrba; for being obliged to stop by the way to ease nature, and all withdrawing except one of the prince's domestics, as he was ready to mount again, Martialis, loth to let slip that opportunity, ran hastily to him, gave him with his dagger such a stab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and f returning to the rest, mixed with the croud, before they were apprised of what had passed; but when the emperor's death was publicly known, a Scythian who belonged to the guards, observing Martialis with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confusion, he had not had the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, shot him through with an arrow. Caracalla was killed after he had lived twenty-nine years and four months, and reigned fix years, two months,

Caracalla murderedi

Macrinus conspires against him.

<sup>\*</sup> Herod. l. iv. p. 551-553. 

\* Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 881. 

\* Vit. Car. p. 87. 

\* Dio, ibid. Herod. ibid. p. 554.

a and four days, from the death of his father (O). The foldiers immediately gathered about the body of the deceased prince, conveyed it to Edessa, and there proceeded, even before they had performed the funeral obsequies, to the election of a new empe-They were in suspense that and the two following days; but on the fourth, the eleventh of April, and the birth-day of Severus, the prætorian guards, who were Opelius Maat Edeffa, at the infligation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conspiracy of crinus declared Macrinus, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him foldiery. to have been any-ways accessary to the death of Caracalla, which they ascribed to Martialis alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private passion and revenge. Macrinus pretended at first to decline such a heavy burden; but was easily prevailed

b upon to submit to it; distributed on that occasion large sums amongst the foldiery; made them ample promises; and granted a general pardon to all persons accused of, or condemned for, crimes of majesty or high treason m. Herodian writes, that the army first chose Adventus, Macrinus's collegue in the command of the prætorian guards, who excused himself on account of his great age ". But, according to Dion Cassius, Adventus only bragged, that, in regard to his seniority, he had a better right to the empire than Macrinus, declaring at the same time, that he willingly yielded it to him. Adventus was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a statesman, exceeding old, no less meanly born than Macrinus, and illiterate to such a degree, that he could not even read P. However, Macrinus created him c senator, appointed him governor of Rome, and the following year chose him for his collegue in the confulfhip.

As for the new emperor Opilius, or rather Opelius Macrinus, he was a native of His birth and Casarea in Mauritania, now Algier, and of a very mean descent. We are told, that preferments. many things concerning his birth, his education, and first employments, were invented by his fuccessor Heliogabalus, and by his orders inserted as true in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in Julius Capitolinus, who was strangely preju-

Dio, p. 891. HEROD p. 556. Dio, p. 894. P Idem ibid. m Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 893-895.

" HEROD. l. iv. p. 535.

(O) The authors who lived under Caracalla, were, D. Severus S.:mmonicus, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by Geen; and hence Summonicus was by Caracalla's orders murdered, while he was at supper as a friend to Geta (81). None of his works have reached our times, except fome books in Latin verse on physic, and a few pas-fages quoted by Macrobius out of a book in prose, which he intcribed to the emperor Severus Vossius is of opinion, that he published some historical pieces (83). His library confifted of fixty-two thousand volumes, which his son, who bore the fame name, bequeathed to young Gordian, whose preceptor he had been (84). The emperor Alexinder is faid to have taken great delight in reading the works of Horace, and Serenus Sammonicus, with whom he had been acquainted '85); but this must have been the son. Elius Maurus, whom Spartian quotes in relating the death of Severus (86), wrote in the reign of Caracalla, being then very old; for he had been a flave to Phlegon, the celebrated freedman of the emperor Adrian (87). Vossius ranks him among the Latin historians; because Spartian does not fay, that he wrote in Greek (88). Oppian, the celebrated Greek poet, lived under Antoninus, the fon of Domna; that is, under Caracalla, the son of Julia Domna, as he himself informs us (89), and not under Antoninus the Philosopher, as we read in the chronicle of Eusebius and St. Jerom (90). He was native of Anazarbus, a town of Cilicia, as appears from the short account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (91). His father being banished by Se-

verus to the island of Malea, or to that of Meleda near Ragufa, Oppian accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there composed his poems, which he afterwards rehearfed at Rome, where they were received with extraordinary applause, and pleased the emperor Severus to such a degree, that he recalled his father from banishment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verses in hit poem on the art of fishing; whence he used to call those verses, golden verses (92). He inscribed that poem to Antoninus, that is, to Caracalla, about the year 204. according to Scaliger, and the other on the chace to the same prince, after the death of his father Severus (93). The latter poem ought to confift of five books as well as the former, though there are but four in the Paris edition of 1555. and in that of Plantin in 1597, both which editions are evidently imperfect. St. Jerom cries up the poem on the art of fishing as a wonderful performance (94). Scaliger styles it a divine work; but Sozomenus, not so lavish of his praises, calls it only an in-different poem (95). We learn from his life, that besides the two above-mentioned works, he composed several other admirable poems, as the anonymous author styles them (96). He tells us himself, that he described in verse the Parthian war, and the taking of Ciesiphon, no doubt by Severus. He is said to have retired with his father to Anazarbus, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (97). The inhabitants of Anazarbus, his countrymen, erected a statue to him, with a pompous inscription.

(81) Car. vit. p. 86. & Get. vit. p. 92. (82) Voss. poet. Lat. p. 52. & Macrob. saturn. l. ii. c. 12. (83) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 2. (84) Gord. vit. p. 159. (85) Alex. vit. p. 124. (86) Vit. Sev. p. 71. (87) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 2. (88) Idem ibid. (89) Oppian. de venat. l. i. p. 129. (91) Oppian. vit. (92) Sozom. l. i. p. 394. (93) Oppian. de pisc. l. ii. p. 54. & venat. l. i. p. 129. Euseb. chron. p. 122. (94) Hier. chron. (95) Sozom. ibid. (96) Oppian. vit. (97) Ibid. (86) Vit. Sev. (95) Sozom.

diced against him, we shall chiefly follow Dion Coffius, who flourished under him, a and seems quite free from all personal hatred, and personal affection. According to that writer, he was a person of a most mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and foldiery, and covered the meanness of his birth and first employments. He was pretty well versed in the laws, which induced Plantianus to commit to him the care of his estate; that is, to appoint him his steward. Afterwards Severus charged him with the care of the posts in Italy; but soon after banished him, for what transgression we know not, into Africa, where he supported himself with pleading causes of small consequence. He returned to Rome after the death of Severus, when Caracalla gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himself so well, that the same prince named him to succeed the celebrated b Papinian in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide causes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when Caracalla himself was not present 9. He married one Nonia Celja, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a fon, born on the nineteenth of September of the year 208. and commonly called by the Latin historians Diadumenus; but by Dion Cassius, by Herodian, and in most inscriptions, Diadumenianus r. With the empire he took the names of Severus and Aurelius, which are still to be seen on feveral of his medals: but on none appears that of Antoninus; whence we conclude Capitolinus to have been mistaken in giving him it. Before he left Edessa, he caused the body of Caracalla to be burnt with the usual solemnity, and sent his ashes, inclosed c in an urn, to his mother Julia at Antioch, who not caring to outlive him, especially after Macrinus had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives against him, and her private intrigues, in order to seize the empire for herself, abstained from all food, and died starved. Her body was sent to Rome, and deposited in the tomb of Caius and Lucius Cafars, the grandfons of Augustus, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her fifter Mela to the mausoleum of Adrian. Macrinus was no fooner declared emperor, than he fent for his fon Diadumenus, who was then at Antioch. The foldiers who attended him, and were intirely addicted to Macrinus, gave him, pursuant to their private instructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of Cæsar; which, upon his arrival at Edessa, was confirmed to him by the whole d declared Caefar. army, his father giving on that occasion another bounty to the foldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the fenate immediately with the death of Caracalla, and his accession to the empire, by a letter, in which he spoke with great reserve of the deceased emperor, neither commending nor discommending him: he only said, that fince the doom which he feemed to have deferved had at length overtaken him, and the army had chosen him to command in his room, he would acknowledge himfelf indebted to the senate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that Tho' the fenate had heard before the news of the death of Caracalla, yet apprehending it to be only a false report, they had carefully concealed their sentiments; but being now affured of the truth by Macrinus's letters, they loaded him with e dreadful curses; ordered all his gold and filver statues to be melted down, his name to be erased out of all inscriptions; annulled his acts; and declared his memory infamous, styling him no longer Antoninus, but Baffianus, Caracalla and Tarantus, which was the name of a little, deformed and cruel gladiator ". They were fo transported with joy in feeing themselves delivered from the tyranny of Caracalla, that, overlooking the meanness of Macrinus's birth, they declared him emperor without the emperor by the least hesitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his fon proclaimed Casar, and his wife, Nonia Celsa, honoured with the title of Augusta. In their answer to his letter, they earnestly intreated him to punish, according to their f deserts, the ministers of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. Macrinus complied in some degree with their request; for he suffered them to condemn, not to death, but to banishment, three senators, and many others of an inferior rank, and ordered all the flaves and freed-men, who had informed against their masters or patrons, to be crucified. The new emperor in the mean time, leaving Edessa, led his army to Antioch; and there, in the presence of all his

The death of Julia.

Diadumenus

The hatred of the fenate to Caracaila.

Macrinus acsenate.

troops, gave his fon the name of Antoninus; a name highly revered, and, in a man-

F Idem, p. 888. HEROD. p. 566. GOLTZ. p. 100. GOLTZ.

a ner, adored by the foldiery v. On this occasion the whole army demanded with loud cries the deification of Caracalla; a demand which greatly surprised Macrinus, who neverthele is was in the end forced to comply with it, and command the fenate to Caracalla deirank among the gods one, whom he himself had caused to be murdered, and who sed. was deservedly looked upon by all, except the soldiery, as a professed soe to human race, a monster gorged with blood, a parricide, and the most inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and difgrace a diadem. The senate, pursuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, priests, facrifices, and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cause one Aurelianus to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed some of the deceased b emperor's statues '; so great was the authority which the army had, by degrees,

usurped both over the senate and prince. WHILE these things passed at Antioch and Rome, Artabanes, king of the Parthians, The Parthian having affembled a powerful army, advanced at the head of it, with a delign to war. invade the Roman territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. Macrinus, prompted partly by his natural timidity, (for he was not a man of courage) and partly by motives of justice and equity, endeavoured to appease him, by sending back all the prisoners taken by Caracalla, and with them embassadors to propose a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but Artabanes declaring, that he would nearken to no proposals, unless the Romans engaged, by way of preliminary, c to rebuild all the cities they had destroyed, to give up Mejotoamia, and to pay an immense sum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the Parthian monarchs overturned by Caracalla, and making good the losses his subjects had sustained by the late unjust invasion, Macrinus, ashamed to comply with such high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of Nijibis v. Herodian tells us, that the battle which enfued lasted two whole days, night alone putting an end to the contest, and both parties challenging the victory. He adds, that the third day, the two armies, not being able to approach each other on account of the dead bodies, which formed a kind of wall between them, retired to their respective camps 7. But Dion Cassius writes, that the Romans, inured under Caracalla to an idle and effemid nate life, were overcome in two engagements; infomuch that Macrinus, not during The Romans to venture a third, fent embassadors with rich presents for Artabanes, and all the defeated. grandees of his court, and by that means obtained a peace, which cost him, accord. Macrinus coning to our hiltorian, fifty millions of drachma's a. However, the fenate decreed him with the Parthe furname of Parthicus, which he accepted, as appears from some of his medals at thians and Arbut declined the triumph which was decreed him at the same time. As for the Arme- menians. nians, whom Caracalla had likewise provoked, Macrinus appeased them, by restoring their king Tiridates to the throne, and to him those lands which they had formerly possessed in Cap; adocia d. Capitolinus speaks of a war with the people of Arabia, in which Macrinus fignalized his courage, and was attended with great fuccesse; but e of this war no mention is made by any other historian. Macrinus, having thus concluded a peace both with the Parthians and Armenians, returned to Antioch; and there, by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuses which had prevailed in the reign of his predecessor. He declared all the rescripts and decisions of the emperors void and null, unless they were found agreeable to the ancient and known laws of Rome, faying, It was a shameful thing, that the caprices of a Commodus or a Caracalla should be held for laws. He punished crimes with great severity. When any persons, of what rank soever, were convicted Macrinus's seof adultery, he caused the delinquents to be tied together, and thus tied, to be burnt verity against alive. He obliged fugitive slaves to fight like gladiators: fometimes he ordered crif minals to be shut up, and starved to death. He punished with death such informers as could not make good their accusations; when they did, they had the usual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's estate; whence they were called Quadruplatores; but at the same time Macrinus declared them infamous. He revived, according to Capitolinus, who betrays a strange prejudice against him, the punishment of

x Dio, l. lxxviii, p. 892. Vit, Macr. p. 95. p. l. iv. p. 557. 2 Dio, ibid. p. 866. W Idem, p. 896. Herod l. iv. p. 561. X Dio, l. lxxviii Macr. p. 96. Dio, ibid. p. 890. Z Herod l. iv. p. 557. de Dio, p. 19. Dio, ibid. p. 900. d Idem, p. 887. y Vit. b Noris. e Vit. Micr. p. 95.

Mezentius, who is faid to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrify together. Hence the people, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his fon Diadumenus, publicly repeated the verse of Virgil in commendation of

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Lausus the son of Mezentius; Dignus cui pater baud Mezentius esset, It was a pity be a bad a Mezentius for bis father. He took from the inhabitants of Pergamus all the privileges which had been lately granted them by Caracalla, and appointed Dion Casfius the historian governor of that city, and of Smyrna 8. A conspiracy being discovered against him, he punished some of the authors of it; but pardoned Arbianus, Thuscus and Gelius, of whom the former is styled duke of Armenia, and the two latter lieutenants of Asia and Arabia; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by Capitolinus, that Diadumenus wrote on this occasion to his father, and likewise to the empress his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had shewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy (P). But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that Dia- b dumenus, then only nine or ten years old, was capable of writing such letters.

his clemency.

We have hitherto seen nothing in Macrinus blame worthy: however, he was not Raises only per- without his faults; for, in the first place, as he himself was of a mean descent, he sons of a mean deprived of their employments those who were nobly born, and raised to the highest descent, and no posts persons of his own condition, tho', generally speaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed Adventus, of whom we have spoken before, governor of Rome, and prince of the senate, even before he was a senator, tho' altogether unequal to that high post, being incapable of speaking in public, and so illiterate, that he could not so much as read. He recalled from the government of Pannonia and Dacia, Sabinus and Castinus, men of merit and distinction; and sent Marcius Agrippa, a manu- c mitted flave, formerly banished by Severus for treasonable practices, to succeed the former; and substituted Decius Tricianus, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the foldiers he punished the least transgression or neglect of duty with such feverity, that, instead of Macrinus, he was called by them Macellinus, from the word macellum, fignifying shambles. In the reign of Caracalla, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themselves with impunity in all manner of licentiousness; but Macrinus obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not fuffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more because the emperor himself wallowed in pleasures at Antioch, while they in the field often wanted necessaries. d They therefore began to regret the loss of Caracalla, to hate the very name of Macrinus, and publicly to reproach him with the meanners of his birth, and former life. At the fame time they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of Caracalla; which incenfed them against him to such a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from Macrinus, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when Macrinus and Adventus were confuls, This revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of Mæsa, sister to the late empress Julia, a woman of great crast, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her fifter during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla, and had acquired there great knowledge of affairs, e and likewise immense wealth; which Macrinus suffered her to enjoy after the murder of Caracalla, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to Emesa in Phanicia, her native city. She had two daughters, viz. Julia Soamis, or Soamias, and Julia Mamaa. Of these the latter had a son named Alexianus, and the former one called Varius Avitus Bassianus. When Mæsa retired by Macrinus's orders to Emesa, she took her

He disobliges the foldiers by his excessive feverity.

> f Vit. Macr. p. 96. 8 Dio, p. 897. Diad. vit. p. 100.

(P) The letter which he is faid to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms: " I cannot be filent on the present occasion, with-" out being wanting to my duty. You were furely 
" quite unmindful of your own fafety, when you 
" fpared the authors of the late rebellion. Men, whose minds are once exulcerated, will never be " reclaimed by mercy; and friends, when they once begin to hate, are of all enemies the most cruel, the most implacable; besides, they are still in a " condition to do mischief, they have still troops " under their command:

Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,

Ascanium surgentem, & spes haredis Iuli Respice, cui regnum Italia, Romanaque tellus

" You must put them to death, if you desire to live " in fatety. Your sparing them will encourage others (such is the perverseness of mankind!) to follow their example." In his letter to his mother, he expressed himself thus: "The emperor "my father, by sparing his enemies, shews that he neither loves you nor himself: therefore exert yourself on this occasion, and take care they be executed; for the my father spares them, they " will not, when occasion offers, spare us (98)."

a two grandsons with her, Avitus being then thirteen years old, and Alexianus only nine, and caused them both to be confecrated to the sun, the chief deity of the inhabitants of Emela, who had erected a stately temple to him, under the name of Eleagabalus. Bassianus, the eldest of the two, was appointed pontiff of that deity, and thence called Eleagabalus, or, as he is commonly styled by historians, Heliogabalus; for his name has occasioned great disputes among the learned. As the temple of the fun was but at a small distance from Macrinus's camp, the Roman soldiers, coming frequently to visit the deity of the place, were mightily taken with the comeliness of the young pontiff, who, in his person, was tall and genteel, well-shaped, and had fomething in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleafing. Mæsa, observing her b grandson thus admired by the soldiery, resolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that Heliogabalus was the son of Caracalla; that she possessed immense treasures, and would willingly inrich with them such as should espouse the cause of the deceased emperor's fon. The foldiers, who were incamped in the neighbourhood of Emesa, believing Heliogabalus to be truly the fon of Caracalla, and allured by the mighty promises of Mas/a, invited her with her grandson to their camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed Heliogabalus emperor, by the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, by some proand invelted him with all the enfigns of fovereignty k. Macrinus, who was then at claimed empe-Antiocb, when informed of this revolt, instead of marching in person to quash it at re once, as he might have easily done, contented himself with sending Ulpius Julianus, Julianus, sent c one of the captains of the guards, with some troops, against them. Julianus attacked betrayed by his their camp with great resolution, and might have made himself master of it the very own men, and first day, the soldiers under his command being mostly Moors, and consequently murdered. greatly attached to Macrinus their countryman; but Julianus checking their ardour, and putting off the affault to the next day, in hopes they would in the mean time submit of their own accord, the besieged raised new works during the night, sustained the affault the next morning with great resolution, and by shewing Heliogabalus on the ramparts, and with him the treasures they had received from Mæsa, induced the Romans who were with Julianus, and highly distatisfied with Macrinus, to murder their own officers, and join them. Julianus betook himself to slight, and lay for d some time concealed; but being at length discovered, one of the soldiers struck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and fealed with Julianus's own feal, pretending it to be the head of Heliogabalus; and made his escape while the emperor was unfolding it. Macrinus, perceiving whose head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, hastened to the camp of the Albanians; that is, of the foldiers who had their fixed quarters at Alba, and were then incamped in the neighbourhood of Apamea; acquainted them in a very injudicious speech with the revolt of the troops near Emesa; declared Heliogabalus, his cousin Alexianus, both their mothers, and their grandmother Masa, public enemies; and proclaimed his fon Diadumenus, Augustus, and his partner in the empire, promising e on that occasion to each soldier five thousand drachma's, and paying them of that fum one thousand on the spot. At the same time he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the revolt of the troops, and the promotion of his fon, and injoining them to promise to the people in his name one hundred and sifty drachma's a man. fenate, by whom Macrinus was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of Augustus to his fon, and declared Heliogabalus a public enemy. From Apamea the emperor returned to Antioch, instead of marching without loss of time against the rebels at Emesa; which city was but at a small distance. He was scarce gone, when the Albanians, and the other troops incamped in that neighbourhood, declared for Heliogatroops revolt.

balus, who thereupon marched strait to Antioch, to attack Macrinus, before he had f time to assemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of Antioch at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of Syria and Phanicia, a bloody engagement enfued, in which the troops of Heliogabalus, after a long and vigorous relistance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by Masa, Soumis, the mother of Heliogabalus, and by Heliogabalus himself, who signalized his valour on that occasion in a very eminent manner. The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, Macrinus's men would have gained the day, according to Dion Cassius, had they not

HEROD. l. v. p. 562. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 111. Macr. vit. p. 96. 1 Dio, p. 902. HEROD. P. 564. Vit. Macr. p. 96.

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been

Macrinus abandous his join Heliogabalus.

Son Diadumenus put to

death.

been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himself a to flight, when he saw the troops of Heliogabalus return to the charge. The prætogagement, who rian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till Heliogabalus affured them upon his oath, that they should not be discharged, but should enjoy under him all the privileges and exemptions which had been granted them by other emperors; then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done!. Macrinus retired to Antioch, and there giving out that he had gained a complete victory, ordered his fon to shelter himself in the country of the Parthians; and, before the news of his deseat was publicly known, fled himself in disguise, taking with him letters for those who had care of the posts, as if he had been fent by the emperor upon some important affair that required dispatch. Thus he crossed undiscovered the provinces of b Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia. To avoid Nicomedia, he imbarqued at a port in the neighbourhood of that city, called Eribolus, with a defign to go by fea to Chalcedon, and from thence to cross over to Byzantium; but being driven back by a contrary wind to Chalcedon, when he was upon the point of landing at Byzantium, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and discovered by those whom Heliogabalus had fent to pursue him. The foldiers, to whose custody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to Heliogabalus; but he having thrown himself out of it, when he was informed that his fon too had been taken, and by the fall broken Both he and his his shoulder-bone, the soldiers put an end to his pain and his life, by cutting off his fon Diadume- head; which they carried to Heliogabalus, who ordered it to be exposed on the point c of a spear to public view ... Such was the end of Macrinus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the feventh of June of the year 218. His fon Diadumenus was publicly executed by the new emperor's orders, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of We are told, that some of the soldiers, considering his youth, (for he was but ten years old) were for faving him; but the letters, which he was supposed to have written against Arabianus and his accomplices, being produced, they consented to his death. Basilianus, governor of Egypt, and Marius Secundus, governor of Phanicia, (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor) refused to acknow-d ledge Heliogabalus, even after the death of Macrinus; which occasioned several seditions in those countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and soldiery were killed, and among the rest Secundus himself. Basilianus shed to Italy, and lay fome time concealed in the neighbourhood of Brundusium; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for some relief, and by Heliogaba-

lus's orders executed at Nicomedia, where that prince passed the first winter after his

accession to the empire ".

Heliogabalus, immediately after the defeat and flight of Macrinus, entered Antioch, and from thence wrote to the fenate, acquainting them with the defeat of Macrinus, and his accession to the empire, and promising to conform in every thing to the excellent institutions of Augustus and M. Aurelius, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the fenate, whose authority should be ever facred to him. However, as he styled himself Augustus the son of Antoninus, that is, of Caracalla, and the grandson of Severus, and likewise assumed the proconsular and tribunitial power, and the titles of Happy and Pius, before they had been conferred upon him by the senate, his letter occasioned a general consternation in the city; nevertheless they confirmed to him all the titles he had assumed; declared Macrinus, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy, and honoured both Masa and Soamis with the title of Augusta. Thus was Varius Avitus Bassianus, commonly known in history by the name of Heliogabalus, raised to the empire. He was the most profligate, im- f pious, inhuman, effeminate and prodigal tyrant that ever difgraced a diadem. His grandmother Mafa, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite ashamed of his scandalous and unaccountable conduct, strove to the utmost of her power to keep him within fome bounds; but he, utterly despissing her, only hearkened to the wicked counsels of his mother Sommis, and of such as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly said to have exceeded Nero himself in cruelty, Caligula in prodigality, and the most abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him,

Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor by the His character.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dio, p. 889. Herod. l. v. p. 565. m 96. n Dio, p 905. Heliog vit. p. 102. m Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 889. HEROD. ibid. p. 566. Mact. vicp. 96.

a in all manner of lewdness and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that short time married six wives. His first wife was Julia Cornelia Paula, a lady of His wives. an unblameable character, and sprung from two of the most illustrious families in Rome; but soon after divorced her, and stripped her of the title of Augusta, and all the other honours he had conferred upon her. He then married Julia Aquilia Severa, a vestal virgin, which was accounted by the Romans an enormous crime; but soon put her away to marry Annia Faustina, the grand-daughter of the emperor M. Aurelius, tho' already married to Pomponius Bassus, whom he caused to be murdered. Faustina, and three others, whose names are unknown, were in a short time obliged to give room to Aquilia Severa the vestal, whom he admitted anew to his bed, saying, b That he hoped, as she was a priestess, and he a priest, to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods. But his frequent marriages and divorces did not give fo much offence as his scandalous lewdness, and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned His monstrous the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with such numbers of prostitutes, for the lewdiefs. conveniency, he said, of his friends and favourites, that it seemed a city, says Herodian, inhabited only by lewd women. With them, and his debauched companions, he passed the greatest part of his time, abandoning himself to the most scandalous and unnatural practices. He often affembled them in one of the halls of the palace, appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air of a profitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay afide all modesty, shake off all restraints, and make c it their whole study to find out new methods of satisfying their lustful appetites. In his speeches he addressed them with the title of commilitones, fellow-soldiers; and truly they were the only foldiers worthy of fuch a general. After some time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himself of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married first to Aurelius Zoticus, one of his officers, and afterwards to Hierocles, a flave. He was not ashamed to satisfy his most infamous and unnatural lusts in public, in the face of the fun, and the whole Roman people, putting thereby out of countenance even the most profligate amongst his debauched companions. But to dwell on such abominable scenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an historian, and only worthy of such a d biographer as Ælius Lampridius, who feems to take particular delight in describing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monster. His prodigality. was as boundless as his lust; for in the short time of his reign he is said to have reduced almost to beggary all the subjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He suffered nothing to appear at his table, but what was brought from the most distant countries at an immense charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furnished with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber and the place where his chariot waited for him was strewed with gold-dust; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the ground like other men. All his tables, chefts, chairs, and fuch veffels as were destined for the meanest uses, were of pure gold. Tho' his cloaths were exceeding costly, and beset with jewels and precious stones, yet he is said never to have worn one suit twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once used. He was constantly served in gold-plate; but every night after supper distributed among his guests and attendants what had been made use of that day. He often distributed among the people and foldiery, not corn only and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and filver plate, jewels, precious stones, and tickets intitling them to immense sums, which were immediately paid. He caused his fish-ponds to be filled with water distilled from roles, and the naumachia, where fea-fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries where he walked, were daily strewed with roses, f lilies, and all forts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expensive almost beyond belief, his favourite dishes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheafants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geefe, his horses with raisins, and his lions and other wild beasts with partridges and pheasants. In short, the whole wealth of the Roman empire was scarce sufficient, says Herodian, to supply the extravagance of one man P. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to Lampridius, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a

• Dio, l. lxxix. p. 911. HEROD. p. 568. P HEROD p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102.

place in our history.

persons of distinction to be murdered.

To give some account of this strange reign, according to the order of time; a Causes several Heliogabalus, before he lest Syria, commanded several persons, both in the east and at Rome, to be put to death; and among the rest, Julianus Nestor, captain of the guards under Macrinus; Fabius Agrippinus, governor of Syria; Reanus, governor of Arabia; Claudius Attalus, who had governed Thrace in the year 194. and was then governor of Cyprus; and Decius Triccianus, who commanded in Pannonia 9. From Syria, the new emperor marched to Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he passed the winter, and gave many fresh instances of his cruel and inhuman temper, causing, besides many others, one Gannys to be murdered for advising him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a Roman emperor. Gannys was one of Mæ/a's domestics, but favoured to such a degree by Heliogabalus, on account of his fidelity, and b the zeal he had shewn in his cause, that he designed to marry his mother to him, and declare him Cæsar. However, his finding fault with his vices provoked him to fuch a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the spot, and gave him with his own hand the first blow. In the beginning of the following year, Heliogabalus entered upon his first consulship, having for his collegue one Sacerdos, of whom we find no farther mention in history. Early in the spring the new emperor fet out for Rome, where he was received both by the people and fenate with great demonstrations of joy, tho' no one doubted but he would prove a second Nero or Caligula. The next day, he went to the senate; and taking with him his grandmother, placed her next to the confuls, ordered her name to be fet down among those c of the other senators, and appointed, that she should vote as the rest, and be confulted in all matters of importance. For his mother Soamis he inflituted a fenate, their consultations, debates, and decrees, were the dress and apparel of the Roman matrons, their ranks and dignities, their visits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like natures. The emperor himself was not employed in affairs of greater moment, being wholly taken up in establishing at Rome the worship of his

Establishes the worship of the

He ranks his grandmother

among the

nace of women. confisting only of women, and declared her their head or president. The subject of god Eleagabagod Heliogabalus, or, as he is styled on the medals of this prince, Eleagabalus. He erected a magnificent temple to him, worshipped him with ceremonies never before practifed at Rome, preferred him to Jupiter himself, and to all the other gods of d the Romans, who, he said, were but the servants of his god; and declared, that he would suffer no other god to be adored at Rome, or elsewhere, but Eleagabalus. In order to this, he profaned all other temples, stripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god, the perpetual fire of Vesta, the statue of Cybele, the bucklers of Mars, the palladium brought from Troy, as was supposed, by Eneas, and whatever else was looked upon by the Romans as most facred. From Carthage he ordered the goddess Calestis to be brought to Rome, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to Eleagabalus, and caused the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and folemnity. Dion Cassius tells us, that, in honour of his god, he abstained from e hogs-flesh, and caused himself to be circumcised "; and Herodian, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the summer. The same author adds, that besides many other victims, he facrificed children to him, mostly sprung from illustrious families, and privately snatched up by the ministers of his cruelty, dispersed all over Italy for that purpose w. Dion Cassius observes, that he caused several illustrious persons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and among the rest, Seius Carus, Valerianus Pætus, Silius Meffala, and Pomponius Baffus, all senators of great distinction, for no other crime, but because he believed they disliked his conduct z. THE following year, Heliogabalus entered upon his second consulship, having for f

his collegue Eutychianus, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was furnamed Comazon, which, in the Greek tongue, fignifies waggift, or gay. He had greatly contributed to the rife of Heliogabalus; for at his instigation the troops near Emesa had declared for him; on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the confular ornaments. This year he honoured him with the confular dignity; and when his confulship expired, appointed him governor of Rome y. The next year, when Gratus Sabinianus

<sup>·</sup> Heliog. vit. p. 102, 105, 106. " Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 762.

a and Seleucus were consuls, Masa, foreseeing that the Romans could not long bear with fuch a prince as Heliogabalus, prevailed upon him to adopt his cousin Alexianus, and Alexianus declare him Cæsar, though at that time only twelve, or, at most, thirteen years old. adopted, and The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince on created Cæsar. that occasion took the names of Alexander and Severus, the former from the king of Macedon, and the latter from the emperor, his supposed grandfather 2. Heliogabalus treated him at first in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courses; but finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and foldiery than himself, he began to repent his having adopted him, and Heliogabalus gave private orders to those who were trusted with the care of his education, to dis-repents his b patch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and cir-and attempts cumspection of Mamæa, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother Mæsa, to destroy him. who betrayed all the emperor's fecrets, Heliogabalus, transported with rage, ordered the senate to degrade Alexianus from the dignity of Casar, and annul the late adoption. At the same time he dispatched affassins to murder him; and retiring to an old palace on mount Esquilin, waited there till news was brought him of his death. But in the mean time, the prætorian guards, apprised of the danger that threatened the young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himself to death, had he not softened them with mighty promises, abandoned to them all his c debauched companions, and such as were deemed enemies to Alexander; and folemnly declared, that he designed for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redress all the grievances, of which, he faid, they had but too much reason to complain a. The next year he took upon him his third confulfhip; and pretending to be reconciled to Alexander, chose him for his collegue; but being determined at all events, notwithstanding his late protestations, to rid himself of so troublesome a rival, in the first place, he ordered all the senators to quit the city, lest they should thwart his defigns; and then caufing Alexander to be shut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all on a sudden taken ill, and almost past recovery. This report he spread abroad on purpose to discover the disposition of the soldiery, who no sooner heard it, than they slew to arms, and demanded to see Alexander. The young prince was d it, than they flew to arms, and demanded to fee Alexander. accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himself conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, while no one took the least notice of Heliogabalus; which provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he ordered those, who had applauded Alexander, to be punished as traitors. But the rest, rescuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud The soldiers about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which so terrified him, that he muting. attempted to save himself by flight, those who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to disperse the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel ensued between the partizans of the two princes, in which those who favoured Heliogabalus were soon deseated, e and cut in pieces, with Hierocles, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the ministers who attended him. The emperor himself withdrew, during the contest, into the most filthy place of the camp, and consequently the most worthy of him; where he was foon discovered, and murdered by the enraged fol-Heliogabalus diery, together with his mother Sommis, who had retired thither with him, and held and his mother him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were flyick off, and after their Sommis marhim the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were struck off; and after their dered. bodies had been ignominiously dragged through the city, and most outrageously insulted by the populace, that of Heliogabalus was, with a great weight fastened to it, thrown from the Emilian bridge into the Tiber b. Such was the deserved end of Heliogabalus, the most wicked and most debauched of all the Roman emperors, in f the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the seventh of June, of the year 218. on which day he deseated Macrinus, to the eleventh of March of the year 222. when he met with his deserved doom. The senate caused the name of Antoninus, which he had assumed and disgraced with his lewd life, to be erased out of the public registers, and all inscriptions; and passed a decree, excluding for ever women from the senate, and load-

\* Herod. l.v. p. 570. Dio, l. lxxix. p. 914. \* Dio, p. 915 b Herod. p. 573. Heliog. vit. p. 106. \* Heliog. vit. p. 107. Dio, p. 915. HEROD. ibid. Heliogab. vit. p. 106.

ing with curses such as should for the suture attempt to transgress it c.

Alexander

His birth and

His mother Julia Mamæa.

Alexander favours the christians.

Upon the death of Heliogabalus, his cousin Alexander, then in the fourteenth year a declared empe- of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the foldiery, and conducted from the camp to the senate, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of Augustus, of father of his country, and all the other marks of distinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the same time they offered him the name of Antoninus, and the surname of Great; but he modestly declined them both. He was the fon of Julia Mamæa, or Mammæa, of whom we have spoken above, and of Genesius Marcianus, a Syrian. He was a native of the city of Arca in Phanicia, and born there, according to Lampridius d, in a temple confecrated to Alexander the Great; whence, upon his being adopted by Heliogabalus, he took the name of Alexander. His former name was Bassianus, according to Dion Cassius; but 5 according to Herodian, Alexianus, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care; for Julia Mamæa is thought by many writers of great note to have been instructed in the truths of the gospel, and to have embraced the christian religion e: at least, Eusebius styles her a very pious and religious woman f; epithets which we can hardly persuade ourselves a christian bishop would have bestowed upon a pagan. While she was at Antioch, in the year 218. hearing Origen greatly commended on account of his knowledge in religious matters, she shewed a great desire to see him, sent for him from Alexandria, received him with great joy, and kept him some time with her 8. It is not improbable, that she was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it. Be that c as it will, she brought up her son with extraordinary care, employing only such persons to instruct him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning, and allowing no one to come near him, whom she suspected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himself, from his infancy, to the study of the Greek and Latin tongues, and was as well versed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not so great, as appeared from his speeches to the senate, to the soldiery, and to the people ": neither did he admire the Latin eloquence so much as the Greek. He was well skilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, besides, in the arts of painting, singing, playing upon instruments, &c. From his infancy, he gave innumerable instances of a most mild, humane, and gened rous temper; shewed an utter aversion to bloodshed, and all manner of cruelty; and made it his chief study to please and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domestics. As he paid an intire deference to his mother Mamaa, and grandmother Masa, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, at His counsellors, their motion, he chose, as soon as he was raised to the empire, sixteen senators for his council, all men of known probity, and long versed in public affairs, transacting nothing without their advice, and constantly conforming to it. Among these were, Fabius Sabinus, generally styled the Cato of his time; Domitius Ulpianus, and Julius Paulus, two celebrated civilians; Antoninus Gordianus, afterwards emperor; Catilius Severus, Alexander's kinfman, and one of the most learned persons of his age; Ælius e Serenianus, a man of extraordinary integrity; and Quintilius Marcellus, a great admirer of the customs and manners of the ancient Romans i. The deference he paid to his mother was so great, that Herodian reckons it among his faults; for tho' he was himself a man of extraordinary talents, of such discernment and penetration, fays Lampridius, that no one ever deceived him, yet he constantly preserved her opinion to his own 1. He gave her name to several buildings, which they still retained in the end of the fourth century 1; and caused her to be honoured with the titles of Augusta, of mother of her country, of the armies, and of the senate, which had been formerly conferred on Julia, the wife of Severus m. As Managa professed, in all likelihood, the christian religion, no wonder that Alexander shewed great favour f to the christians, and would not suffer them to be any-ways molested on account of their religion. Eusebius tells us, that his court was filled with christians "; and Lampridius, that in his private oratory he worshipped Christ and Abraham, and would have caused temples to be erected to the founder of the christian religion, had he not been diverted from it by the answers of the oracles, assuring him, that if he ever suffered Christ to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be

d Vit. Alex. p. 114.

Eusen. l. vi. c. 21. e Vide Oros. l. vii. c. 18. Cedren. t. i. p. 256. Abulfar. p. 80. Vinc. l. vi. c. 21. 

8 Idem ibid. 

Nit. Alex. p. 115. 

1 Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. 

Spon. p. 194. LERIN. C. 23. EUSEB. .. HEROD, l. vi. p. 575. 1 Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. p. 241. \* HE \* Euses. l. vi. c. 28.

a foon abandoned, and the gods neglected o. He feems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the christian religion; for he had constantly in his mouth that golden rule, Do as you would be done by; caused it to be set up over the gates of his palace, and on several public edifices, and observed it himself, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greatest exactness P. For he made it his chief study to oblige all men, and is faid never to have wronged any. During the first year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuses, which had prevailed in the court under his predecessor. With this view he banished all the freed-men, flaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any fway in the late reign; and chose in their rooms persons of blameless characters, and known b integrity. Having by this means reformed the court, he made a strict inquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, especially of the governors of provinces, and discharged most of those who had been employed by Heliogabalus. Such Discharges the of them as had oppressed the people committed to their care, were banished; and ministers of the the rest reduced to their former condition, as persons altogether unsit for any public late emperor. office 1. The next year, when L. Marius Maximus and L. Roscius Ælianus were confuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married Sulpicia Memmia, the daughter of Sulpicius a consular, and granddaughter of Catulus. As the whole empire enjoy'd at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either at Rome, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the first of which Julianus and Crispinus were consuls, and in the second Fuscus and Dexter. But the fourth year of Alexander's reign, and during his second consulship, in which he had Quintilius Marcellus for his collegue, Artaxerxes having utterly ruined the Parthian, and re-established the Persian empire, of which The Persian great revolution we have spoken elsewhere, advanced at the head of a mighty army empire re-estaagainst the Romans, with a design to recover Mesopotamia, and the other provinces, which had formerly belonged to the Persian empire. His approach occasioned great consternation in Syria; and many of the Romans quartered in Mesopotamia, abandoning the castles which they garisoned, listed in his army; so that he might with great ease have over-run, not only Mesopotamia, but likewise Syria, had he not attacked d on his march the city of Aira, before which place he lost such numbers of his men, without being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the present his expedition against the Romans, he thought it adviseable to march back into his own country, after having ravaged great part of Media, and made some unsuccessful attempts upon Armenia . The next confuls were Albinus and Maximus; during whose administration nothing happened which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity: but the following consulship of Modestus and Probus was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian Domitius Ulpianus, who being appointed by Alexander cap- The death of tain of the prætorian guards, and endeavouring to establish among them the ancient Ulpian. e discipline, provoked their hatred to such a degree, that, after having in vain solicited Alexander to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's presence. The chief authors of his death were punished with the utmost severity, and the most factious among the guards ignominiously discharged. In the room of Ulpian, the emperor chose one Decimus, and Julius Paulus, a native of Padua, who had been banished by Heliogabalus, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as well skilled in the laws as Ulpian s. This year several tumults happened at Rome, and in the provinces. The troops quartered in Mesospotamia revolted, murdered their general The soldiers Flavius Heracleo, and went in great numbers over to the Persians. The troops in mutiny in seve-Syria proclaimed one Taurinus emperor, who, as they had conferred that honour upon ral provinces. f him against his will, made his escape; and being pursued by the mutinous soldiery, threw himself into the Euphrates, and was drowned a. Zosimus and Syncellus speak of one Uranus, who, having usurped the empire at Edessa in Ofrboene, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to Alexander. At Rome the prætorian guards attempted to raise one Antoninus to the empire; but he, declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city w. But Ovinius Camillus, a senator, sprung from one of the most illustrious families in Romé, studying to gain the affections of the foldiery, in order to raise himself, by their means, to the empire, Alexander was no sooner informed of his private practices, than he sent

Alex. vit. p. 124, 139.
 P Idem, p. 132.
 Idem ibid.
 Excerpt. Val. p. 769.
 HEROD. l. vi. p. 176.
 Vit. Alex. p. 122.
 Idem ibid.
 W SYNCELL. p. 357.
 Zos. p. 639. 9 Idem ibid.

r Dio, l. lxxx. p. 918. & in <sup>1</sup> Dio, l. lxxx. p. 917, 918.

for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him so great a bur- a millus aspiring den, styled him his collegue, took him with him to the senate, allotted him an apartat the empire, then in the palace, caused him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every respect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this time, which required the emperor's presence, Alexander offered the command of the army to Camillus; but he declining it, the emperor defired he would at least share with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both set out from Rome on foot; but Camillus, who was not inured to a military life, being tired, after five miles march, Alexander begged he would pursue his journey on horseback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; b which proved so great a mortification to Camillus, that he begged leave to resign the empire, and return home; which Alexander readily granted, affuring him before they parted, that he might live in safety where he pleased. Camillus retired to his country-feat, and there lived unmolested, during the reign of Alexander; but was put to death by some of his successors, for what crime we are no-where told x. The expedition which Alexander is faid to have undertaken this year, was probably against the Germans; for it appears from some ancient inscriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the seventh of the emperor's reign ; and Lampridius tells us, that the Germans were overcome by Varius Macrinus, governor of Illyricum 2. The same year Furius Celsus signalized himself in Mauritania Tingitana, c and Junius Palmatus in Armenia, and were both rewarded with the consular ornaments a.

THE following year Alexander entered upon his third confulship, having Dion Cassius, the second time consul, for his collegue. Dion was in the beginning of this reign in Asia; whence he passed into Bithynia, his native country, with a design to stay some time there with his friends and relations; but he was soon sent into Africa, to govern that province, with the character of proconful. Upon his return to Rome, he was appointed governor of Illyricum, and from thence removed into Upper Pannonia, where he revived the ancient military discipline among the troops, punishing the least neglect of duty with the utmost severity; insomuch that the prætorian d guards, who dreaded his rigour, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no sooner saw him appear in Rome, than they began to mutiny, and press the emperor to put him to death. But Alexander, without hearkening to their unjust demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his collegue in the consulship: however, fearing the soldiers might offer him some infult, if he appeared in Rome with the ensigns of the consular dignity, he advised him to retire from the city, and pass the time of his consulship in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after he obtained leave to withdraw into his own country, where he spent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement b. It will not be foreign to our purpose to insert here the account e which that writer gives us of the state of the Roman legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of Augustus twenty-The number of five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other fix having been the Roman le- either disbanded, or incorporated into some of those that still remained. On the other hand, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, M. Aurelius, and Severus, raised thirteen new ones; so that the legions at this time were in all thirty-two. Of these, three were quartered in Britain, one in Upper and two in Lower Germany, one in Italy, one in Spain, one in Numidia, one in Arabia, two in Palestine, one in Phanicia, two in Syria, two in Mesopotamia, two in Cappadocia, two in Lower and one in Upper Mæsia, one in Noricum, and one in Rhætiac. Our author does not inform f us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but Lampridius feems to infinuate, that each legion confifted of five thousand men d. From this distribution of the legions, it appears, that the Romans

Dion Cassius hated by the foldiery on as. count of his severity.

\* Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. Cafaub. p. 172. & Salmas. p. 230. F Birag. p. 323. 2 Vit. p. 134. 2 Idem ibid. 5 Dio, L lxxx. p. 918. 6 Dio, l. lv. p. 564. 4 Alex. vit. p. 131.

at this time looked upon the Caledonians, the Parthians, or rather Persians, and the nations beyond the Danube, as their most formidable enemies, and were not so apprehensive of any invasion on the side of Germany, as they had been in former times; for now there were but three legions in that country, whereas in the reigns of Augustus

a and Tiberius, the banks of the Rhine had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main strength of the empire . This year Alexander, who did not spare his greatest friends, when manifestly convicted of abusing the confidence he reposed in them, caused Vetronius Turinus, one of his chief savourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature. The emperor had a particular efteem and kindness for Turinus, and often consulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greatest importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor feemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier resolved to turn to his own advantage, and accordingly gave out, that Alexander transacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an absolute sway over him; and that it was b in his power to raife whom he pleased to the first employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immense wealth in a short time, all who wanted any Vetronius favour or preferment, recurring to Turinus, whose interest was not to be gained with- Turinus abuses out rich presents. He often did not so much as mention to the emperor the persons placed in him whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheless, when they happened to obtain, by the emperor. by means of others, what they demanded, he affumed the whole merit of it to himself, and exacted a proportionable acknowledgment, which in those days was called felling smoke. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to suspect his favourite of such practices; and therefore a person, in whom he could confide, foliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his e request, provided he privately addressed Turinus, as if he wanted his recommendation. Turinus, glad of this opportunity, promised to employ all his interest in his behalf, and foon after told him, that he had already recommended him to the emperor, who, he was fure, would grant him the defired favour the very first time he had an opportunity of recommending him anew, which he hoped would be very foon. He added, that he deserved to be rewarded for his trouble; and the petitioner referring that to his discretion, he not only exacted a large sum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promise, in the presence of witnesses, a far more considerable one, to be paid as soon as he obtained his request. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the favour; which Turinus no d sooner knew, than he obliged his client, tho' he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word, and pay the promifed fum, pretending, that by his means alone he had obtained what he defired. Hereupon Alexander caused a diligent inquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large sums, not only from those who had obtained any preferment, but from such too as had had law-suits, and often from both parties; which fo provoked the emperor, that he accused him to the senate, who sentenced him to death; and the sentence was put in execution in the following manner: The criminal How punished was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibber, and suffocated with the smoke of by the emperor. green wood, and wet stubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time e proclaiming, He who sold smoke, dies with smoke? The following year, L. Virius Agricola and Sex. Catius Clementinus being confuls, the emperor retired into Campania, and there spent this and the sollowing year, when Pompeianus and Pelignianus were confuls 8. The next confuls were Lupus and Maximus; during whose administration, Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the Roman dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged Mesopotamia, and advanced to the very confines of Syria. Hereupon Alexander, following the advice of his council, dispatched embassadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the vicf tories gained over the eastern nations by Augustus, Trajan, L. Verus and Severus. But Artaxerxes, puffed up with his late successes, despised the remonstrances of Alexan-Artaxerxes der, and pursued his ravages in Mesopotamia, laid siege to Nisibis, and entering Cap-invades the Roman domi-padocia, destroyed all with fire and sword. Hereupon the emperor resolved to march nions. against him in person; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the senate and people, left Rome in the spring of this year 232. the eleventh of his reign; and bending his march through Illyricum, where he was joined by the troops quartered Alexander

in that province, arrived at Antioch about the beginning of the autumn; whence he haftens to fent a fecond embaffy to Artaxerxes, hoping that his prefence would add fome weight Antioch. Haughty em. bassy of the Persian monarch.

Marches against the Persians. His care of the military disci-pline, and of the foldiery.

to the reasons he had formerly alledged. But the haughty Persian, deriding the a peaceable temper of the Roman emperor, chose four hundred of the tallest men in his army, and fent them, well mounted, and richly apparelled and armed, in quality of embassadors, to acquaint the Romans, and their emperor, that the great monarch Artaxerxes ordered them to retire forthwith from Syria and Afia, and all the countries between the Euphrates and the Ægean sea, which had formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander heard their message with great temper, and then caused the embassadors to be stript of their rich armour and apparel, and sent under a guard into Phrygia, where he allotted them houses and lands to cultivate. After this, he began to Alexander pre- prepare for war in good earnest, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces Pares for war. of the east to join him with all possible expedition, caused a great number of war- b like engines to be got ready, and dispatched officers into all parts to raise new levies. In imitation of Alexander the Great, whose name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed some companies of foot with shields covered with gold and filver, and formed fix legions into a body of thirty thousand men, which he called his phalanx. These distinguished themselves, during the war, in a very eminent manner, and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their tervices with double pay i. Lampridius tells us, that the emperor being informed soon after his arrival at Antioch, that some of his foldiers were gone to  $\bar{D}$  aphne, and there bathed with the lewd women of that dissolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arrested, and laid in irons. Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, c A legion muti- beginning to mutiny, Alexander went out to them, and, without betraying the least fear, told them, that as the ancient discipline was the main and only support of the empire, he was refolved to maintain it at all events, and punish with the utmost feverity, nay, with death, those disorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At these words, the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible cries; but Alexander, with an air of authority, Silence, said he, I command filence; keep these clamours to terrify the Persians, the Sarmatians, and the Germans: you have learnt of those, who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that savage noise, and not your emperor, who, at the expences of his people, maintains, cloathes and pays you. Forbear therefore these unseasonable clamours, which are only sit for battle, lest I disband you all, or institut upon you a more severe punishment. Hereupon the uproar increasing, and some of the boldest even menacing him The intrepidity with their swords; Reserve your menaces, said he, for the enemy; them you may frighten, of Alexander. but not me, who despise your impotent rage: should you murder me, the republic will not be at a loss to find me a successor, who will punish you according to your deserts. As the mutiny still continued, he cried out with a loud voice, I disband you all; citizens, lay down your arms, and be gone. With these words the whole legion was thunderstruck; they obeyed, quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments, and retired in filence, while the emperor's guards took up their standards, and carried them, together with the arms of the disbanded legion, to the camp. However, & before the emperor set out against the Persians, he restored them, upon the intercession of several persons of distinction, to their former rank, after having punished with death their tribunes, for having suffered the soldiers under their command to transgress with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to suppress the tumult k. This legion signalized themselves above the rest in the Persian war, and shewed more concern for the death of Alexander than any other !. AT length Alexander took the field at the head of a numerous army, observing in

all his marches and motions such order and discipline, that his camp seemed a well governed city, his foldiers citizens, and his officers fo many fenators m. He punished with great severity such as offered the least injury to any of the inhabitants of the f countries through which he marched. One of his foldiers having injured an old woman, he not only disbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her slave, with his labour, fo long as she lived. Others he punished for very small offences with death, causing the public crier to repeat during the execution, Do as you would be done by. It was death for any officer, of what rank soever, to detain the least part of his foldiers pay or allowances. But notwithstanding his great severity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and foldiers, as no one ever rewarded

b HEROD. l. vi. p. 579. m Idem, p. 130.

<sup>1</sup> Alex. vit. p. 131.

k Vie. Alex, p. 133.

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 136.

a them with more generofity, when they complied with their duty; took more care of them when fick or wounded; or fupplied them on all occasions more plentifully with provisions. He kept constantly in his cabinet certain registers, in which were marked the names of all the officers and foldiers, the provinces where they were quartered, the time of their fervice, the dates of their commissions, the names of the persons at whose recommendation they had been preserred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, &c. These registers he frequently perused, and by that means became acquainted with most of the officers and soldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their names, and preferred only persons of merit a. When they were fick, he visited them in their tents, even the common b foldiers, supplied them with chariots, and suffered them to want nothing that could any-ways relieve or comfort them in their fickness. If they were not in a condition to pursue their march, he recommended them to the care of persons of known integrity and good nature, whom he rewarded with great generofity for their trouble, whether the foldiers died or recovered o. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meanest in the army against their tribunes and other officers, punishing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or distinction P. He frequently distributed large sums among them, ascribing chiefly to their poverty the disorders they committed. They were all so well clad and armed, says Lampridius, and the cavalry so well mounted, that nothing gave a more true c idea of the grandeur of the Roman empire, than the army of Alexander Severus 9. In his marches he caused provisions to be got ready before-hand at the several places where the army was to incamp; whereas before his time each foldier used to carry with him subsistence for seventeen days. In the enemy's country, where he could not use that precaution, he caused the necessary provisions to be carried on horses, mules and camels; which gained him the affections of the foldiery, and at the same time rendered his marches so quick and expeditious, that he is said in most of his wars to have surprised the enemy. In his garb and dress he little varied from the common foldiers, and his diet was the same with theirs. He constantly dined and supped in public with his tent open, and in the fight of the whole army, and visited, before d he withdrew to repose, each quarter in the camp. Thus, partly with a seasonable He is both feverity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-established the ancient feared and bediscipline among the troops, which had been intirely neglected in the reign of Helio-foldiery. gabalus; and gained, by his firmness and intrepidity, such an authority over them, as to disband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do since the time of Julius Casar'. With an army thus disciplined, the emperor marched early in the spring of this year 233. against Artaxerxes, who, slushed with his former successes, would hearken to no terms, however reasonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the Roman dominions at the head of an army confisting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty thousand horse, with eighteen hundred chariots e armed with scythes, and seven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers, after the Persian manner. Of this war Herodian gives us the The success of following account: Alexander, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered his expedition against the one to enter Media, another to march into the country of the Parthians, and led him-Parthians. felf the third, which confifted of the flower of the army, at an equal distance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but Alexander, either through want of courage, or yielding to the intreaties and tears of his mother, instead of pursuing his march, and entering the enemy's country, halted in Mesopotamia; fo that the body which had marched through the country of the Parthians were intirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the f other obliged to retire, and repass in the depth of winter the mountains of Armenia, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which Alexander commanded was greatly diminished by sickness, and the emperor himself was seized with a dangerous malady, which almost brought him to the point of death ". Others write, that Alexander was betrayed by some of his own people, and obliged to fave himself and his army by flight. But most historians affure us, that he gained a complete victory over the Persians; and Lampridius quotes the very words of Alexander to the fenate on that occasion. According to him, the

n Idem, p. 120. 121. 9 Idem, p. 132. o Idem, p. 130. P Idem, p. 119. 121. F. 134. 1 Idem, p. 117. 1 Idem, p. 133. HERODIAN. I. vi. p. 580. 1 HEROD. ibid.

emperor entered the enemy's country, without fo much as acquainting before-hand a his officers with the rout he intended to take. He was foon met by Artaxerxes, at the head of the most numerous army that had ever been seen in those parts; whereupon a battle ensuing, the emperor distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, encouraging the foldiers more by his example than by words; exposed himself to the enemies darts and arrows like a common foldier; visited, during the engagement, both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in short, discharged every duty of a valiant foldier, and experienced commander w. The numerous army of Artaxerxes was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithstanding his former victories and conquetts, to five himself by a shameful flight. The particulars of this engagement we may learn from Alexander himself, who, on his return to Rome, gave the b fenate an account of this memorable expedition in the following speech: "Conscript

His Beech to she lenate.

" fathers, we have overcome the Persians, and there is no need of great eloquence " to acquaint you with the particulars of the victory. The enemy came with feven " hundred elephants, the greatest number ever seen together in the field. These " carried towers upon their backs, filled with archers and arrows. Three hundred " of the elephants we took, two hundred we killed upon the fpot, and eighteen we " have brought hither with us. They had eighteen hundred chariots armed with " feythes, of which we took two hundred. We have cut in pieces an army of one " hundred and twenty thousand horse, and ten thousand men armed cap-a-pé, with " whose spoils we have inriched our troops. We took a great number of prisoners, c

" whom we have fold. The country of Mesopotamia, lying between the Tigris and " the Euphrates, which my predecessor Heliogabalus had neglected, we have recon-" quered, and brought again under subjection. We have put the most potent king "Artaxerhes, as he is styled, to flight; the country of Persia beheld him slying for " the first time. In the place where the Romans formerly lost their enfigns and stand-

Disagreement amongst authors about

ards, the Persians have now lost theirs. You see, conscript fathers, what we " have atchieved; the subject needs no eloquence to adorn or set it out; the army is " returned rich, and loaded with booty. It is incumbent upon you to appoint pub-" lie thanksgivings for so signal a victory, that we may not seem ungrateful to the "gods, who have bleffed our arms with fuch fuccess "." This speech, Lampridius d affures us, he copied out of the journals of the fenate, and found it, word for word, in the works of many historians; and therefore he cannot conceive how Herodian this expedicion. could write, that Alexander lost his army by famine, cold and sickness; which, he fays, is contradicting all the records, memoirs and histories of those times. Julius Capitolinus tells us, that Herodian hated Alexander, and therefore gave an unfaithful and detracting account of his Persian expedition y. However, he is sollowed by Zonaras 2 and Cedrenus 2. But Aurelius Victor, Festus, Eutropius, St. Jerom, and Syncellus, abandon him in this particular, and follow Lampridius. All the oriental historians write, that Alexander was utterly defeated, and obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the Persian all the countries lying between the Euphrates and the frontiers of Palestine h. But, after all, Lamprid us relates so many particulars of this victory, and appeals with such confidence to the journals of the senate, and the historians of those times, that we cannot help preferring his authority to that of the oriental historians, and of Herodian himself. After this victory Alexander returned to Antioch, with a design to pursue the war with fresh vigour the following year; but in the mean while being informed, that the Germans had invaded the Roman dominions, and at the same time that Artaxerxes had disbanded great part of his army for want of provisions, he resolved to quit the east, and return to Rome, apprehending greater evils from the Germans than from the Persians. Accordingly, having erected several forts in Mesopotamia, and lest numerous garisons to defend them, he set out from Antioch 1 in the spring of the following year, when Maximus and Urbanus were consuls; and Alexander re- arriving fafe at Rome, was there received by persons of all ranks with the greatest turns to Rome, demonstrations of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not by four white horses, as was usual, but by four of the clephants which he had taken. When the ceremony was over, he went to the senate, where he made the speech we have related above. From the senate he repaired to the capitol, and there confectated some of the Persian spoils to Jupiter Capitolinus. Then turning to

a id triumphic

w Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. \* Liem 1010. y Vit. Maxim. p. 143. 2 ZOMAR. p. 125. \* CEDREN. p. 256. \* Alex. vit. p. 139. FEST. p. 553.

a the people, I have overcome the Persians, said he, and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promise you a largess, and propose to exhibit to-morrow the Circensian sports. From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the senate, the equestrian order, and such crouds of people, all crying, Rome is safe, while Alexander is safe, that with much-ado he reached the palace in four hours. The next day he exhibited the Circensian sports, gave the promised largess, and, in honour of his mother, established a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of Mamæa d.

In the mean time news being brought to Rome, that the Germans and other norb thern nations had passed the Rhine and the Danube in great numbers, the emperor, to He leaves the inexpressible grief of the senate and people, left the city, and hastened with his Rome to victorious army into Gaul, to stem this furious torrent. We are told, that a woman, by the Germans, profession a Druid, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, You may go; but hope not for victory, nor trust your own soldiers. The historian does not inform us whether or no Alexander heard and understood her; but he affures us, that Alexander feared neither death, nor the omens that were thought to presage it, whereof he gives us the following instance: A celebrated astrologer, by name Tbrasybulus, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was transported with joy, not doubting but he should die in c the field, which, he faid, was a death worthy of an emperor, observing to the astrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming among the rest Alexander the Great, Pompey, Julius Cafar, Demosthenes, and Cicero . In the beginning of the following year, when Severus and Quinctianus were confuls, Alexander advanced with his army to the banks of the Rhine; but finding the enemy had repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be Wio retire at built over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season his approach. would allow him to take the field f. Herodian, who always paints Alexander as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he fent embassiadors to the Germans with proposals of peace, which he even offered to purchase at any rate; and adds, that during d the time of this shameful negotiation, he diverted himself with driving chariots, and fuch-like unprincely exercises; which provoked the soldiers, and occasioned his ruin 8. But Lampridius clears the emperor from these ill-natured aspersions, and ascribes the The Gaulish discontent of the soldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in Gaul, to their licentilegions computers, and to the severity of Alexander, which they could not endure after having ousness, and to the severity of Alexander, which they could not endure, after having verity of Alexbeen, under Heliogabalus, long inured to idleness, and all manner of debauchery. ander. Among these troops was one Maximinus, by nation a Goth, whom Alexander, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of Pannonians; but he, unmindful of his duty, and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, instead of e attempting to appeale the licentious and discontented soldiery, fomented under-hand the tumult, and, by his feditious speeches, inspired the multitude with contempt for Alexander, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning Mamæa, and consequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigour h. The emperor was then either at Mentz or Sicilia, which most geographers take to be the present village of Siclingen in the neighbourhood of Mentz, or that of Ober-Wesel on the Rhine, in the territory of Treves, between Boppart and Bingen. As Alexander had but a small body of troops with him, Maximinus resolved to lay hold of that opportunity, and to dispatch him, not doubting but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promifes, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his They are encoudefign to some of the most bold and resolute among his men, who, animated with the raged by Maxi-

hopes of great preferments, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately minus

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d Vit. Alex. p. 133, 134.
85. 589. h Idem ibid.
                                                                                        # HEROD. l. vi. p.
                                  e Idem, p. 135, 136.
                                                                f Idem, p. 137.
585, 589.
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fet out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when those who attended the emperor, were withdrawn to refresh themselves, according to the Roman custom, with a short sleep after dinner. They no sooner appeared, than the few soldiers who were upon guard, betook themselves to flight, having probably been gained over before-hand by Maximinus. Mamæa, alarmed at the unexpected noise and tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appeale it; but the affassins, having first murdered both her Alexander is assassinated.

and them, entered with their drawn swords the emperor's tent, who, as he was un- a armed, and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a fingle word, the many blows with which they dispatched him. deriding him the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, and inveighing against his mother, as one whose only care was to amass riches b. Such was the unfortunate and undeferved end of Alexander Severus, after he had lived, according to the most probable opinion, twenty-six years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loss of no prince was ever more regretted by the senate, the people, and the soldiery, than that of Alexander, who, by his wise administration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The senate immediately decreed, both to him and to his mother Mamæa, divine honours, appointed b them altars, priests and facrifices, and instituted, in honour of the deceased emperor, an annual feast, which was still kept in the time of Constantine the Great, on the first of October, Alexander's birth-day . The foldiers were no sooner apprised of his death, than they put to the fword all those who had been any-ways accessory to it, except the chief author of it, Maximinus, who, by perfuading the foldiery that he had His character. no hand in the murder, escaped for the present the deserved punishment. Alexander was, according to the testimony of all the ancients, Herodian alone excepted, one of the best and wisest princes that ever swayed a sceptre, and would, had he lived longer, have intirely reformed those abuses, which, after his death, involved the empire in endless calamities. He was sparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and gene- c this native ato to all good men; but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked, especially to such bed the public. as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and oppressed the people committed to their care. These he never spared, tho' his friends, savourites and kinsmen; but sentenced them to death, and caused them to be executed, notwithstanding their quality, or former fervices, like common malefactors. Eucolpius the historian, one of Alexander's chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by Lampridius d, that he could not even bear the fight of such public robbers; insomuch that one Septimius Arabinus, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of Heliogabalus, coming one day with other fenators to wait upon the emperor, Alexander, on feeing him, cried out in a violent passion, O ye immortal gods? is Arabinus still alive, and a senator! d Does he even presume to appear in my presence! Surely he takes me to be as wicked as bimself! After this, he caused it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the same crime ever presumed to appear in his presence, he should immediately receive his deserved punishment, notwithstanding the pardon granted him by his predecessor. He used to say, that it was not a sufficient punishment to deprive corrupt magistrates and governors of their places; but that, as the trust reposed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives.

> He banished one of his secretaries for giving to his council in writing a salse account of an affair, and caused the sinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write

cified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently refided, that by the fight of the body, which was left on the cross, his other slaves might be deterred from the like practices f. He never pardoned any crime committed against the public; but suffered no one to be condemned, till his cause was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. The first thing he did after his accession to the empire, was to discharge all the officers, ministers and governors employed by Heliogabalus, and appoint in their room persons of known probity. He retrenched all the pensions which that prodigal prince had settled on his freed-men, on buffoons, stageplayers, charioteers, gladiators, &c. faying, that the emperor was but the steward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmost injustice, thus wantonly f squander away their revenues upon persons no-ways useful to them. No prince ever

One of his slaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he caused to be cru-

His deference to the senate.

> \* Idem, p. 135. Vict. epit. Zos. l. i. p. 639. Herod. l. vi. p. 587. Alex. vit. p. 119. 
>
> \* Idem ibid. 
>
> f Idem, p. 124. 6 Alex. vir. p. 136. 4 Alex. vit. p. 119.

> paid greater deference to the senate than Alexander. He was the first emperor who

allowed the senators to sit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magistrates without advising with them, and never failed to prefer such as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the senate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that venerable body, asking the opinion of each in particular, and examining with great strictness into the manners and former

conduct

a conduct of the person who was to be admitted. If upon this inquiry he was found unworthy of a place in the fenate, such of the fenators as had recommended him, were themselves degraded, and such as had given testimony of his probity, condemned, as in cases of perjury, to lose their estates, and banished for ever. He never admitted either freed-men or their children to the equestrian order, which he used to call the nursery of the senate. He appointed, that the captains of the guards He bestows the should no longer be chosen out of the equestrian, but only out of the senatorial order; of the guards that no one should have the power of judging a senator, but who was himself a senator; only on senafor the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the fenators in tors. cases of treason 8. Thus, by degrees the captains became the most powerful officers b in the state, and their office more considerable than even that of the consuls, which in the end ruined the authority of the senate. In the administration of justice Alexander Impartial in never took upon him to decide any law-suit, without consulting his council, which the administration of the most learned civilians in Rome, whom he obliged to give their opinions in writing, after having allowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their leifure, that they might not pronounce sentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of jultice determined by persons of known integrity, and well skilled in the laws. In military affairs he consulted only such persons as had acquired experience by their long fervice, and were well acquainted with the fituation of places, or men versed in history, inquiring of them what had at any time been done on the c like occasions by his predecessors, or other great captains. He is said never to have Prefers only given any public office out of favour or friendship; but to have employed such only persons of merit as were both by himself and the senate judged the best qualified for the discharge of the trust reposed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpose to avoid that office, saying, that with him the declining fuch honourable employments was the best recommendation to them. He would not suffer any employments to be fold, saying, He who buys, must sell in his turn; and it would be unjust to punish one for selling, after he has been suffered to buy. In appointing governors of provinces he observed a commendable custom, which was to publish their names, and encourage all persons to declare, either in public or d private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge : Since Jews and Christians, faid he on this occasion, use such commendable methods in the choice of their priests, it is reasonable we should proceed with the like care in the choice of restors of provinces, who are intrusted with the lives and fortunes of so many persons. As he punished with the utmost feverity those who betrayed their trust, so he rewarded with great generosity such as had answered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raised them to employments of greater profit, or, if they chose to retire, presented them with houses and lands, faying, that fince corrupt governors inriched themselves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be inriched at the expence of the prince . He was an utter enemy to all pomp and shew, and extremely modest in his apparel, Alexander an e telling those who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be enemy to all distinguished from the rest, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry, and virtuous pomp and shew. The rich presents sent him by foreign princes he bestowed on the temples; but fold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the The embaffadors of an eaftern prince having presented the empress with two pearls of an extraordinary fize, Alexander ordered them to be fold; but no one being found rich enough to purchase them, he consecrated them to serve as pendents to a statue of Venus, that the empress might not seem by wearing them to encourage luxury in others. He kept such a small number of slaves and treed-men, whom he caused to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their f condition, that when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to use those of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate; for he fold all the gold, and most of the filver-plate belonging to the palace, to defray the necessary charges of the government, without burdening the people. He reduced the imposts with which Helioga-Reduces the

balus had loaded both Rome and the provinces, to the thirtieth part, and suffered taxes. feveral cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He

lent money without interest to the poor, wherewithal to purchase houses and lands, allowing them time to pay the capital with the product of their lands. He was fo far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide

His public morks.

His learning.

necessary evils, and never suffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He a filled at a vast charge the public granaries, which, upon his accession to the empire, he found almost empty; distributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn amongst the poor citizens; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children. He would not suffer the money levied upon the public profittutes and catamites to be returned into his private coffers, as other emperors had done; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. He built granaries in all the quarters of the city, for the use of those who had none of their own. Of these public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the ancients. He caused baths to be likewise erected in each quarter of the city, and at his own expence furnished them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night; b whereas before his time they were never opened till the rifing, and were shut again at the fetting of the fun. He built a great many fine houses for such of his friends and ministers as had served him faithfully, and lived without reproach . He furnished the governors of provinces at their first setting out with money and other things which were thought necessary; that is, according to Lampridius, with twenty pounds weight of filver, eight mules, two horses, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the person he named was not married!. He founded a great many free schools in Rome, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed families. He imbellished Rome with an incredible number of stately buildings; repaired most of the ancient structures, leaving c upon them the names of their first founders; and erected in the great square of Nerva statues in honour of most of the emperors his predecessors, with inscriptions on columns of brass, containing succinct accounts of all their memorable actions m. Alexander was a great encourager of learning, took great delight in conversing with learned men, and spent all the time he could spare from public affairs in reading the Greek and Latin authors, especially Plato's commonwealth, Tully's offices, the works of Horace, of Virgil, whom he used to style the Plato of the poets, and of Serenus Sammonicus, another poet, whom we have mentioned above n. He was himself well versed in all the branches of polite literature, and described in verse the exploits of fome of his predecessors. He applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial aftro- d logy, which was by his orders publicly taught at Rome, and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of the soothsayers and augurs, both as to entrails of facrifices, and the flight and chirping of birds P. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public schools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praise. In short, Alexander, to end the history of his reign with the words of Aurelius Victor, made it his whole study to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuses, to restore the military discipline, and to discharge with the greatest fidelity and difinterestedness each duty of an excellent prince. His endeavours were attended with such success, that the empire would have still retained its former lustre, had those who succeeded him firmly maintained what he had so wisely established. e Some of his predecessors, namely Trajan, Antoninus, and M. Aurelius, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than Alexander was at the time of his death 4. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, the reader will find a fuccinct account in our note (Q).

1 Idem, p. 124, 130. k Idem, p. 127. Idem, p. 130. m Idem, p. 123. n Hist. Univers. Vol. VI. p. 129. not. (O). Vit. Alex. p. 123. P Idem ibid. 4 Aur. Vict. in vit. Alex.

(Q) Lampridius, in his life of Alexander, often quotes Acholius, Septimius, and Eucolpius, but seems to prefer Septimius to the other two (99). They flourished under Alexander, and wrote the history of that prince's reign. Vossius ranks them among the Latin historians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and Lampridius does not inform us, whether they wrote in Greek or Latin (100). Acholius lived in the time of Alexander, but died long after; for he was admissionum magister, that is, in the modern phrase, master of the ceremonies, to the emperor Valerian, who began his reign in the

year 253. eighteen years after the death of Alexander (1). He even wrote the life of Valerian, and confequently outlived him; nay, Vossius is of opinion, that he was still alive in the reign of Aurelian, who was raised to the empire in 270(2). Eucolpius not only lived in the time of Alexander, but was highly favoured by that prince (3). A treatise on government, ascribed to Eucolpius, was translated out of Greek into English above a hundred years since, in which the reader will find a particular account of a supposed conference between the emperor Alexander and Origen. But as some circumstances of that con-

(99) Vit. Alex. p. 119, 131, 136. (2) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 182. (100) Vide Voss. hist. Lat. p. 719. (3) Alex. vit. p. 119.

(1) Aur. Vict. p. 213.

ference are inconfiftent with what we read in the best historians, we are inclined to ascribe that piece to some modern Greek writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere table (4). Gargilius Martialis wrote likewise the history of the reign of Alexander, and is ranked by Vopifeus among those historians who wrote with more exactness than elegance(5). Servius, and other writers, quote a treatife on gardening by one Gargilius Martialis (6); but whether this be the historian, or another author of the same name, we cannot take upon us to determine. Marius Maximus wrote the history of the emperors from Trajan to Alexander, and is often quoted by the Augustine writers. M. Valois takes him to be the fame person with L. Marius Maximus, who had been conful, and was preferred by Macrinus to the government of Rome in the year 218 (7). Ammianus Marcellinus observes, that at Rome, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many, who never looked into any other book, read with great attention the fatires of Juvenal, and the history of Marius Maximus (8). Capitolinus commends his fincerity and exactness (9); but Vopiscus, whose judgment is of great weight with the learned, styles him, of all historians, the most redious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (10). The life of Alexander was likewise published by Aurelius Philippus, his father's freed-man (11). Julius Granianus, who instructed Alexander in rhetoric, left some declamations, which were still extant in the time of Lampridius (12). Besides the celebrated civilians Ulpianus and Paulus, of whom we have made mention above, Forentinus, Ælius Marcianus, Hermogenes or Hermogenianus, Callistrata, and D. Claudius Venuleius Saturninus, whose names are famous in the pandects, were all Papinian's disciples, and flourished under Alexander; as did likewise Herennius Modestinus, who was preceptor to Maximinus, the son of the emperor of that name, and wrote feveral books of jurisprudence, and, among the rest, one in Greek, on the excuses of guardians. He was honoured with the confulfhip by Alexander, but was still alive in the reign of Gordian, which began in 239 (13). In the time of Alexander, flourished, as we suppose, the sophists, who are mentioned by Philostratus in the end of his work; for he wrote soon after that prince's reign (14). Among these was Aspasius, who attended the emperor into the east, afterwards taught at Rome, and was in the end preferred to be one of the emperor's fecretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his rescripts, which he did in a bombastic and obscure style. He was a native of Ravenue (15). Canisus published in 1602, the work of an anonymous christian writer, composed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of Alexander's reign, and the 236th after the birth of our. Saviour. But he counts two hundred and fix years fince our Saviour's death, supposing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digested abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinion of the learned, full of anachronisms, and other faults. The transcribers of Canifius's copy have left out the chronological table of the Roman emperors, which is twice promised in the preface (16). Father Labbé, who has published the same author, found in his copy the above-mentioned table,

which is far from being exact (17). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of Alexander (18); whence it is plain, that the author put the last hand to it in the beginning of the reign of Maximinus. In father Labbe's edition of this work, the author promises a catalogue of the bishops of Rome, and the time of their respective episcopacies; but that catalogue is wanting in the manuscript. The author was perhaps a native of Rome, and a priest; for in father Labbe's edition, he addresses himself to a deacon, whom, he says, he designs to instruct; which, in the primitive church, no ecclessation of an inferior rank, and much less a layman, would have taken upon him to do. Of this writer Vessius takes no notice.

But the most famous of all the writers, who flourished under Alexander, was the celebrated historian Dion Cussius, called also Cassius Cocceius or Cocceianus. He was a native of Nices in Bithynia, and probably related to Cocceianus Dion, a citizen of Prusa in the fame province, in whose behalf Pliny the younger wrote to Trajan (19). Under Trajan flourished another Dion of Prusa, a famous sophist, commonly known by the name of Dion Chrysostomus, who wrote several works, which have reached our times (20). The historian was the son of Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia about the year 183. when the two brothers Quintilii were put to death by Commodus's order (21). He was likewise for some time governor of Illyricum (22). His son was at Rome in the reign of Commodus, at least towards the latter end of it (23). He was senator in the year 192. the last of the reign of Commodus, and named prætor for the ensuing year by Pertinax, who had a particular kindness and esteem for him (24). He was appointed conful by the emperor Severus (25), attended, after that prince's death, his son Caracalla into the east (26), and spoke with him, for the last time, at Nicomedia, about the latter end of the year 215 (27). Macrinus named him to the government of Smyrna and Pergamus, which he held under Heliogabalus, and was still in Asia in the year 221 (28). From Asia, he went into Bithynia; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, first of Africa, afterwards of Illyricum, and lastly of Pannonia; in which governments he acquitted himself so well, that Alexander, upon his return to Rome, honoured him with a second consulfaip in the year 228 (29). When the time of his consulfhip expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where he passed the remaining part of his life in retirement. Dion Cassius wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the Roman history, from the landing of Eneas in Italy, to the reign of the emperor Alexander (30). In the time of Severus, he wrote a book on the dreams, and other prodigies, which seemed to prefage the rife of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, Dion dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of history. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of Commodu:; and being encouraged by Severus, and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himself to the writing of history, he undertook that of Rome (31), and spent ten years in collecting the necessary materials for fo great a work, and twelve more in composing it (32). He is very minute in his history

(4) Vide Selden. in Eutych. Ægypt. &c., not. p. 174, 175. Londin. ann. 1642. (5) Vopisc. Prob. vit. p. 234. (6) Vide Casaub. not. p. 168. (7) Ammian. not. p. 364. Spon. p. 114. (8) Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. (9) Vit. Alb. p. 64. (10) Vide Voss. hist. l. ii. c. 3, p. 178. (11) Vit. Alex. p. 118. (12) Idem ibid. p. 115. (13) Alex. vit. p. 137. & Casaub. not. p. 178. Maxim. vit. p. 148. Cod. fusiin. l. ii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 197. (14) Philos. soph. lix. p. 622. (15) Idem, p. 623. (16) Canis antiq lect. tom. ii. p. 594. (17) Labbé bibl. nov. tom. i. p. 308. (18) Idem, p. 309. (19) Plin. l. x. epist. 87. p. 612. (20) Suid. p. 753, & 765. (21) Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. & l. lxxii. p. 820. (22) Idem, l. xix. p. 413. (23) Idem, l. lxxii. p. 818. (24) Idem ibid. p. 820, 827. & l. lxxiii. p. 835. (25) Idem, l. lxxvi. p. 869. (26) Idem, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884. (27) Idem, l. lxxix. p. 909. (28) Idem, p. 915. (29) Idem, l. lxxx. p. 917. (30) Suid. d. p. 753. (31) Idem, l. lxxii. p. 828. Phot. c. 71. p. 105. (32) Idem, l. lxxii. p. 829.

of the emperors to the death of Heliogabalus; but gives us only a fummary account of the eight first years of Alexander, having been, as he himself informs us, most part of that time absent from Italy (33), and consequently not so well acquainted with what passed at Rome. He had, it seems, begun his history before the death of Plansianns, that is, before the year 204. and ended it soon after the year 229 for he takes no notice of Alexander's war with the Persians. His account of the public transactions, from the reign of Commodus to that of Alexander, is very particular and minute; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himself seen and observed. He assures us, that no one capable of writing a hiof the emperors to the death of Heliogabalus; but He assures us, that no one capable of writing a hiftory was better acquainted than himself, both with the public and private transactions; which is not at all incredible in a person of his rank. His style, according to Photius, is sublime, and answerable to the greatness of his subject; his terms expressive, his phrase elegant, his periods full and well-founding, and the whole worthy of the best historians of ancient Greece. He proposed Thucydides for his model, and does not, in the opinion of Photius, fall much fhort of that excellent writer (34). Vossius, however, blames him for crying down the greatest men of antiquity, namely, Cicero, Brutus, Cassius, and Seneca; but others clear him from that censure, and think he acted the part of an unbiassed historian, in discovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of those whom he himself most admired (35). He blames only what in them was blame-worthy, and commends what to him feemed commendable Others think him too diffuse in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an historian. He wrote, as we have observed above, the Roman history in eighty books; but of that great work only a small part has reached us. For the first thirty-four books have been long fince intirely loft; and of the thirty-fifth

only some fragments are remaining: the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fiftyfourth, are thought to be intire; but the next fix are, in some places, strangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty last, we have only some fragments published by Fulvius Ursmus and M. Valois. However, that great loss has been in some degree supplied by John Xiphilin, who was patriarch of Confaminople in the eleventh century, and epitomized Dion's history from the thirty-fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly efteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The history of Zonaras may likewise be called an abridgment of Dion's work; for he copied, as he himself owns, most of his history from Dion, and followed him with great exactness. These abridgments have been of great with the compiling of our history. For in use to us in the compiling of our history; for in them are to be found the most material transactions of the Romans, from the period where Tacitus's history ends, to the time of the emperor Alexander: from that prince to Conflantine, the history of the emperors is more perplexed, and less certain. For Herodian wrote with more elegance than exactness; and Lampridius, and the other Augustine writers, scarce deserve the name of historians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and Amelius Vic-tor and Eutropius only copied them about the close of the same century. Zosimus, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, shews, by the mistakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made use of bad memoirs, or did not understand the good ones. Dion Cassius, besides his Roman history, published a particular history of Trajan, the life of the philosopher Arrian the disciple of Episterns, itineraries, the history of the Persians, and that of the Geta (36). The latter was known to fornandes, who copied from it what he writes of Telephus, king of the Geta in the times of Achilles and Uly [es (37).

o. (34) Phot. c. 71. p. 103. (37) Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c. 9. (33) Idem, I. lxxvi. p. 860. (36) Suid. J. p. 714.

(35) Voff. hift. Grac. 1. ii. c. 15. p. 238.

## C H A P. XXIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Alexander Severus, to the captivity of Valerian, when the empire was usurped by thirty persons at once, commonly called the thirty tyrants.

Maximinus Maximinus.

HE murder of Alexander occasioned a great tumult and confusion in the army; a during which the Pannonian troops, under the command of Maximinus, prodeclared emps- claimed him emperor; and the rest, finding no other appeared to claim or dispute that title, followed their example, and took the usual oaths to Maximinus, after he had solemnly declared, that he had been no-ways concerned in or accessary to the death of Alexander. The new emperor immediately declared his fon Maximinus, Cafar and prince of the Roman youth, invested him with the tribunitial and proconfular power, honoured him with the title of Augustus, and took him for his partner in the sovereignty. The senate, whom he took care to acquaint as soon as possible with his assumption to the empire, not daring to oppose the choice of the soldiery,

a confirmed it; fo that Maximinus was, without the least opposition, acknowledged emperor by the senate, the people, and the army . He was, according to Syn- His extraction cellus', a native of Thrace; according to Herodian, Capitolinus, and Jornandes, and preferborn in a village on the confines of that province, and the country of the bar-ments. barians. His father, by name Micea, or Micea, was a Goth; and his mother Ababa, or Abala, an Alan. He is styled in the ancient inscriptions C. Julius Verus Maximinus. He was of a very mean extraction, and in his early youth a shepherd, but of a gigantic stature, being eight foot and a half tall, and withal exceeding well shaped, all his limbs answering his stature in symmetry and proportion. Of his His mighty strength, wonderful things are related by the ancients, viz. that he was often seen strength. b to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could scarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, &c. Besides, he was so bold and courageous, that he took delight in expoling himself to the greatest dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, Achilles, Hettor, and Ajax; for his strength, Hercules, Antaus, and Milo; but at the same time, for his savage cruelty, Busiris, Phalaris, and Cyclops. He was first known to the emperor Septimius Severus on the following occasion: That prince having exhibited, as he passed through Thrace, some military games and exercises in honour of his second son Geta, and proposed prizes for the conquerors, Maximinus, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the Latin, and partly in the Thracian language, to c enter the lifts, and try his skill with the rest. The emperor, admiring his size, matched him, not with the foldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with some of the strongest slaves in the camp, whom he overcame, sixteen one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be lifted among the horse. A few days after, as the emperor was visiting the different quarters of the camp on horseback, Maximimus, accosting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wrestle, put his horse upon a sull gallop, and rid round the camp, Maximinus keeping close by him the whole time, till both he and his horse were quite spent. Then turning to him, Thracian, said he, art thou now disposed to wrestle? I am, answered Maximinus, as much as you please. The emperor immed diately difmounted, and ordered some of the strongest soldiers, and best wrestlers in the army, to enter the lifts with him, of whom he overcame and threw down seven, as if they had been fo many children; which fo pleased the emperor, that he prefented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being sufficient to support him. For he used to eat, according to Julius Capitolinus, forty, according to Ælius Cardus, a more ancient historian, fixty pounds weight of flesh a day; and to drink eight amphoræ of wine, that is, six gallons, without ever eating or drinking to excess ". He was preferred by Caracalla to the post of a centurion, but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to ferve e under Macrinus, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When Heliogabalus came to the empire, he offered his service to him; and being admitted again into the army, he was, by the interest of his friends, raised to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under some pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had disobliged him with an impure jest, alluding to his mighty strength w. He had even absented himself from Rome, not being able to bear the fight of that lewd monster; but returned thither when he understood that Alexander was raised to the empire, and was by that prince received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, recommended by him to the senate, created sena- He is greatly tor, and honoured with the command of a new-raifed legion, which the emperor favour f thought him well qualified to instruct in the military exercises. In that office he Alexander. acquitted himself so well, that Alexander preserved him to a higher command, and, at the breaking out of the German war, charged him with the care of disciplining the new-raised troops, consisting chiefly of Pannonians. We are told, that Alexander had even some thoughts of marrying his sister Theoclia to the son of Maximinus, who, in most inscriptions, is styled C. Julius Verus Maximinus. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in stature almost equal to his father, well shaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to fuch a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed

F Max. vit. p. 142. Sync. p. 361. F Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. Jornand. 1egn. c. 22, Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138, 139. W Max. vit. p. 139, 140.

Augustus,

Augustus, and his father's partner in the empire, he suffered his soldiers not only to a kifs his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. he was killed with his father in the year 238, he was betrothed to Julia Fadilla, the great niece of Antoninus Pius .

His cruelty after his accespire.

Maximinus no fooner faw himfelf invested with the fovereign power, than he difmiffed all those who had been employed by Alexander in places of trust, and appointed creatures of his own in their room, selected for the most part out of the very dregs of the people. He made it his chief study to gain the affections of the foldiery; reign with unheard-of cruelties. All those who had been intimate with dlexander,

The conspiracy of Magnus.

The Ofthor. nians revols.

Quartinus betrayed and murdered.

Maximinus gains several victories over the Germans.

Dacians and

. . . .

but chusing rather to be feared than loved by the rest of his subjects, he began his or shewed the least concern for his death, were by his orders inhumanly massacred; b the senators, whom he had created, degraded; and such officers as he had raised, under various pretences, discharged, and most of them banished. Bing ashamed of the meanness of his extraction, he caused all those who knew his parents, or any of his family, to be privately murdered, tho' many of them had relieved him when in a low condition, and by their interest raised him in the army. His cruelty was heightened by the conspiracy of Magnus, a consular of an illustrious family, and great merit. He conspired with several of Alexander's old soldiers to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the Rhine, after Maximinus had passed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But the conspiracy being discovered, all those, whom Maximinus only suspected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly massacred, to the number c of four thousand, without being tried, or even examined; which induced many to believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of Maximinus, to rid himself of those who gave him umbrage v. A few days after the conspiracy of Magnus, the Ofrhoenians, who ferved in the army, and had been always greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been affaffinated by Maximinus's orders, openly revolted, proclaimed T. Quartinus emperor, and attired him, much against his will, with the imperial purple, and all the enfigns of fovereignty. But foon after one Macedo, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friendship for Quartinus, murdered him while he was reposing in his tent, and carried his head to Maximinus, who, instead of rewarding him according to his expectation, d caused him some time after to be executed for rebelling against his prince, and betraying his friend 2. The Ofrhoenians returning to their duty after the death of Quartinus, the following year, when Severus and Quintianus were consuls, Maximinus entered Germany at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, discharging every duty of a gallant foldier, and experienced commander. He chose always to fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like a common foldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, rushed sword e in hand into the midst of the enemy, he was surrounded on all sides, and had been either killed or taken, notwithstanding his extraordinary strength, in which he placed too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general, hastened to his rescue. He took care to transmit an account of his victories to the fenate, telling them among other things, that he had laid waste the enemy's country four hundred miles round; destroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages; taken an incredible number of prisoners; and fought more battles, than any of the ancients had ever done 2. He ordered his exploits to be represented in painting, and hung up in the squares and public places at Rome. For these victories the senate decreed both to him and his fon the title of Germanicus; which is still to be seen on f feveral of his medals b. From Germany he marched into Illyricum, and having passed the winter at Sirmium in Pannonia, where he entered upon his first consulship, and took Africanus for his collegue, early in the spring he led his army into the countries Overcomes the of the Dacians and Sarmatians, gained several victories over those barbarous nations, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he was pleased to impose upon them. He had nothing less in view, than to extend the borders of the empire to the northern ocean; which he would have easily accomplished, says Herodian c, had he not been

> 7 Idem, p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p 589. 2 1 ibid. 6 Goltz. p. 101, 102. Birag. p. 329. <sup>2</sup> Herod. l. vii. p. 590. p. 592.

> > inter-

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a interrupted by a civil war, and great disturbances at home, occasioned by his unheardof cruelty, and infatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and His cruelty. condemned, without distinction of quality, sex, or age, all who were accused, seizing their estates, and reducing the richest families in Rome to beggary. Persons of the greatest distinction were inatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various groundless accusations, carried into Pannonia, to be judged by the emperor, who never failed to condemn them either to death or banishment, and to feize their estates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not satisfied with the wealth of so many illustrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to strip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to seize on the public money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diversions of the people. This b alarmed the populace, and disposed them to a general revolt, which first broke out The people in in Africa, about the middle of May of the ensuing year, when Perpetuus and Corne-Africa revolt. lianus were consuls, on the following occasion: Two young men of great distinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in that province, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conspired to save their fortunes, by destroying him; and accordingly, having gained some soldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him and such of the foldiers as attempted to defend him. This murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore, c well apprifed, that the only means of escaping the punishment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of Maximinus, proclaimed Gordianus, at that time proconsul of Africa, emperor in his room. Gordianus was Gordian prodescended of an illustrious family, possessed of immense wealth, and universally be-claimed empeloved both at Rome and in the provinces, many of which he had governed, on account ror in Africa. of his extraordinary merit and virtues; but as he was stricken in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his house, and faluted him with the title of Augustus, he threw himself upon the ground, and begged with many tears they would fuffer him to fpend the poor remains of his life in quiet, d and chuse some other more able, on account of his age, to deliver the state from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and at their head one Mauricius, a person of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former resolution, Gordianus was in the end constrained to accept the ensigns and title of emperor; which he had no fooner done, than, to the inexpreffible joy of all the Africans, he took his fon, who bore the fame name, was then his lieutenant, and had been conful, for his partner in the empire. From Thydrus, a city of no small note in Byzacene, not far from Adrumetum, where this happened, Gordianus marched to Carthage, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, saluting him with the title of Gordianus e Africanus. From Carthage he wrote to the senate and people of Rome, acquainting He writes to them with what had happened in Africa, and assuring them, that he had accepted of the senate, the empire against his will, and was ready to resign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he fent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly fet up with the approbation of the fenate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, banished the informers, promised large sums to the people, and to the soldiery a greater largess than any emperor had ever given. At the same time he wrote to all the great men in Rome, most of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themselves on the present occasion, and join him in rescuing Rome from the insupportable tyranny of Maximinus, which was the only motive that had prompted f him in his old age to submit to so heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to Junius Syllanus, then consul, he charged that magistrate to dispatch without delay Vitalianus, who commanded the body of the prætorian guards that had been left in Rome, and was greatly attached to Maximinus, being of a no less cruel and savage temper than that tyrant. Syllanus, upon the receipt of this letter, sent the quæstor, attended by some resolute men, with letters to Vitalianus, which he pretended to have just received from Maximinus, injoining them to draw him aside, and dispatch him while he was perufing them; which they did accordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by Maximinus's orders: which was believed; for thus he used to treat even his best friends. After this, the consul Syllanus assembled at his house g the prætors, ædiles and tribunes of the people, and, attended by them, went to the

Who acknowledge him emperor, and denus a public enemy.

fenate, and there read, on the twenty-seventh day of May, the letters which Gordia- a nus had written both to them and to him. Hereupon the senate, in great transports of joy, declared, without the least hesitation, the two Gordians emperors, the two peror, and de-clare Maximi- Maximins public enemies, and decreed a great reward to such as should kill either of them. At the fame time they named to the prætorship of the ensuing year a third Gordian, grandson to the elder, tho' then only but twelve years old. These proceedings however were kept fecret, till fuch time as the fenate had taken the necessary measures for quashing at once the party of the Maximins in Rome; which was no fooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two Gordians reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the foldiery, who being, after the b death of Vitalianus, destitute of a leader, readily submitted to the Gordians. As for the people, transported with rage against Maximinus hardly to be expressed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his statues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations against the bloody tyrant and his son. At the same time the senate enacted a decree, sentencing to death all the friends of Maximinus, and the ministers of his cruelty. Hereupon such of them as had not the good luck to escape, were Miximinus at massacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the common fewer. Several innocent persons perished with the guilty, many laying hold of that opportunity to dispatch their private enemies or creditors. Sabinus, governor of Rome, endeavouring to put a stop to these disorders, had his c brains dashed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for some time in the public street d.

dered.

The friends of

The senate all

In the mean time it being publicly known, that Maximinus was still alive, the to a manrevolt senate issued a second decree against him, declaring anew both him and his son public from Maximi- enemies, and at the same time dispatched persons of the greatest interest and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the proconfuls, presidents, lieutenants, tribunes, &c. exhorting them to join in the common cause, and exert themselves in defence of their common liberties, against a raging tyrant, and public enemy (S). They likewise chose twenty senators, who had all been consuls, and sent them into different parts of Italy, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports and d harbours, that no account of what had passed at Rome might be transmitted to Maximinus before the arrival of Gordian. The letters of the senate were received in most cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful flaughter was made of the officers and friends of Maximinus. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or massacred, the deputies of the senate. At Rome persons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crouded to the temples, beseeching the gods, that they would never suffer the bloody tyrant to approach the city o. Maximinus, who was at this time either in Thrace or Sarmatia, soon received intelligence of what had passed at Rome, and in Africa, notwithstanding all the precautions of the senate; nay, a copy of the decree of the senate, declaring him a public e enemy, and fetting a price upon his head, was transmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into such a passion, as can hardly be expressed or conceived: more like a wild beast than a human creature, says the author of his life, he beat his head against the wall, threw himself upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his fword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces against the senate, fell upon those who stood next to him, and would have killed his son, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refused to quit him, and live at Rome; which the father advised him to do upon their first coming to the empire, and which would, in his

His rage upon the news of the revolt.

d Gordian. vit. p. 153, & seq. Max. vit. 143, & seq. Herod. l. vii. p. 595-598. e Herod. l. vii. p. 599. Max. vit. p. 141.

<sup>(</sup>S) The letter which the senate wrote on this occasion, was conceived in the following terms: " To all proconfuls, presidents, lieutenants, com-" manders, tribunes, free towns, cities, villages and " castles, the senate and people of Rome, whose de-" liverance from the tyranny of the cruel monster " Maximin is begun by the Gordians, greeting: By
the favour of the gods we have for emperor
Gordian, a person of the greatest merit and vir-

<sup>&</sup>quot; tue. We have proclaimed him emperor, and, " for the greater security of the state, his son in conjunction with him. It is incumbent upon "you to concur with us in procuring and promoting the public welfare and fafety; in oppoling
the wicked defigns of those who threaten us; " and in pursuing to death the cruel tyrant Maxi-" min, and his friends; for we have declared him " and his son public enemies (33)."

a opinion, have kept the senate and people in awe, and prevented the present revolt. In short, such was his sury and rage, that his friends, looking upon him as a man bereft of his understanding, with much-ado snatched his arms from him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himself, he spent some days in deliberating with his council about the most proper measures to be pursued at such an important con-Then affembling his army, he acquainted them with the state of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehension, and promising to distribute among them the estates of the senators, and African rebels. Having ended his speech, he gave his foldiers a great bounty, and without loss of time began his march towards Italy. He marches for The troops not shewing so much ardour and forwardness as he expected, he wrote Italy.

b to his fon, who was marching with a separate body at some distance, to join him with all possible expedition, left the army should, in his absence, attempt upon his life. At the same time he dispatched persons to Rome, to publish there in his name a general pardon with respect to all past injuries, and with them letters to Sabinus, not being yet apprised of his death, in which was inclosed a copy of the decree declaring him a public enemy; for he supposed Sabinus, who had absented himself that day from the senate, to be altogether ignorant of what had passed there f. While Maximinus was marching towards Italy, the face of affairs was quite changed in Africa: A fenator, by name Capelianus, had been appointed governor of Mauritama by Maximinus, with a confiderable body of troops under his command, to make c head against the Moors not subject to Rome, who infested with daily incursions the Roman territories. But Gordianus, to whom he had ever been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occasions opposed, immediately discharged him, and named another in his room. Capelianus, who was an officer of great valour and experience, initead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, affembled all his forces, levied Capelianus feveral companies of *Moors*, and having with incredible dispatch drawn together a raises forces very considerable body of well disciplined and resolute men, marched at the head of Gordians. them strait to Carthage. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants however betook themselves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of Gordianus the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement enfued, in which d Gordianus's raw and undisciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end

put to flight, and most of them cut in pieces either in the battle or the pursuit. Gordianus himself was killed in the field, which, together with the loss of the battle, Their death. and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled himself with his own girdle s. Such was the end of the two Gordians, after having reigned, according to the most probable opinion, one month and six days. They were sprung from two of the most ancient and illustrious families in Rome. Gordianus Extraction and the father, styled in most medals and inscriptions M. Antonius Gordianus, was the son preferments of of Macius Marullus, descended from the Gracchi, and of Ulpia Gordiana, of the dians. family of the emperor Trajan. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather had e been confuls, and he himself twice discharged that honourable office, first with the emperor Caracalla in 213. and the second time with Alexander Severus in 229. His wealth was answerable to his quality; for he possessed, according to Julius Capitolinus, more land in the provinces, than any private man in Rome i. The same writer observes, that he was the first private person who had a consular habit of his own, the rest, and even some of the emperors, contenting themselves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol k. He was well-shaped, of a comely and majestic aspect, and thought to resemble the emperor Augustus. He was highly esteemed by the emperor Alexander, who returned public thanks to the senate for preferring so deserving a person to the government of Africa, styling him in the letter which he f wrote on that occasion, a nobleman of great magnanimity, eloquence, justice, moderation, integrity, goodness, &c. He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid such respect to his wife's father, Annius Severus, that he never presumed, before he was prætor, to fit down in his presence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was consul. He was very sober in his diet, modest, but proper in his dress, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any excess, or discomposed by any passion 1. He was well versed in all the branches of literature, especially in poetry, and wrote in his youth several poems, which were greatly

f Gord, vit. p. 157, 158. Herod. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141. E Herod. Gord. vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145. h Vide Perav. doct. temp. p. 337. 152. k Idem, p. 152. I Idem, p. 152, 153. # HEROD. 1. vii. p. 602, 603.
337. i Gord. vit. p. 151,

esteemed,

esteemed, and, among the rest, one intituled Antoniniades, describing in thirty books a the lives and wars, the public and private actions of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, or Antoninus Philosophus. He wrote likewise in prose the praises of the Antonini. His chief entertainment was to read Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, and the other ancient authors. No one ever gave greater fatisfaction to the people, or difcharged the public offices with more generofity, than Gordianus. During the year of his ædileship, he exhibited public shews once a month, sometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never less than one hundred and fifty. He caused an incredible number of wild beafts to be brought to Rome, for the diversion of the people, from the most distant parts of the empire. In one day a thousand bears were hunted and killed, and, in his other shews, such numbers of wild beasts of all kinds, as had b never before been seen in Rome; which gained him the affections of the people, intirely addicted to diversions of that nature. After his second consulship, he was immediately fent into Africa in quality of proconful; which office he discharged with such justice, equity and moderation, that he was universally adored, and more beloved by the people than any governor had ever been before him, some calling him a Scipio, tome a Cato, fome a Mutius Scavola, a Rutilius, a Lalius. He married Fabia Orestilla, the daughter of Annius Severus, and grand-daughter of the emperor M. Aurelius, and had by her a daughter named Macia Faustina, who was married to Junius Balbus a consular; and a son, styled in the ancient inscriptions and medals M. Antonius Gordianus m, with the title of ponlifex; whereas his father is distinguished with that of c pontifex maximus. The fon was killed in the year 237, the forty-fixth of his age n, and confequently was born in 191. the twelfth of the reign of Commodus. He had an extraordinary memory, and was well versed in polite literature, having had Serenus Sammonicus for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, confisting of fixty-two thousand volumes. He wrote several pieces both in prose and verse, which shewed, says Capitolinus, that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well skilled in the law, and one of Alexander's chief counsellors. He was univerfally beloved on account of his obliging carriage, and extraordinary fweet temper; but loved his pleasures, and spent most of his time in baths, gardens and groves. He kept constantly twenty-two concubines, and is said to have had by d each of them three or four children; whence he was called the Priamus, and fatirically the Priagus of his time. Ælius Cordus writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and confequently had no lawful iffue. On the other hand, Dexippus tells us, that he married, and had by his wife Gordian, afterwards emperor P. But, according to Herodian, the emperor was not his, but his fifter's fon. But of him hereafter. Gordian, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by Heliogabalus, as a young man addicted to his pleasures, and by that prince raised to the quæstorship. Alexander preferred him, as he was a man of known integrity and great abilities, to the prætorship, and soon after honoured him with the consular dignity. In the reign of Alexander or Maximinus he was sent into Africa, in e quality of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death, put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above. To refume now the thread of our history. The difmal tidings of the death of the

ever, as they dreaded above all things the cruel effects of Maximinus's resentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of fo barbarous a tyrant, they refolved not to submit to him, but to defend themselves to the last. The senate therefore, affembling in the temple of Concord, chose two new emperors, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, and Decimus Calius Balbinus. The former was a person of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to fome, a cart-wright, according f to others, a lock-smith; but the son raised himself, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the first employments in the empire. He served first in quality of a private soldier; but was foon preferred, as he distinguished himself on all occasions, to the post of a centurion, then to that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of several legions, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was admitted into the

elaimed empe-The rife and preferments of Pupienus.

Pupienus and Baibinus pro-

> m GOLTZ. P. 102. n Vit. Gord. p. 158. · Idem, p. 160. P Idem ibid.

fenate, created prætor, honoured with the consulship, and successively appointed governor of Bithynia, Greece and Narbonne Gaul. From Gaul he was sent to command the troops in Illyricum, where he gained great advantages over the Sarmatians, and

two Gordians in Africa, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. How-

the

a the forces in Germany, where he was attended with equal success against the Germans. Upon his return from Germany, he was made governor of Rome, in which place he acquitted himself with such prudence, integrity and discretion, that he was both esteemed and beloved by persons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and serious, and shewed no great complaisance to any one; but was just, merciful, and never guilty of the least action that savoured of inhumanity, but on the contrary always ready to forgive. He addicted himself to no party, was steady and inflexible in his resolutions, and, without trusting to others, examined every thing himself with great care and attention. In short, the senate entertained fuch an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that, in declaring him b emperor, they folemnly protested, that, in the whole empire, they knew no person better qualified than he for sustaining the name and dignity of a prince 1. He is commonly called Pupienus by the Latin historians, and by the Greek writers Maximus, which has strangely perplexed Capitolinus, who, after a long descant, concludes, that they were two names of one and the same person: this trouble he might have saved himself by only looking upon one of that prince's coins. Balbinus was descended The extraction of an illustrious family, and pretended to derive his pedigree from Cornelius Balbus and employ-Theophanes, a celebrated historian, and a man of the first rank in the island of Lesbos, binus. who was made free of Rome by Pompey the Great. The present emperor had been twice conful, and had governed without blame several provinces, viz. Asia, Africa, c Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thrace, and Gaul. He had likewise commanded armies; but being somewhat timorous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military affairs. He possessed immense wealth, lived with great splendor, was addicted to pleasures, but at the same time universally beloved on account of his integrity, (for he injured no man but himfelf) his humanity, sweet temper, and obliging behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verses r.

Maximus and Balbinus being, with the unanimous consent of the senate, raised to the fovereignty, and invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, went, at the breaking up of the assembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering there d the usual facrifices, the populace rose, and, armed with stones and clubs, declared, The people that they would not obey the new emperors, and demanded, with great clamour, mutiny. a prince of the Gordian family. Maximus and Balbinus, backed by some young knights, attempted to open themselves a way through the croud, sword in hand; but were in the end, in spite of all their efforts, obliged to send for young Gordian, then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud shouts of joy, and carried to the capitol; where the senate, to appeale the multitude, declared Young Gordian him Cafar, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dignity, and in that attire declared Cafar. shewed him to the people, who thereupon dispersed, and retiring quietly to their houses, suffered the new emperors to take possession of the palaces, where they e began to discharge the functions of sovereignty with deifying the two Gordians. When that ceremony was over, they appointed Sabinus governor of Rome, and Pinarius Valens, uncle by the father to Maximus, commander of the prætorian guards; and then, without loss of time, began to levy what forces they could, and make the necessary preparations for taking the field against Maximinus, who, upon the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing nothing but ruin and destruction. As most of the provinces had espoused the party of the senate, troops were fent from all parts to reinforce the army of Maximus, who being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, fet out from Rome soon after Maximus his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raifed forces, to marche f defend the city, and awe the populace. After his departure, the senate dispatched against Maximinus.

the most considerable men of their body into the different parts of Italy, with orders to fortify all the cities, and supply the inhabitants with arms; to remove all manner of provisions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or destroy the corn in the fields; to mow the grass, and lay waste the whole country, through which Maxi-

minus was to march with his numerous army. At the same time, they sent circular letters into all the provinces, declaring such as should lend him the least assistance, traitors, rebels, and public enemies. Maximus had scarce lest the city, when dread-

<sup>9</sup> Max. & Balb. vit. 166, 167. r Idem, p. 168, & seq. HEROD. l. vii. p. 604. Max & Balb. vit. p. 145.

Dreadful disturbances in Rome.

ful disturbances arose there, occasioned by the temerity of two senators, Gallicanus a and Mecanas, who seeing two soldiers of the prætorian guards enter the hall, where the fenate was affembled, quitting their places, rushed upon them unexpectedly, and dispatched them with their daggers; for in those distracted times most senators wore daggers under their robes. Hereupon the other foldiers of that corps, who were waiting at the door mixed with the populace, betook themselves to slight, but were pursued by Gallicanus, who encouraged the mob to fall upon them as spies and partizans of the tyrant Maximinus. Some of them were wounded, but the rest shut themselves up in their camp, where they were attacked the same day by Gallicanus at the head of the multitude, (whom he had supplied with arms) and of all the gladiators he could draw together. The guards sustained the attack with their usual b resolution, repulsed the assailants, and falling upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces. This flaughter ferved only to inspire the multitude with new rage; and the senate espousing their quarrel, ordered the new-levied forces, which Maximus had left to maintain peace and tranquillity in the city, to march against the prætorian guards; which they did accordingly, and attacked the camp with great tween the pra- fury, but were, after repeated assaults, in which great numbers of them perished, and the people. Obliged to give over the attempt, and retire. The incensed multitude, finding all their efforts thus baffled, bethought themselves at last of cutting the conduits that conveyed water into the camp; which reduced the foldiery to fuch despair, that, throwing the gates of the camp open, they rushed unexpectedly upon the multitude, c sword in hand, and drove them, after a long dispute, in which much blood was shed on both sides, into the city, where the combat began anew, the people discharging from the tops of their houses showers of stones and tiles upon the soldiery, who in revenge set fire to their shops and store-houses, which consumed the greatest part of the city, an incredible quantity of valuable effects, and many persons of all ranks'. Herodian does not inform us how the tumult ended; but Capitolinus writes, that the temples were profaned, the private houses pillaged, the streets covered with dead bodies, &c. that the emperor Balbinus attempting to appeale the tumult, and part the combatants, was dangerously wounded on the head; but at length, having fent for young Gordian, and shewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury d of both parties asswaged at once, hostilities ceased, the people retired to their houses, and the soldiers to the camp. So great was the esteem, respect and veneration, both of the people and foldiery, for one sprung from the Gordians, who had lost their lives in the defence of the people of Rome ".

Dreadful diforders committed in the city.

A battle be-

Maximinus pursues his march into Italy.

His foldiers begin to mutiny.

Maximinus fummons the city of Aquilcia to surrender.

THE next year, when Annius Pius, or, as others call him, Ulpius, and Pontianus, were confuls, Maximinus early in the spring pursued his march towards Italy, having with him, we may fay, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the Alps that part Italy from Illyricum, he found the city of Hemona or Æmona abandoned by its inhabitants; which inspired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place or city would dare to withstand him. Herodian e calls Æmona the first city of Italy; but he ought rather to have styled it the last of Pannonia; for in that province it is placed by all the ancient and modern geographers. Sanson supposes it to have stood where the present city of Laubach stands, the capital of Carniola; others place it in the neighbourhood of Igg, in the same country. Maximinus, leaving Æmona, passed the mountains without meeting with the least opposition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreshed, after passing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of provisions in Italy, finding the country laid waste far and wide, and themselves destitute even of necessaries, began to mutiny. Maximinus punished the ring-leaders of the tumult with great severity, which only served to exasperate the rest. However, he pur- f fued his march; and being informed, that the city of Aquileia had thut its gates against a party, which he had sent to take possession of the place, he marched thither in person with all his forces, not doubting but the inhabitants would submit upon the approach of so formidable an army. But Crispinus and Menophilus, two confulars of great resolution and intrepidity, to whom the senate had committed the defence of the city, answered the tribune fent by Maximinus to summon them to furrender, that they were determined to hold out to the last, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their trust, or yield to such a cruel, bloody and faithless tyrant.

a At the same time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that Apollo, the tutelar god of the place, had affured them of victory; which difpelled all fear, fo that every-one began to prepare for a vigorous defence. In the mean while, Maximinus having spent some time in passing the river Sontius, now Isonzo, about fixteen miles from Aquileia, approached the city; and having caused all the vines and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to harass the belieged with repeated assaults, which they sustained with The inhabifuch resolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expressed. Even the women and tants sustain children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their share in the common danger; the a siege with b women especially signalized their zeal by yielding their hair to be employed in tion. making strings for the bows, and other warlike machines. The senate, out of gratitude, after the death of Maximinus, caused a magnificent temple to be erected, which they consecrated to Venus calva, or Venus the bald: on a medal of Quintia Crispilla, wife to the emperor Maximus, is to be seen a temple with that legend, and the figure of a bald woman w. The foldiers of Maximinus, in the beginning of the fiege, shewed great ardour; which however began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardships, rather than submit. Maximinus, highly provoked at their backwardness, and besides enraged at the bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants against him and his son, as often as they c approached the walls, caused several of his officers to be publicly executed, ascribing the coolness of the soldiers to want of courage in them. This exasperated the foldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of provisions, of which, and even of water, there was great scarcity in the camp. Besides, a report was spread, that the whole empire was arming against Maximinus, and ready to fall upon those who supported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the Albanians, that is, the soldiers belonging to the The soldiers of camp in the neighbourhood of Alba, took a sudden resolution to dispatch the author mutiny, and of so many calamities; and, without farther deliberation, went strait at noon-day to murder him the tent of Maximinus, dispatched both him and his fon with many wounds, cut and his fon. off their heads, and fent them to Rome, and threw their bodies into the river. With d them were killed Anolinus, their captain of the guards, and all their chief ministers and friends x. Such was the end of the reign, or rather of the tyranny, of the two Maximins, after it had lasted three years, and a few days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the fon in the twenty-first. The Pannonians, Thracians, and some other troops, heard the news of their death with regret, but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole army presented themselves unarmed before the gates of Aquileia, acquainted the belieged with the death of Maximinus, and defired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought adviseable to open the

the usual oaths to Maximus and Balbinus Y. An express was immediately dispatched to Rome with these joyful tidings, who His death occapassing through Ravenna, found the emperor Maximus there busy in assembling his some great joy forces, in order to march against the tyrant. But when he understood, that both the at Rome. Maximins were killed, that their army had submitted, and sworn fidelity to him and his collegue, transported with joy, and laying aside all military preparations, he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for fuch fignal and unexpected fuccess. In the mean time, the express pursuing his journey, and often changing horses, reached Rome the fourth day, distant from Aquileia about two hundred and f eighty miles, which no one, fays our historian, had ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found Balbinus and Gordian affifting with the people at the public sports in the theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes; which he had no fooner done, than the whole multitude cried out with one voice, Maximinus is killed; and rising up, left the theatre, and crowded to the temples, whither Balbinus and Gordian followed. The fenate immediately affembled; and after decreeing feveral honours to the three princes, appointed facrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day of public and solemn thanksgiving for their happy delivery. Balbinus, who

gates to them; but after they had adored the images of Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian, placed for that purpose on the ramparts, a great quantity of provisions was fent to their camp; for they were almost famished: and the next day they all took

w Vide DE MENESTRIER medailles des emper. & imperatr. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642. \* HEROD. L viii. p. 614. 7 HEROD. l. viii. p. 626, 627. Max. vit. p. 146.

used to tremble at the very name of Maximinus, offered an hecatomb, which was a never done but upon some very extraordinary occasion, and caused the same sacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire . Those who brought the heads of the two Maximins, arrived at Rome soon after the courier; for they made what haste they They were met every-where by crouds of the people, and received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. They entered Rome with the heads stuck upon two lances, that every one might see them; and no sight was ever more pleasing. They repaired again to the temples, offered new facrifices, and seemed no less transported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many infults, burnt in the field of Mars. The names of the Maximins were, by a decree of the b fenate, erased out of all inscriptions, their statues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor Maximus hastened from Ravenna to Aquileia, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowledged emperor by the army of Maximinus, among whom he distributed large sums, and then sent them back to their respective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a small body of Germans, in whom chiefly he confided. During his stay at Aquileia, the fenate, to do him honour, fent a deputation to him, confifting of twenty of their body, who had been all consuls, prætors, or questors. With them he set out from Aquileia; and arriving at Rome with a numerous and splendid retinue, was turns to Rome. there received at the gates by Balbinus, Gordian, the senate in a body, and all the c The wife admi-people, and conducted in triumph to the palace b. The two emperors governed nistration of the with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, maintained the military discipline with due rigour, paid great respect and deserence to the senate, and conducted themselves in all things with such wisdom, equity and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the senate and people. But the happiness and tranquillity, which they enjoyed under these excellent princes, were short-lived. The Carpi, a people beyond the Danube, passing that river, ravaged the province of Massia. The Goths, provoked perhaps by the death of Maximinus, invaded the Roman territories on the side of Scy-Romans with thia; and the Persians, who had continued quiet since the year 233. when Alexander d made war upon them, threatened the eastern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that Maximus should march against the Persians, Balbinus against the Goths and the Carpi, and Gordian remain in the mean time at Rome. But while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, distatisfied to see princes, who had been created by the senate, so much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered against Maximinus, and reflected no small dishonour upon them, who had raised him to the empire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, guards mutiny. which had hitherto proved so advantageous to them, was snatched out of their hands, and transferred to the senate. Besides, they grew jealous of the Germans, whom e Maximus had brought to Rome with him, with a design, as they imagined, to discharge the prætorian guards, as Septimius Severus had formerly done, and to take the Germans in their room. Being thus prejudiced against the two emperors, they refolved to dispatch them, and resume their pretended authority, by setting up another in their room. Having taken this resolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which foon offered; for the Capitoline games being celebrated a few days after, and most of the emperors guards and domestics reforting thither, the discontented and mutinous soldiery marched strait to the palace, where the two princes were left almost alone. Maximus, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the Germans to his affiftance, f but was therein opposed by Balbinus. For these two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealousies. Balbinus was piqued at the extraordinary honours which the senate had heaped upon his collegue, as if the death of Maximinus, and bleffings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and befides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himself in birth and nobility. On the other hand, Maximus, knowing himself to be by far the better soldier, and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that score the chief authority. These mutual jealousies, though

Maximus retwo emperors.

The Carpi, Goths, and Perfians, threaten the

Fealousses between the emperors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Max. vit. p. 169, &c. <sup>a</sup> Max. vir. p. 169. Herod. p. 617. 6 Max. & Balb. vir. p. 167, 171. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170.

b Herod. l. viii. p. 620.

a prudently concealed, and rather gueffed at by others, than feen, bred fome mifunderstanding between them, and occasioned in the end the ruin of both. For Balbinus, not giving credit to what he was told of the designs of the prætorian guards, but rather suspecting that his collegue intended to employ the Germans against him, would not suffer Maximus, to whom they were greatly attached, to send for them. This occasioned a warm dispute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and disperse such of the emperors friends and domestics as offered to oppose them. When they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they rushed upon them with a fury hardly to be expressed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace with a design to carry them to their camp, b wounded and insulted them in a most outrageous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being informed, that the Germans had taken arms, and were advancing to rescue the princes out of their hands, they killed They are both them both, and leaving their bodies in the street, retired to the camp, carrying killed. with them young Gordian, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appeale Gordian prothe populace, that they had killed those whom the people had at first rejected, and claimed empefet up in their room the person whom they had demanded. The Germans, informed ror. that the emperors were killed, retired, without committing any hostilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus Gordian remained in peaceable possession of the empire d., Maximus and Balbinus had reigned about one year and two months.

Or the descent and birth of Gordian we have spoken above. He was, according to Herodian, the son of Junius Balbus, by the sister of Gordian the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of M. Antonius Gordianus, as he is styled in all the ancient inscriptions. He was about thirteen years old when he came to the empire, and consequently must have been born in the year 225. the fourth of Alexander's reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aspect, and exceeding sweet dis- His excellent polition, which gained him the love of all who approached him. Capitolinus tells qualifications. us, that he was beloved by persons of all ranks more than any prince had ever been before him. The senate used to style him their son, the soldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to study and learning, and well d instructed in most branches of polite literature. He had all the necessary qualifica-

tions for forming an excellent prince; but as he wanted experience, and such a mother to direct and advise him as Mamæa, in the beginning of his reign, he fell into the hands of one Maurus, and fome other crafty freed-men and eunuchs, who playing booty, and abusing the confidence he reposed in them, persuaded him to do many Is deceived and things, which he ever after regretted. They soon drove all good men from the imposed upon by court, raised to the first employments persons altogether unworthy of them, plun- his ministers. dered the exchequer, and did all the mischief which wicked and avaricious ministers are capable of doing f. In the beginning of the year, the young prince entered upon

e his first consulship, to which he had been named in the reign of Maximus and Balbus, and took for his collegue Aviola. This year he entertained the people with magni ficent sports, in order to make them forget their past heats and animolities. The following year, when Sabinus was conful the second time with Venustus, Sabinianus revolted in Africa, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of Mauritania reduced the rebels to such straits, that they delivered up Sabinianus to him, acknowledged their fault, and submitted. All the partizans of Sabinianus were pardoned 5; but what was his fate, we are no where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his second consulship, having Pompeianus Civica for his collegue. The young prince married this year Furia Sabina Tranquillina, the daughter of Misitheus, who was immediately honoured with the title of Augusta; but whether he had any children by her, history does not inform us. The emperor chose Missi- Missitheus, theus for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wisdom, integrity, and captain of the learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a person of guards, and fahis extraordinary talents with whom to advise, not daring to trust to his own judg- the emperor. ment. Misitheus had no sooner taken possession of that important employment, than

he acquainted the emperor with the missemeanour of Maurus, and base practices of the other freed-men and eunuchs, who were thereupon all discharged, and banished the court. From a letter of Misitheus to the emperor, quoted by Capitolinus, it

d Herod. p. 621. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170.
f Herod. l. viii. p. 621. Gord. vit. p. 160-164. e Herod. l. vii. p. 605. Оссо. Goltz, Онирн. &сс. g Gord. vit. p. 161. Zos. l. i, p. 640.

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Sapor, king of

runs the Ro-

in the east.

appears, that the young prince had been strangely missed, and grossy imposed upon a by that infamous crew (T); and from the emperor's answer to it, that he was sensible of his former misconduct, and desirous to correct his faults; to know the truth, and to employ only fuch persons as would speak it without flattery or disguise (U). He respected Missibeus as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him his fon, and returned thanks to the fenate for distinguishing his father-in-law with the titles of father of princes, and guardian of the republic 2; titles which he well deferved, being one of the few ministers who are said to have had nothing in view but the glory of their prince, and the welfare of the state b. This year happened a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and destroyed an infinite number of people . The following year, when C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus and b C. Asinius Prætextatus were consuls, Rome was alarmed with news from the east, where the Persians, under the conduct of Sapor, son and successor to Arraxerxes, the restorer of the Persian monarchy, had entered the Roman dominions at the head of a mighty man dominions army, reduced all Mesopotamia, with the cities of Nisibis and Carrbæ; and entering Syria, committed most dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and sword. Capitolinus writes, that he had made himself master of Antioch itself, and threatened to over-run the other provinces, most of the Romans, who defended them, having, through fear, lifted themselves in his army. Gordian resolved to march in person against so formidable an enemy; and accordingly, having caused the temple of Janus to be opened, according to the ancient custom, which had been c long omitted, and perhaps was never after practifed, he fet out from Rome this year 242. the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well-disciplined army; and taking his rout through Masia, deseated in that province the Goths and Sarmatians, who disputed his passage, and obliged them to abandon their conquests, and return to their respective countries d. However, he was overcome in a tumultuary engagement by the Alani, in the celebrated plains of Philippi in Macedon, or, as others will have it, of Philippopolis in Thrace o. But the barbarians neglected, it seems, to improve their victory, and withdrew; for Gordian pursued his march unmolested through Thrace, and passing the Hellespont, arrived safe in Asia. To this passage perhaps alludes the ship, which is to be seen on some of his medals bearing no date f. d From the Hellespont he marched through Asia into Syria, where he gained signal advantages over the enemy, of which historians give us but a confused account. How-He is defeated ever, they all agree, that he overcame the Persians in several battles; that he re-by Gordian, covered the cities of Nisibis and Carrbæ, and obliged the mighty Sapor, with his powerful and numerous army, to abandon the Roman dominions, and retire with

retire.

\* Gord. vit. p. 161. b I. b Idem, p. 163. e Idem, p. 162. d Idem, p. 163. · Idem,

(T) This letter was conceived in the following terms: "It is with the greatest pleasure I congratulate ' you upon the alteration of times. Every thing was " formerly bought and fold by the eunuchs, and fuch " as pretended to be your friends, but were in reality " your greatest enemies. I am glad that this blot is " removed from your reign; the more, because you " are glad of it yourfelf; which will convince the " world, that the disorders hitherto complained of " ought not to be imputed to you. All posts in the army have been disposed of to persons no-ways " qualified for them; others have been denied the re-" wards due to their fervices; innocent persons have " been condemned, and fuch as were guilty faved;
the public revenues misapplied, the exchequer plun-"dered, &c. But these, and many other disorders, will
no longer be imputed to you, but to those who entered into cabals to deceive you, to remove from " the court all persons of virtue, honour, and integri-" ty, and to introduce in their room men as wicked as themselves, that they might make you a property to their evil designs. But now your eyes are
opened, you have begun to reform the state, and
many disorders have been already redressed. I reckon
it my greatest happiness to be father-in-law to so
good a prince; a prince who, without trusting to

" others, examines into every thing himself, and has ba-" nished from his court those, who, consulting not his " honour, but their own interest, led him astray (34)." (U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following answer: "If the immortal gods had "not protected the Roman empire, I had been de-" luded, and, together with the empire, utterly ruined by flaves and cunuchs. I am now fully convinced, that Felix ought not to have been trusted with the command of the guards, nor Serapammo with that of the fourth legion. But not to mention all my errors, I own that I have done many things amiss, and now return thanks to the gods for having by your means discovered many things to me, which have been hitherto maliciously concealed from me. Maurus entering into a confederacy with Gaudiawas, Reverendus, and Montanus, who confirmed whatever he faid, imposed upon me; so that, whatever they approved or condemned, I accepted or rejected, relying intirely upon their integrity. Unhappy therefore is that prince, who has not such about him, as will tell him the truth without disguise. For as he cannot immediately know "what passes among his people, he must understand it by the relation of others, and take his measures " according to their information (35)."

(34) Gord. vit. p. 161.

(35) Idem ibid.

**f**hame

a shame and disgrace into his own country, whither he pursued him as far as Ctesiphon 8. These successes were chiefly owing to the wise counsels and directions of the brave Missitheus, as the emperor himself with great modesty acknowledged in a letter which he wrote to the senate upon his arrival at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. In that letter he first acquaints the senate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in Macedon and Thrace; then coming to his victories over the Persians, he tells them, that he had delivered the Antiochians from the Persian yoke, recovered Carrba, and other cities, and was arrived at Nisibis, whence he designed to proceed to Ctesiphon, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preserve Missibeus, my father, and captain of the guards, by whose wise conduct we have atchieved b these, and hope to atchieve still greater things. It is incumbent upon you, conscript fathers, to appoint public processions, to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to Missitheus. Upon the receipt of this letter, the senate decreed a triumph Gordian is to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to Missibeus, with a pompous inscription, decreed a tristyling him the father of princes, captain of the guards, and the guardian of the repub- Militheus a This inscription, which was placed on the basis of his triumphal statue, is triumphal still to be seen at Rome almost intire. But the happiness which the whole empire state. enjoyed under the government of Gordian, and the wise administration of Missibeus, was short-lived. The latter died the following year, in the consulship of Arrianus Missibeus dies. and Papus, and by his last will lest the Roman people his heirs. We are told, that c Missibeus being ill of a flux, the physicians prescribed him a remedy to stop it, which, by the contrivance of Julius Philippus, of whom hereaster, was exchanged, and another administered in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, Philip was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief under the emperor of all the forces of the east; for of him Gordian did not entertain the least suspicion i. The following year, when Peregrinus and Amilianus were confuls, the emperor entered the Persian dominions, in order to pursue the war, which he had so successfully begun. Plotinus, the celebrated philosopher, listed himself in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the Persian and Indian philosophers k. The philosopher d was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of *Porphyrius*, the author of his life, answers the present year, the 243d of the christian zera, and sixth of *Gordian*'s reign.

Philip no sooner saw himself raised to the important post of captain of the guards, Julius Philipthan he began to aspire at the sovereignty itself. As the soldiers were greatly attached pus, captain of to the young prince, in order to lessen their affection to him, he sometimes led them his room. into places where no provisions could be found; at other times sent in his name the vessels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way, hoping that the troops, diffressed for want of necessaries, would, notwithstanding their attachment to Gordian, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the most turbulent among e them, whom Philip had gained, whispering about in the mean time, that Gordian, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command such powerful forces; that they wanted fuch a general as Philip, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army 1. Gordian however advanced against Sapor, and meeting him in Mesopotamia, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the Aboras, or Aburas, and obliged him to take shelter in the heart of his own dominions m. But while the young conqueror was pursuing the advantages of his victory, Philip, who had already gained the chief officers of the army, led the troops through barren and defart countries, where, through want of provisions, which they ascribed to want of experience in Gordian, they openly mutinied, and demanded, He induces the f that Philip might reign in conjunction with Gordian, as his guardian and governor. Soldiers to mu-The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to shed Roman blood, granted them their timy. request, and took Philip for his partner in the empire, who seeing himself upon the level with his fovereign, foon began to usurp an authority over him, and to dispose of all employments, as if he had been sole emperor. This Gordian could not bear, and therefore attempted to depose him; but Philip's party prevailing, he was himfelf deposed, and in the end murdered by the usurper. Capitolinus writes, that Gor-Gordian dedian, finding himself reduced to a private life, offered to serve under Philip as cap- Posed,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 162. Zos. l. i. p. 641. г. <sup>m</sup> Амміан. l. ххііі. <sup>8</sup> Gord. vit. p. 162. Aur. Vict. Eutrop. <sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 160. <sup>1</sup>
<sup>k</sup> Porphyr. vit. Plot. p. 2. <sup>1</sup> Gord. vit. p. 163. Zos. l. i. p. 641.

And Sain.

His tomb and epitaph,

tain of the guards, and even condescended to beg his life; at which demand, Philip a began to relent; but afterwards, considering how dear the young prince was to the senate and people of Rome, and not doubting but they would use their utmost efforts to reinstate him in the sovereignty, he commanded him to be slain 1. Other writers take no notice of these particulars, which, if true, betray great meanness and want of courage in Gordian; but only tell us, that Philip caused him to be murdered, and reigned in his room. His death happened, according to the most probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code o, about the beginning of March, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the furthest borders of *Persia*, in the place where his tomb was still to be seen in the year 363. beyond the Euphrates, and the Aboras, between the cities of Cercusa, which b stood near the conflux of those two rivers, and that of Dura, which stands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles distance from the former river. The place was called Zantha or Zaithe P. There the soldiers erected to the memory of the deceased emperor a stately tomb with the following epitaph in the Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues, that it might be read by all nations; To the deisied Gordian, who conquered the Persians, Goths, and Sarmatians, suppressed the civil discords, subdued the Germans, but could not overcome the Philips. The last words allude, according to Capitolinus, to his having been overcome by the Alani in the plains of Philippi, and his being killed by Philip 4. But we can hardly perfuade ourselves, that this epitaph was put up during the life and reign of the emperor Philip. The same writer adds, that Licinius, who pretended to derive his pedigree from Philip, caused this epitaph to be taken down. Victor the younger writes, that the body of Gordian was interred in that tomb; but Eutropius and Festus assure us, that it was conveyed to Rome, where the deceased prince was with the usual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The senate granted this extraordinary privilege to the Gordian samily, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unless it were by their own choice, guardianships, embassies, or any other public duty whatever r. All those, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, perished soon after . Capitolinus writes, that they dispatched themselves with the same swords which they had employed against him '(W). d

<sup>2</sup> Gord. vit. p. 163—165. ° Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. 2, leg. 7, p. 813, &c. P Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 244—246. Zos. l. iii. p. 716. Noris epist. p. 287. <sup>9</sup> Gord. vit. p. 165. F Gord. vit. p. 165. F Gord. vit. p. 165.

(W) The writers who flourished under Gordian were, Censorinus, who wrote, or rather sinished, his famous book, intitled de die natali, in the sirst year of that prince's reign, the second of the 254th olympiad, the 991st of Rome, when the Capitoline games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (36). All these particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the above-mentioned book, designing it as a present to one of his friends, by name D. Cerellius, against his birth-day. Thence he takes occasion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned observations on days, months, and vears. This work was known to, and greatly esteemed by, Apollinaris Sidonius, and Cassiodorus, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by Censorinus, on accents; but of that work only some fragments have reached our times, quoted by Priscian, who styles Censorinus a very learned grammarian (37). He is, by the best critics, looked upon as the most exact writer of his time (38). Censorinus himself quotes, as a work of his own, a book intitled indigitamentorum, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (39). Herodian wrote, in eight books, the history of the emperors, from the death of M. Aurelius to that of Maximus and Balbinus. He assures

nothing but what he himself had seen; so that he must have died very old; for his work comprehends the space of sixty-eight or seventy years (40). All we know of his life is, that he was at Rome in the latter end of the reign of Commodus (41), and had feveral employments under the fucceeding emperors (42). As for his history, Photius commends his style as noble and sublime, and at the same time clear, and free from all affectation (43). Capitolinus, who in many places only translates and copies him, bestows great encomiums upon his writings, but at the same time censures him, and with a great deal of reason, as too favourable to Maximinus, and highly prejudiced against Alexander (44). Voffins, and others, approve of this censure (45); whence, in our history of the reigns of these two princes, we have pre-ferred the authority of Capitolinus to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in history and chronology, and feems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the rout, which he supposes the emperor Alexander's forces to have taken, when that prince marched against the Persians. Under Gordian likewise flourished Arrian, a Greek historian, quoted by Capitolinus in his history of the reigns of Maximinus and

(36) Cenfor. de die natal. c. 8. p. 131, 132. & c. 21. p. 155. (37) Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. (38) Vide append. ad Cyprian. dissert. c. 9. (39) Censor. c. 3. p. 17. (40) Herod. l. i. p. 465. & l. ii. p. 514. (41) Idem, l. i. p. 484. (42) Idem ibid. p. 465. (43) Phot. c. 99. p. 276. (44) Maximin. vit. p. 142. Alex. vit. p. 134. (45) Voss. hist. Grac. l. ii. p. 239.

Gordian;

Philip was by birth an Arabian, being born in Bostra, a city of Arabia Petraa. Birth and ex-He was of a very mean descent; for his father is said to have been a samous captain tradition of Phisotrophers in that country w. In the ancient inscriptions have been a samous captain lip. of robbers in that country w. In the ancient inscriptions he is styled M. Julius Pbilippus, and his wife Marcia Otacilla Severa. He had a fon, named likewise Philip, born in the year 237. and consequently seven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himself was at that time, according to the chronicle of Alewandria z, about forty; but Aurelius Victor supposes him to have been much older. Whether or no Philip was the first christian emperor, has been the subject of great Whether the disputes among the learned. The affirmative seems to us by far the most probable, first christian being maintained by the following verteers with Farman Change and Dispute the following verteers with the being maintained by the following writers, viz. Jerom, Chrysoftom, Dionysius of Aleb xandria, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Cedrenus, Rufinus, the chronicle of Alexandria, Syncellus, Orofius, Jornandes, the anonymous writer published by Valesius, with Ammianus Marcellinus, the learned cardinal Bona, Abulfaragius, Vincentius Lirinensis, and Huetius. The arguments which some modern critics have alledged in favour of the opposite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of fo many eminent writers; nay, most of them have but little or no force in themselves, and only prove, that Philip was guilty of several actions highly discountenanced by the christian religion; such as his murdering his sovereign; his styling him a god; his affifting at the public shews, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies, and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been christians, whose lives were a disgrace to their profession; and in that number some rank the present emperor, tho' there are not wanting writers of no small account, who, bating the murder of Gordian, for which, they fay, he atoned by submitting to a public penance, think he did nothing inconfistent with the principles of the religion which he professed: and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the senate the apotheosis of Gordian. He used indeed, as we read in Capitolinus, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of divus, the deified Gordian; but that title was given even by Constantine after his conversion, and by other christian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their rescripts. Philip is said by Villor the younger to have been present at the public shews that were d exhibited on occasion of the thousandth year of Rome; but that he assisted at the religious or rather idolatrous ceremonies, which usually preceded the sports, we find no-where recorded. His being deisted after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the senate to most emperors: the same honour was conferred upon Mamæa the mother of Alexander; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that she was not a christian. But to proceed to the history of this prince's reign: Upon the death of Gordian, Philip was acknowledged emperor by the whole army, on the fourteenth of March of the year 244. The new prince no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, than he declared his son Cæsar, and took He takes his son him, the but seven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the for his partner in the empire. e senate, acquainting them with the death of Gordian, which he falsely ascribed to a natural distemper, and with his own election y. Some authors write, that the senate

Gord. vit. p. 163. Zonar. p. 229. Vict. epit. p. 164.

\* Chron. Alexand. p. 630. 7 Gord. vit.

Gordian (46); and Ælius Junius Cordus, often quoted by the Augustine historians (47). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from Trajan to the two Gordians; but filled his history, according to Capitolinus, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many fuits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domestics, c. 48). Vossius places him among the Latin hiflorians, with Alins Sabinus, who wrote the life of Maximinus, Vulcanius Terentianus, author of the lives of the three Gordians, in whose times they lived, and Curius Fortunatianus, who wrote the history of the reign of the two Maximins (49). Some pretend, that the history of Fortunatianus is still extant,

and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in Italy. To this Fortunatiamus, Vossius ascribes the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of Curius Fortunatianus Consultus, and are deservedly esteemed by the learned (50). In the reign of the emperor Constantine were still extant some books of epigrams by Fabilius a Greek grammarian, and one of the preceptors of Maximians the younger, and various poems written by Toxotius, a fenator of the family of Antoninus Pius. He married Junia Fadilla, formerly be-trothed to young Maximinus, and died soon after he had discharged the office of prætor (51).

. vit. p. 150. (47) Voss. hist. Lat. l.ii. c. 3. p. 179. Macrin. vit. 60. (49) Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. Max. vit. p. 150. Gord. (51) Maximin. vit. p. 148. (46) Voss. ibid. l. iv. p. 17. Maximin. vis. p. 150. \$\mathbf{p}\cdot 93\cdot (48) \text{ Gord. vis. p. 152, 160.} (49) \text{ vis. p. 160.} (50) \text{ Voss. ibid.} (51) \text{ Maxim}

believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without hesitation the choice of

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the foldiery; while others pretend, that the senate did not acknowledge Philip, till a M. Marcius and L. Aurelius Severus Hostilianus, two senators of great distinction, whom they successively created emperors, were snatched away by sudden deaths '. He concludes a Philip, desirous to return to Rome, immediately concluded a peace with the Persians, peace with the and led back his army into Syria. Zonaras writes, that he yielded to Sapor Mesopo-Persians. tamia and Armenia; but soon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great satisfaction of the Romans, both countries. Be that as it will, he arrived at Antioch before Easter, which, according to Eusebius b, was celebrated this year on the fourteenth of April, and went with the empress to affift at the prayers and sacred ceremonies that were performed by the primitive christians the night preceding that great festival. But Babylas, who was then bishop of Antioch, and afterwards suffered mar- b tyrdom under Decius, apprised of his coming, went out to meet him; repro ched him with the murder of his sovereign; declared him unworthy of being admitted into the congregation of the faithful; and stopping him with his hand, protested, that he would by no means fuffer him to enter the facred place, unless he made a public confession of his fins, and ranked himself among the penitents. The emperor with great humility submitted to both, and was thereupon by the holy bishop admitted into the This St. Chryfostom c, and several other writers, relate as a thing altogether certain; but Eusebius speaks of it as what in his time was said to have happened a. It was probably on this occasion that Origen wrote both to Philip and to his wife Severa, which St. Jerom mistakes for his mother, commending their piety, and putting them C in mind of their duty . Both these letters were still extant in St. Jerom's time 1; that is, about the end of the fourth century. From Syria the emperor set out for Rome, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of joy by the senate and people, whose affections, tho' they at first seemed averse to him, he soon gained by his mild administration, and obliging behaviour 8. He appointed his brother Priscus commander in chief of the troops in Syria, and Severianus, his father-in-law, of the forces in Masia and Macedon, persons but ill qualified for those important posts h. As the works of Trebellius Pollio, and others, who wrote the lives of Philip and his successors to Valerian, have not reached our times, we cannot help borrowing many things of Zosimus; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint our readers, that he was a d professed and implacable enemy to the christian religion, and therefore omits no opportunity of blackening the character of Philip, and crying up his successor Decius, by whom the church was most cruelly persecuted.

He gains the affections of the people at Rome

He submits to beranked in

among the pe-

the church

mitents.

Defeats the Carpi.

THE following year the emperor entered upon his first consulship, having Titianus for his collegue; and soon after, leaving the city, marched against the Carpi, who, passing the Danube, had invaded Masia, and laid waste great part of that province. The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repass the Danube, and fue for peace; which he readily granted, and returned to Rome 1. The next year, when Prasens and Albinus were consuls, nothing happened at Rome, or in the provinces, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except the burning by accidental fire of the theatre of Pompey, and another stately building called Centum Columnæ, or the Hundred Pillars. In the beginning of the following year the emperor entered upon his fecond confulship, having his fon for his collegue, whom he honoured with the title of Augustus, and invested with the tribunitial power 1. Both princes retained the fasces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater The thousandth pomp and magnificence the thousandth year of Kome, begun on the twenty-first of year of Rome. April of the year 247. of the christian æra, and fifth of Philip's reign, according to the computation of Varro, which was then, and is still, followed by most historians and chronologers. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at Rome, shews of all kinds exhibited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beafts, referved by Gor- f dian for his triumph over the Persians, killed, and distributed among the people 1. Orofius writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary folemnity to the honour of Christ and his church m. We wish he had informed us in what manner. This year the emperor published an edict truly worthy of a christian prince, forbidding under Unnatural lust the severest penalties all manner of unnatural lust, and those infamous practices which

suppressed at Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zonar, p. 229. Onuph. p. 260. Cedren. p. 257. <sup>2</sup> Zonar. ibid. Chrysos. de S. Babyla, contra Gentil. tom. 1. p. 656, 657. Parif. ann. 1636. <sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. c. 36. Vincent. Lirin. c. 23. Rufin. c. 26. <sup>4</sup> Hier. v. Aur. Vict. Zos. l. i. p. 646. <sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 642, 643. <sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 642, 643. <sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 260. Goltz. p. 107. <sup>1</sup> Pagi, p. 247. Spanh. l. iii, p. 147. <sup>28</sup> O b Eusen. 1. vi. c. 34. d Eusen. l. vi. c. 34. f Hier. vit. illust. vir. c. 54. p. 285.

i Idem, p. 641. k Onuph. p. m Oros. l. vii. c. 10.

a had long prevailed in Rome, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good princes ". The following year, when M. Æmilianus was the second time conful with Julius Aquilinus, the eastern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of Priscus their governor, (we follow Zosimus for want of a better guide) openly revolted, and pro- several rebels claimed one Papianus, or Jotopianus, emperor; but he was foon killed, and with his lions. death put an end to the disturbances on that side o. At the same time the provinces of Masia and Pannonia revolted, continues Zosimus, and set up one P. Carvilius Marinus, who was but a centurion. Hereupon Philip, in great consternation, besought the fenate either to enable him to quash the rebellion, or to depose him, it they were b diffatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected speech surprised the senate; but Decius, while the other fenators continued filent, addressing the emperor, told him, that he had no reason to fear Marinus, whose presumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would foon prove his ruin. What Decius had foretold, happened a few days after, when Marinus was killed by those very persons who had raised him to the empire. Hereupon Philip, recalling his father-in-law Severianus, obliged Decius, much against his will, to accept of the government of Massia and Pannonia in his room. He no fooner appeared there, than the foldiers proclaimed him empe- Decius declarror, and forced him to accept the fovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if ed emteror by he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he fuffered himself illyricum. c to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the foldiers to fwear allegiance to him P. Zonaras tells us, that he immediately wrote to Philip, affuring him, that he defigned to refign the fovereignty as foon as he reached Rome q. But Philip, without relying upon fuch promifes, marched with all possible expedition against the usurper, hoping to surprise him. His son he left at Rome, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. Decius, having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle array. Hereupon a battle enfued, in which great numbers of Philip's men were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to retire to Ve- Philip overrona, where he himself was killed by the army , whether by his own, or by that of come and killed Decius, we are not told. The news of his death no fooner reached Rome, than the d prætorian guards dispatched his son, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor Philip, after he had reigned five years and some months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the fourteenth of March of the year 244. and killed after the seventeenth of June of the year 249, as appears from the dates of his laws s. Both he and his fon were, according to Eutropius, ranked among the gods; which, however injurious to the memory and religion of Philip, shews, that his administration was not displeasing to the senate, tho' he had succeeded Gordian, a prince so much and so universally beloved. Eusebius, and Dionysius of Alexandria, who was raised to that fee in his reign, tell us, that under him the christian religion was publicly preached; The christian that it flourished and increased more than it had done under any other prince; And religion flowe no wonder, adds the former writer, without explaining himself any further; but mean-him. ing, as to us seems plain from the context, that he professed it himself a. Gregory of Nyssa writes, that, in the reign of Philip, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of Neocæsarea in Pontus being converted to christianity, the idols were every-where overturned with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true God w. Of Philip the fon authors observe, that he was of such a grave, or rather melancholy temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or fmile; and add, that his father one day breaking out into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and expressing his displeasure with a more grave and reserved look than usual \*. Both he and his mother Marcia Otacilia f Severa, professed, according to St. Jerom, and the chronicle of Alexandria, the christian religion; nay, Petrus de Natalibus reckons the two Philips among the martyrs of the church a, upon the authority of Orofius, who writes, that Decius put them to death, either because they were christians, or that he might, when they were removed, persecute the christian religion. But the authority of Orosius, who lived

h Alex. vit. p. 121. Aur. Vict. O Zos. l. i. p. 642. P Idem ibid. & p. p. 229. T Zos. l. i. p. 643. Aur. Vict. Zonar. p. 229. Cod. Just. p. 489. & I. viii. tit. 56. leg. 1. p. 804, &c. Euseb. l. vi. c. 36. p. 232. 238. W Greg. Nyss. vit. Greg. Thaumat. tom. 3. p. 563. Vict. epit. Chron. Alexand. p. 630. Pet. de Natal. catalog. fanct. c. 92. p. 218. " Idem, c. 41. p. 7 HIER. chron. OROS. l. vii.

many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unless confirmed by that of more a ancient writers. Eusebius says, that Decius persecuted the church out of hatred to Philip :, but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put Philip to death on account of his religion. Of the authors who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (X).

The birth and descent of De-

His cruel persecution of the church

Upon the death of Philip and his son, Decius was acknowledged emperor, first by the foldiery, and foon after by the fenate and people, who wanted both strength and courage to dispute the election of the new prince. He was a native of Bubalia, or Budalia, a borough in the territory of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia, and, according to the chronicle of Alexandria d, raised to the empire in the fifty-seventh, but, according to Victor the younger, only in the forty-seventh year of his age. He had b by his wife Herennia Etruscilla four sons, viz. Decius, Hostilianus, Etruscus, and Trajan. The name of Messius was common to them all; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is styled in the ancient inscrip-His character. tions Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius. He was, according to Zosimus his panegyrift, descended of an illustrious family, and endowed with every good quality e. Victor the younger styles him the best of princes, and Vopiscus equals him to the most renowned commanders of antiquity. He was no sooner invested with the sovereignty, than he declared his eldest son Cæsar, and prince of the youth. The same title he soon after bestowed upon his three other sons s. In the very beginning of his reign he raised the most dreadful and bloody persecution that had ever oppressed the church, c prompted thereunto by his hatred to the deceased emperor, and his zeal for the cause of declining paganism, which he saw fatally undermined by the wonderful progress of christianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be supported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted most cruel edicts against all who professed the christian religion; pursuant to which, the christians were in all places driven from their habitations, stripped of their estates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trod under foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every one thinking it meritorious to betray a christian, and procure his death. It is easier, says Nicepborus, speaking d of this persecution, to count the fand on the sea-shore, than the martyrs who suffered under Decius. The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the bishops, of whom many were seized, inhumanly racked and executed, and among the rest Fabian bishop of Rome, Babylas bishop of Antioch, and Alexander bishop of Jerusalem. Great numbers of christians betook themselves to barren mountains, rocks, and deserts, chusing

> e Euses. l. vi. c. 39. d Chron. Alexand. p. 632. e Zos. l. i. p. 641. f AUREL. VICT. 8 GOLTZ. p. 109. ONUPH. p. 261. Occo. p. 454. p. 223.

(X) Under Philip flourished Nicagoras, a celebrated fophist of Athens. He was the son of one Mnefeus, an orator, and wrote the lives of illustrious men (52). Philostratus reckons him and Apsinas among the great men of his time, with whom he was in timately acquainted (53). Minucianus, the fon of Neagoras, published a book of rhetoric, on which Perphyrius wrote comments (54), and a small treatise on syllogisms, which has reached our times (55). Apsmas sourished at the same time, and is greatly commended by Philostraius, on account of his exactness in writing, and extraordinary memory (56). He was a native of Phænicia; but spent great part of his life at Athens; and is thence by Suidas called an Athenian (57). Onasimus, the Athenian fophist, whom we must distinguish from another of the same name and profession, born in Cyprus or Sparta, was the fon of Applicas, and father to another Apfinas, who feems to have flourished under Constantine (58). Suidas mentions a third sophist of this name, who flourished under Maximian; but was a native of Gadara on the confines of Palestine

and Syria, and attained to the rank and title of consular (59). Major, an Arabian sophist, flourished likewise under Philip, and published thirteen books of rhetoric (60), none of which have reached us. Syncellus mentions one Theopompus a philoso-pher, who became very famous at Cherones in Bacotin (61); but of him no notice is taken either by Suidas, or any other writer. Asmins Quadra-tus wrote the Roman history in the Ionic dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of Alexander, fays Suidas (62); but he must have brought it down to the fifth year of Philip's reign, which was the thousandth of Rome; for his book was intituled the XILIGI, or the thousand years (63). This work is quoted by Stephanus the geographer, by the Augustine writers, by Zosimus, and by Xiphilin; but has been long fince loft. He likewise wrote the history of the Parabians, often quoted by the ancients, and that of Germany. Of the former Stephanus cites the ninth book; and Agathias, speaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of Italy, and wrote with great exactness (64).

(52) Suid. p. 223. (53) Philof. foph. lix. p. 629. (54) Suid. p. 573. (55) Porphyr. vit. c. 6. p. 51. Jonf. l. iii. c. 14. (56) Philof. p. 623. (57) Suid. p. 523. (58) Idem ibid. (59) Idem ibid. (60) Eufeb. prap. evang. l.x. c. 3. p. 464. (61) Syncel. p. 362. (62) Suid. p. 1484. (63) Vost hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 16. p. 239. (64) Agash. l. i. p. 17.

a rather to live amongst wild beasts, than men who had divested themselves of all reason and humanity. Among these was the celebrated hermit Paul, who, withdrawing into the deferts of Egypt, led there a folitary life for the space of ninety years at least, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorets. This persecution did not rage, at least with its first violence, above a year, as appears from the epistles of St. Cyprian, the emperor and magistrates being, by the invasion of feveral barbarous nations, diverted from fearching after the christians; for about the end of the first year of Decius's reign, when he was conful for the second time with Vicius Gratus, the Scytbians, that is, the Goths, having passed the Danube, under the conduct of their king Cniva, invested with seventy thousand men the city of b Eusterium in Lower Masia; but meeting there with a vigorous opposition from Gallus, who was afterwards emperor, they raifed the fiege of Eusterium, and fat down before Nicopolis, another city in the same province. Against them Decius dispatched his eldest son, at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to roung Decius; retire beyond mount Hamus, which parted Masia from Thrace. However, they gains great foon recruited their army, and entering Thrace, laid siege to Philippopolis on the advantages Hebrus. Young Decius hastened to the relief of the place, but while his room over the Goths. Hebrus. Young Decius hastened to the relief of the place; but while his troops were refreshing themselves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of Berea, a city of e the same province, Cniva, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in But his army is pieces, and obliged the young prince to fave himself by flight into Masia. Cniva in the end inthen returned before Philippopolis; and having made himself master of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand souls, says Ammianus k, without distinction of fex or age, to the sword, ravaged Thrace, and laid waste great part of Macedon, where L. Priscus, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time; but he, instead of opposing, joined the enemy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon Decius, who had staid at Rome to confecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately fet out for Pannonia; where, in the beginning of the following year, d he took upon him his third confulship, and honoured with that dignity his eldest son, styled in the inscriptions of this year Q. Herennius Decius Casar; whence it is manifest, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of Augustus m. Decius overcame the Goths, says Zosimus, in several engagements, obliged them to quit The Goths are the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the Roman dominions. What the emperor. that author writes is confirmed by feveral medals, mentioning his conquests in Dacia, and victories over the Carpi, who had probably joined the Goths o. Priscus was declared by the senate a public enemy, and slain; but where, or in what manner, history does not inform us. From Thrace the emperor wrote to the senate, acquaint- The office of ing them, that he designed to re-establish the office of censor, an ancient magistracy censor re-estae of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a person fit for the discharge of
so great a trust. This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been abolished by the emperors, who discharged the functions annexed to it, without assuming the title; for, since Domitian's time, the title of censor had been quite laid aside, and neglected by most of the princes who reigned before him P. The last private persons who discharged that office, were Paulus Amilius Lepidus, and L. Munatius Plancus, in the year of Rome 732. the tenth of Augustus's reign, and twenty-second before the birth of Christ. The senate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, assembled in the temple of Castor and Pollux; and there, instead of waiting till their votes were asked, cried out with one voice, as soon as the letter f was read, Let Valerian be censor; let him censure and correct the faults of others, who Valerian chosen bas no faults of bis own. Of Valerian, who was raised to the empire two years after, censor. we shall speak in a more proper place. He was then in Thrace with Decius; who, upon his receiving the decree of the fenate, caused it to be publicly read; exhorted Valerian not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with fuch extraordinary marks of esteem and distinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to

h Hier, vit. Paul. p. 237. Euseb. l. iii. c. 39. Lact. persec. c. 4. Greg. Nyss. vit. Thaum. p. 567.

Cyp. dist. xi. c. 53. Optat. l. iii. p. 71. Hilar. in Cons. p. 113. Cyp. epist. 52. 1 Cyp. epist.

36, &c. k Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 446. 1 Zos. l. i. p. 644. Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637.

Nol. VI. No. 3. X X Condition

it, which, he faid, extended over all persons civil and military, of what rank and

Decius gains new advantages over the Goths.

Young Decius is killed,

And likewise the emperor.

condition foever, except the governor of Rome, the confuls for the time being, the pontiff styled rex sacrorum, and the superior of the vestal virgins, so long as, mindful of her vow, she preserved herself undefiled. Valerian, says the author of his life, earnestly befought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every respect unequal 4; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to submit to it. Soon after the emperor marched against the Goths, overcame them, and reduced them to fuch streights, that they offered to set at liberty all the prifoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering Rome from to troublesome an enemy, without hearkening to their proposals, sent Trebonianus Gallus with a strong detachment, to cut off their b retreat; and pursuing them close with the rest of the army, came up with them before they reached the Danube, and engaged them a second time. The Goths, knowing that all lay at stake, fought like men in despair. Young Decius fignalized himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner, and is said to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, he fell from his horse in the sight of the whole army. The emperor, seeing him fall, cried out to his foldiers, without betraying the least concern, We bave lost but one man; let not, fellow-foldiers, so small a loss discourage you. Having uttered these words, he rushed into the midst of the enemy; but, instead of revenging the death of his fon, he was himself surrounded on all sides, overpowered, and killed. Thus c Zosimus :, and Jornandes '. But Aurelius Victor and Zonaras tell us, that Gallus, who kept a private correspondence with the Goths, advised them to encamp behind a morass, in which the emperor, while he attempted to pass it, pursuant to the tr acherous counsel of the same Gallus, perished with his son, and the greatest number of the army, partly suffocated in the mud, and partly destroyed by the showers of arrows, which the barbarians discharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire'. The same writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. Eusebius a, and the chronicle of Alexandria w, only say, that the two Decii were killed by the treachery of one of their own officers. Lastantius writes, that Decius, having engaged the Carpi, was by them furrounded, cut in pieces with d great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beafts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to God, and a persecutor of his church, deserved to perish x. St. Jerom likewise y, St. Cyprian 2, and Constantine the Great 2, ascribe the unhappy end of Decius to divine vengeance. With him perished, according to Eusebius, three of his sons, viz. Decius, Etruscus, and Trajan b. He had reigned two years and some months c, and was, after his death, ranked among the gods with the usual ceremonies.

The Roman army cut in pieces.

Gallus proclaimed emperor.

THE Goths, after the death of Decius, pursued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the disheartened army. Such of the Romans as escaped the general slaughter, fled to the legions commanded by Gallus; who, by pretending a great concern e for the unfortunate end of Decius, and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march against the barbarians, gained the hearts of the soldiery, and was by them, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his fon Volusianus, Casar; married him to Herennia Etruscilla, the daughter of the deceased prince; and, to remove all suspicion of his being any-ways accessory to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted Hostilianus, his only surviving son; conferred upon him the title of Augustus; invested him with the tribunitial power; and named him conful for the enfuing year d. Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, as he is styled in the ancient inscriptions, was, according to Villor the younger, a native of the island of Meninx on the coast of Africa, called afterwards Garba, and at present f Gerbi and Zarbi. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of Masia in 250. and in the present year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, fifty-seven; but, according to Victor the younger, only forty-five, when raised to the empire. Hostilia Severa, honoured on some medals

<sup>9</sup> Valer. vit. p. 173, 174.

F Zos. l. i. p. 643.

B Euseb. chron. p. 236.

W Chron. Alexand. p. 251.

LACTANT. persecut. c. 4. p. 4, 5.

HIER. in Zach. xiv. p. 285.

CONSTANT. Orat. 2pud eum. Euseb. oper. c. 24. p. 600.

Euseb. l. vii. c. 1. p. 250.

GOLTZ. p. 108.

GOLTZ. p. 111.

ZONAR. p. 644.

a with the title of Augustae, is supposed to have been his wife. His son is styled in fome inscriptions C. Vibius Volusianus, and in others Annius Gallus Trebonianus. His election was no fooner confirmed by the fenate, than, instead of revenging the death of Decius, and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a dishonourable peace with He concludes A the Goths; suffered them to retire unmolested with all their booty and prisoners, dishonourable among whom were many Romans of great distinction; and even engaged to pay them Goths. yearly a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country 8. After this ignominious peace, he returned to Rome; and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first consulship, having his son for his collegue. He began his reign with reviving all the edicts, which had been published by his He perfecutes b predecessor against the christians, and which he caused to be put in execution the christians. with the utmost rigour. At the same time a dreadful plague, breaking out in Ethiopia on the confines of Egypt, spread in a short time over all the provinces of the empire, and swept away incredible numbers of people, especially at Rome, where it raged with great violence. Some authors write, that it carried off among the rest Hostilianus, the son of Decius, soon after he had been honoured with the title of Augustus ; but Zosimus affures us, that Gallus caused him to be put to death, and then gave out, that he was dead of the plague. The fame year was remarkable for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in most parts of the empire. M. Aufidius Perpenna Licinianus took upon him the title of Augustus; but this revolt c was foon quashed k; in what manner, we are no-where told. The Goths, the Borani, the Carpi, the Burgundi, or Burgundiones, a people dwelling on the banks of the Danube, broke into Masia and Pannonia; the Scythians over-ran Asia; and the Persians, entering Syria, laid waste that province, and even made themselves masters of Antiocb 1. Amilianus, who commanded in  $M\alpha fia$ , overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the Roman dominions. Elated with this fuccess, and despissing Gallus, who was wallowing in pleasures at Rome, while his generals were exposing their lives in defence of the empire, he caused himself to be Emilianus proclaimed emperor, and was faluted by the troops under his command, whose proclaimed emaffections he had gained, with the titles of Augustus, and father of his country. This feror in Moestia. d rouzed Gallus from his lethargy, who immediately ordered Valerian to march with the Gaulish and German legions against this new rival. But Amilianus, without giving him time to affemble his troops, marched strait to Italy, and, by long marches, arrived in a short time at Interamna, now Termi, about thirty-two miles from Rome. There he was met by Gallus, and his son, at the head of a considerable army; but the troops of the latter, despising their leaders, slew them in the fight of Emilianus's Gallus is killed army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor Gallus, after by his own men. he had reigned a year and fix months ... Mention is made on some medals of the apotheosis of Volusianus "; whence we may conclude, that Gallus was likewise deified. No fooner was the news of their death brought to Rome, than the fenate confirmed e the election of the foldiery, and honoured the new prince with the usual titles. Æmi-Æmilianus lius Æmilianus, as Aurelius Victor calls him, or C. Julius Æmilianus, as he is styled on proclaimed emthe ancient coins, was by nation a Moor, and of a very mean descent. He had ferved from his youth in the Roman armies, and raised himself to the first employments in the state; for he had been conful before he came to the empire . In the letter which he wrote to the senate after the death of Gallus, he promised to drive the Goths out of Thrace, and the Persians out of Mesopotamia and Armenia; to comport himself in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic; and to leave the exercise of the fovereign power to the senate P. Aurelius Victor writes, that he governed with great moderation; wherein he disagrees with Zonaras, who tells us, that he acted more f like a foldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor 4. Be that as it will, the troops, which Valerian was leading to the affiftance of Gallus, hearing in Rhatia that he was dead, refused to submit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who thereupon quickening his march, passed the mountains, and entered Italy at the head of a very numerous and well disciplined army. Emilianus's army no sooner understood, that Valerian, of whom they enter-

tained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his com-

He is killed by his own men. and Valerian peror in his room.

mand, than they fell upon their own leader, and dispatched him, to avoid, says a Zonaras, a civil war, and the shedding of the blood of their fellow-citizens r. Emiproclaimedem lianus was killed at Spoletum, now Spoleti, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood; which Villor the younger pretends to have been thence called The bloody bridge. He died in the forty-fixth year of his age, after a short reign of three, or, at most, of four months. Eusebius does not even rank him among the emperors, and is therein followed by the chronicle of Alexandria, and that of Nicephorus, in which Valerian is placed immediately after Gallus. Aurelius Victor writes, that Æmilianus died a natural death ". In his reign C. Virius Paulinus was governor of Rome, and comes domesticorum w. This is the first time we find the latter employment, which in the fourth century became very famous, mentioned in history. Pancirollus takes b the words domestici and protectores to be synonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's person, and, under the christian emperors, to carry the great itandard, with the cross. They were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, and diffinguished with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps confisted of three thousand five hundred men before Justinian's time, who is said to have increased them to the number of five thousand five hundred. They were divided into feveral bands of horse and soot, called scholæ, and commanded by some person of great distinction, styled comes domessicorum x. From several inscriptions of this time, we learn, that the word comes was already a title of dignity; so that the title of comes, or count, does not, as fome imagine, owe its original intirely to Con- c

His descent, employments. and character.

Æmilianus being killed, according to the most probable opinion, in the month of August of the year 253. the senate, with great joy, confirmed the election of Valerian, and conferred upon his son Gallienus the title of Casar. Valerian was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, had commanded armies, and discharged with great reputation the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by persons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modesty, and extraordinary accomplishments; for he was well versed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived tree from the vices, which generally prevailed in those dissolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all d wickedness and tyranny, a great admirer of the customs of the primitive Romans, and no ways inferior to those among them, who were most cried up for their love of virtue, and aversion to vice; infomuch, that if every person in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the fovereignty whom he pleafed, no one, fays the historian, would have thought of chusing any but Valerian y. Thus he was univerfally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-ways equal to such a mighty charge; whence most writers ascribe to his want of activity, prudence, and resolution, the many calamities which befel the empire in his and his fon's reign z. Before his accession to the empire, he was prince of the fenate, which gave him a right to vote before all the confulars. Afterwards e he commanded the third legion, and was by degrees raifed to the first posts in the army. He attended Decius in his wars with the Goths, and was, while he continued with him in Thrace, named by the senate to the censorship, in the manner we have related above. In the ancient inscriptions he is styled P. Licinius Valerianus; to these names Victor the younger adds that of Colobius; and Onuphrius quotes an inscription, in which he is named P. Aurelius Licinius Valerius Valerianus 2. He married two wives, and had by the first, whose name is not mentioned in history, Gallienus, who succeeded him in the empire. By his second wife, named by some writers Mariniana b, he had Valerian, who was twice conful, viz. in 258. and 263, and honoured, either by his father, or by his brother Gallienus, with the title of Casarc. f He had other fons; for Gallienus is said to have married his brother's fons, and to have styled himself the brother of many princes d. Valerian began his reign with great affections of all applause, and behaved himself so as to gain the affections both of the senate and people, paying the utmost respect to the former, and easing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. He enacted many excellent laws, and by that means suppressed most of the disorders, which in those

He gains the

Idem ibid. \* Eusen l. vii. c. 10. p. 255. W AUR. Vict. in Æmil. w Onuph. in fast. p. 262. × Pancir. vit. p. 173. 2 Vict. epit. Eutrop. Zos. l. i. p. 640. 369. C Val. vit. p. 175. Goltz. p. 114. d Idem ibid. y Valer. BiRAG. p.

unhappy

a unhappy times prevailed, not only at Rome, but all over the empire. Authors obferve, that he employed only men of merit, and that most of those whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raifed to the empire k. In the beginning of the following year 254. he entered upon his fecond confulship, having his fon Gallienus for his collegue. Zosimus writes, that this very year, the first of his reign, he took Gallienus for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all fides by the barbarians, was then The empire inexposed 1; for the Germans and the Franks committed great devastations in that part valed on all of Gaul which bordered on the Abine; the Goths and the Carpi invaded the provinces fides by the of Massia, Thrace and Macedon; and the Persians, passing the Euphrates, over-ran b Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. Aurelian, at that time tribune of a legion quartered

in Mentz, fell upon the Franks, while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom he fold for flaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and retire ". The country of the Franks, now for the first time mentioned in history, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the river Rhone; and on the south by the Weser: according to which description, they possessed the modern countries of West-phalia, Hesse, and some adjacent states. They were a motley multitude, consisting of various German nations dwelling beyond the Rhine; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of Franks, the word frank fignifying in their language, as it still does in ours, free. Among them we find the following nations mentioned, viz. the Astuarii, Chamavi, Brusteri, Salii, Frifii, Chauci, Amstvarii, and Catti P. The Franks are sometimes called Sicambri, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, which was intirely cut off by Augustus, as we have related in the foregoing volume. The following year, Valerian being conful the third time, and Gallienus the second, a great victory was gained in The Germans Germany by the latter, who thereupon affumed the title of Germanicus Maximus, as defeated by appears from feveral medals of this year as but what pation he overs me what has Gallienus. appears from feveral medals of this year 9; but what nation he overcame, whether the Franks or the Alemanni, who inhabited the countries lying between the Rhine,

the Maine, and the Danube, history does not inform us. The next confuls were d Maximus and Glabrio, during whose administration, Gallienus, with a body only of ten thousand men, defeated, if Zonaras is to be credited, three hundred thousand Alemanni in the neighbourhood of Milan; overcame the Heruli, a Gothic nation, and with great fuccess made war upon the Franks. We wish that writer had given us a more distinct account of these mighty exploits. In Gaul, Posthumius, a commander of great prowefs and experience, gained great advantages over several German nations, who had invaded that province. The following year, Valerian being conful the fourth time, and Gallienus the third, a violent persecution broke out against The christians the christians, Macrianus, a celebrated magician of Egypt, having seduced the em-persecuted.

e peror, who had been hitherto a great patron of the christian religion, by persuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never prosper, till the pagan rites were reftored, and the religion of the christians, so odious to the gods, utterly abolished. This perfecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, raged throughout the whole empire with no less fury than that under Decius had done. Persons of all ranks, says Dionysius of Alexandria, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged to the tribunals, hurried to execution, and racked with the most exquisite torments, which the implacable hatred of their enemies could invent. This persecution lasted three years; that is, from the present year 257. to the year 260. when Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians. The same year, Aurelian being sent to succeed Ulpius Crif nitus in the command of the troops in Illyricum and Thrace, drove the Goths out of The Goths de-

those provinces, took an incredible number of them prisoners, and pursuing them feated by Aubeyond the Danube, laid waste their country, and returned to Messa loaded with Sarmatians by booty. At the fame time Probus, passing the Danube, made war with great success Probus. upon the Sarmatians and Quadi, and rescued out of the hands of the latter Valerius Flaceus, a youth of a noble descent, and nearly related to the emperor, who rewarded Probus with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to fuch

k Aur. vit. p. 211. Trebel. Pollio. hift. trigint. tyrann. c. g. p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234. l. i. p. 646. Tvit. Aur. p. 211. Adrian. Voles. rer. Francicar. Buch. p. 209. ibid. P Vite Adrian. Vales. not. Gall. p. 201. & Buch. p. 210. Birag. p. 3. Zonar. vit. Gallien. p. 235. Trebel. Pol. in vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 184. O BUCH. 9 Birag. p. 367, & 371. p. 184. Aurel. vir. r Zonar. vit. Gailien. p. 235.

The Perlians over run feve-

ral provinces.

The Scythians

Valerian defeated by the Persians, and taken prisoner.

as had faved the life of a citizen u. About the latter end of this year, the emperor, a leaving Rome, fet out for the east, to make head against the Persians, who had invaded Mesopotamia and Syria, and committed dreadful ravages in those provinces. He reached Byzantium in the beginning of the following year, when Memmius Tuscus and Baffus were consuls; and there held a council, at which affisted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the measures to be taken with respect to the Persian war; for Sapor, king of Persia, had already seized all Armenia, made himself master of Nisibis and Carrbæ in Mesopotamia; and thence advancing into Syria at the head of a mighty army, had ravaged that province, and taken Antioch itself. His guide in this expedition was one Cyriades, descended of an illustrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedness; infomuch that, b not able to bear the reproaches and wholfome admonitions of his father, he fled from home, and retired into Persia, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and filver, which he had purloined. There he entered into the fervice of the Perfian king, stirred him up to make war upon the Romans, and served him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria. Sapor, after he had taken and plundered Antioch, returned into Persia, to discharge his army of the immense booty, with which they were incumbered, and left Cyriades governor of the conquered countries, who thereupon assumed the title of  $C\sigma / ar$ , and foon after that of Augustus, and was acknowledged as emperor by most of the eastern provinces w. At the same time the Borani, a Scythian nation, c crossing the Euxine sea, surprised and plundered the cities of Pytus in Bosporus, and Trapezus in Pontus; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of Byzantium, croffed over into Asia, and surprised the cities of Chalcedon, Nicea, Apamea, Prusa, and feveral other places, which they plundered, and then returned with an immense booty into their own country, before Valerian could come up with them x. The following year, when Secularis and Bassus were consuls, Valerian marched from Cappadocia, whither he had pursued the Scythians, into Syria, recovered Antioch, and thence advanced into Mesopotamia, where he met Sapor, engaged him, but, by the treachery of Macrianus, who perfuaded him to engage in a disadvantageous post, lost the flower of his troops in the engagement, and was himself taken prisoner y. d Thus Zonaras, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Agathias; but Zosimus writes, that Valerian having, after the battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in person with Sapor, was by that treacherous prince seized, and carried into Persia. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken prisoner, carried in triumph by Sapor into Persia, and there insulted in a most outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having shewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meanest slave, making him his foot-stool whenever he mounted on horseback 2. He was taken in the year 260. the seventieth of his age, and sixth of his reign, and was still alive in the year 263. nay, the chronicle of Alexandria tells us, that he did not die till the C year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by Sapor's orders, and preserved in falt, and his skin dressed, dyed red, and exposed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, it was shewn to all foreign princes and embassadors, as a lasting monument of the power of the Persian monarch. Agathias writes, that Valerian was flayed alive :; but is therein contradicted by all the ancient historians. We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy Valerian in his deplorable condition fo much, as to fee himself intirely neglected by his son Gallienus, who was fo far from pressing the Persian king to set him at liberty, or offering to ransom him, that, on the contrary, he expressed no small joy when news was brought him of his captivity, tho' most foreign princes, nay, even those who had assisted Sapor in his f wars against the Romans, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the Roman emperor his liberty; but the haughty Persian was too much elated with his success, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the intreaties of his friends.

w Vit. trigint. tyran. p. 18 p. 234. Vict. epit. Eutrop. fest. Agath. l. iv. p. 153. persecut. c. 5. Oros. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175. \* Zos. l. i. p. 648. y Zonar. Euseb. orat. Conft. c. 24. Lact. w Vit. trigint. tyran. p. 185. <sup>a</sup> Agath. l. iv. p. 233.

## C H A P. XXIV.

## The Roman history, from the captivity of Valerian to the resignation of Dioclesian.

a THE news of the defeat of the Roman army by the Persians, and the captivity of Valerian, no sooner reached the barbarous nations at war with Rome, than they flew to arms; and pouring on all sides incredible multitudes into the Roman The empire interritories, threatened the empire, and Rome itself, with utter destruction. The Goths vaded on all and Scythians ravaged anew Pontus and Asia, committing every-where dreadful deva-fides by the stations: the Germans, that is, the Alemanni, and the Franks, having over-run Rhatia, entered Italy itself, and advanced as far as Ravenna, putting all to fire and sword: the Quadi and Sarmatians seized on great part of Dacia and Pannonia; and other barbarous nations, invading Spain, made themselves masters of Tarraco, and other important places in that province b. Gallienus, who was then in Gaul, hearing that b the Alemanni and Franks had entered Italy, and were advancing towards Rome, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as some authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded Dacia and Pannonia, were driven back by Regillianus, who commanded there, and is faid to have gained several victories over them in one day. While Regillianus was employed against the barbarians, whom he had pursued into Massia, Ingenuus caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*, and was acknowledged by Ingenuus the inhabitants both of that province, and of  $M\alpha fia$ ; for he was a man of great causes himself valour and experience in war, and universally beloved both by the people and solto be proclaimed emperor;

c diery. Gallienus no sooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, where he then was, into Illyricum, engaged Ingenuus, and put him to flight. Some authors write, that Ingenuus was killed after the battle by But is defeated his own foldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid and killed by that means falling into the hands of fo cruel an enemy as Gallienus, who used his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equalled, commanding his foldiers to put The cruelty of all the inhabitants of Mesia they could meet with to the sword, whether they had Gallienus. taken up arms in favour of the usurper, or no; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to Verianus Celer, one of his officers: " I shall not be satisfied with "your putting to death fuch only as have borne arms against me, and might have d" fallen in the field: you must in every city destroy all the males, old and young: " fpare none who have wished ill to me, none who have spoken ill of me, the " fon of Valerian, the father and brother of princes. Ingenuus emperor! tear, kill, "cut in pieces without mercy: you understand me; do then as you know I would do, who have written to you with my own hand d." Pursuant to these cruel orders, a most dreadful havock was made of that unhappy people, and in several cities not one male child left alive. The troops, who had formerly ferved under Ingenuus, and the inhabitants of Masia, who had escaped the general slaughter, provoked by these cruelties, proclaimed Q, Nonius Regillianus emperor. He was a Dacian by Regillianus nation, descended, as was said, from the celebrated king Decebalus, whom Trajan emperor. f had conquered, and had by several gallant actions gained great reputation in the Roman armies. Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congratulating him upon the victory he had gained over the Quadi and Sarmatians in Mæsia: "Happy is the republic in having at this time such a com-" mander as you; happy Gallienus, tho' no one dares speak truth to him, nor blame " or commend men according to their deferts. Bonitus and Celsus, two of the prince's " life-guard-men, have given me an account of your gallant behaviour in the neigh-" bourhood of Scupi, where you gained several victories over the barbarians in one "day. In ancient times you would have been thought worthy of a triumph; but

b Zos. l. i. c. 650. C Trig. tyrann. vit p. 188. d Idem ibid. c. 8.

46 at present I would have you to conquer with more caution, mindful of a certain a

Posthumius revolts in Gaul.

" person, to whom your victories may give umbrage, &c." After he was proclaimed emperor, he gained very confiderable advantages over the Sarmatians, but He is murdered was foon murdered by his own foldiers, and the people of Illyricum, who had raifed by his own men. him to the empire, but not long after his affumption, began to dread the effects of Gallienus's cruelty. The Roxolani, who served under him, revolted the first; and their example was foon followed by the rest of the army, and the people of Illyricum. Aurelius Vistor writes, that he was overcome in battle by Gallienus. The same year M. Cassius Labienus Posthumius revolted in Gaul. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and reckoned one of the best commanders in the whole empire. Valerian, when he fet out for the east, committed to his care b both his fon Gallienus, and the troops that were left in the western provinces, declaring, that he loved and efteemed Pollhumius above all officers of his army. When he appointed him governor of Gaul, and commander of the troops on the Rhine, he wrote on that occasion a letter to the inhabitants of Gaul, in which he expressed his efteem for Posthumius in the following terms: "You will, I hope, be convinced that " I have particular regard for you, fince I have fet over you fuch a man as Postbu-" mius. He is one whom I esteem above the rest, and think the most worthy of all " to represent the prince. If I am deceived in the opinion I entertain of him, I will " not pretend to know any man t." When Gallienus, upon the news of his father's captivity, and the invasion of the Franks and Alemanni, set out for Italy, he left c his eldest fon Saloninus, named also Valerian, then an infant, at Cologn, under the tuition, fome fay, of Postbumius, and others of Sylvanus, ordering all things to be transacted in his name. Soon after the emperor's departure, Postbumius having deseated fome German nations, who had invaded Gaul, Sylvanus obliged him to fend all the booty to him, and the young prince; which provoked the foldiery to fuch a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed Posthumius emperor, who marching without loss of time to Cologn, besieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to such threights, that The fon of Gal- they were forced to deliver up to him both Sylvanus and Saloninus, whom he caused to lienus murder- be immediately put to death. Thus Zosimus 8: but Trebellius Pollio ascribes the revolt, and the death of the young prince, to the Gauls, who hating Gallienus, and not able d to brook the government of a child, stirred up the soldiers to murder him, and pro-

Posthumius and Britain.

claim Postbumius emperor h, who was with great joy acknowledged, not only in Gaul, but in Spain and Britain . He reigned seven years, during which time he drove all by Grul, Spain, the Germans out of Gaul, and even built several forts in their country, restored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with fuch equity and moderation, that he was universally adored, and honoured with the titles of The restorer of Gaul, The defender of the emfire; for had he not repulsed the Germans, they would, Gul from the in those distracted times, have over-run with great ease the whole empire k. On several of his medals mention is made of his victories over the Germans, that is, according to Adrianus Valesius, over the Franks; and on some he is styled Germanicus Ma- e ximus a. He had by his wife Junia Donata, perhaps the daughter of Junius Donatus, who was governor of Rome in the year 257, and this year conful, at least one son, styled on the ancient coins C. Junius Cossius Posthumius. The emperor Valerian appointed him tribune of a band or company of Vocontii, that is, of Dauphinois. His father afterwards created him Casar, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of Augustus n. He was thought to have equalled in eloquence Quintilian, whom he studied to imitate; whence his declamations were inserted among those of that excellent writer o; and the nineteen declamations, which pass under the name of Quintilian, but seem not altogether worthy of him, are by some modern critics ascribed to young Posthumius P. Gallienus, tho' greatly f concerned for the death of his fon, whom he immediately caused to be ranked among the gods, did not march in person against the usurper till some years after.

eastern provinces.

During these disturbances in the west, Sapor king of Persia, elated with his over-run and late success, over-ran most of the eastern provinces, laid waste Mesopotamia, and plunder all the entering Syria, took Antioch the third, or, at least, the second time, and levelled

> Zos. p. 651. h Trig. tyrann. k Trig. tyrann. vit. ibid. Birag. R Trig. tyrann. 9 BIRAG. p. 382.

a with the ground all the public buildings of that stately metropolis. From Syria, he led his army into Cilicia, took and plundered the city of Tarjus, the capital of that province; and advancing from thence into Cappadocia, made himself master of Cæfarea, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand, in pieces, for having opposed him under the conduct of one Demostheres, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himfelf a way, fword in hand, through the midst of the enemy, and made his escaper. Thus the Perfian over-ran all the provinces of the eaft, committing every-where most dreadful ravages. Agathias tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took pride in passing over them on horse-back from one hill to another'. To the capb tives, whom he was pleafed to spare, he allowed only what food was barely sufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be drvien once a day in herds to water like fo many cattle. In the mean time, the Roman troops, who had difperfed upon the captivity of Valerian, rallying, chose for their leader Calliflus, or rather Balifla, who had been captain of the guards to Valerian, and was a man of great address, intrepidity, and experience in war. He without loss of time transported his forces in boats into Cilicia, and obliged the Persians to raise the siege of Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of that province, when it was upon the point of submitting. From Cilicia he flew with great celerity into Lycaonia, and there made a dreadful havock of Baliffa cuts the Persians, whom he found bussed in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon many of them c their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many prisoners, and among the rest the wives of Sapor. From Lycaonia he retired with his booty and captives, before the Persians could draw together their dispersed forces; and embarking his army on the vessels and boats he had assembled, landed some of his men at Sebaste, and others at Corycus, two cities on the coast of Cilicia, and in both places furprised and cut in pieces above three thousand Persians ". Balista was well feconded in his attempts by Odenatus, whose name is famous in the history of Odenatus of these times on account of the many victories he gained over the Persians, and his Paimyra. faving the Roman empire in the east. All authors agree, that he was a native of Palmyra, a city of Phanicia, about one day's journey from the Euphrates; but some d writers call him a citizen and decurion, while others style him prince of that place. Procopius gives him the title of prince of the Saracens, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and were allies of the Romans w. Zosimus tells us, that his family had been long before diftinguished with particular marks of honour by the Roman emperors, and that he had troops of his own x. As Palmyra was at this time a Roman colony y, Odenatus was prince, not of that city, but probably of the Saracens, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accustomed from his infancy to the manly exercises of hunting, he bore with great chearfulness and alacrity the toils of a military life'. Of his wife Zenobia, we shall have occasion to fpeak hereafter. Odenatus was scarce known till the captivity of Valerian, when, e dreading the power of that mighty conqueror, as he lived in amity with the Romans. he wrote to him a most respectful and submissive letter, protesting, that he had never borne arms against the Persians, and at the same time sent him several camels leaded with rich presents. But Sapor, highly provoked at the arrogance of such an infig-How treated nificant person, as he expressed himself, in presuming to write to him, tore his letter, by Sapor. ordered his presents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his embaffadors, that he would teach their mafter the respect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and fovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly destroy him, his whole family and country; adding, that if he came and threw himself • prostrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps by that f submission atone in some degree for his temerity and presumption. Odenatus, resenting, as it became a man of his spirit, this vile treatment, swore he would pursue the Persians to the last with fire and sword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or perish in the attempt a. With this view, he immediately declared for the Romans; and joining Balista with all his forces, bore a great, if not He stilles with the chief share, in the above-mentioned exploits; for to him Trebellius Pollio ascribes the Romans, the taking of Sapor's wives b. The Persian, greatly concerned for that loss, and

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r Zonar. p. 234.
                                        * Agath. l. iv. p. 134. 
* Zonar. p. 234. 
* Zonar. p. 382. 
* Procop. p. 97. 
* Zos. p. 651. 
* Norts. de epoch. Syromaced. 
funn. c. 14. 
* Petr. Patr. in excerpt. de legat. p. 29. 

* Trig. tyr.
SYNCELL, p. 225. WIRELED, p. 102. * Trig. tyrann. c. 14.
      Vol. VI. Nº 3.
                                                                                               Z z
                                                                                                                                                apprehending
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And gains great advantages over the Pertians.

Olenatus a Tumes the title of king of Palmyra.

and befieges Cteliphon.

The rife of Macrianus.

He is proclaimed emperor.

apprehending it might be attended with others still greater, (for Odenatus and Balista a purfued him close) resolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the Euphrates. But as he was marching through the province of Euphratesiana, at a small distance from Palmyra, Odenatus, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the rest to repass the Euphrates with great hurry and confusion. Many perished in the river; and Sapor was glad to compound with the Roman garifon in Edessa, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the Syrian money he had amassed in the plunder of so many cities c. Zonaras writes, that Odenatus found among the Persian captives, and likewise among the dead, many women attired and armed like men 1. After these victories, Odenatus assumed the title of king of Palmyra, which b he likewise gave to his eldest son Herod, as he did that of queen to his wife Zenobia. Gallienus, to reward his eminent services, appointed him commander in chief of all the Roman forces in the east; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, and was attended with better fuccess than any of the Roman generals. For the following year, 261. when Gallienus was conful the fourth time with Petronius Volusianus, Odenatus, not fatisfied with having driven Sapor out of the Roman dominions, entered Mejo viamia, and there recovered the cities of Nisibis and Charra. From Mejopotamia he advanced into the very heart of the Persian dominions, being extremely defirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of Valerian. Sapor met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement enfuing, the Per- c Defeats Sapor, fians were utterly defeated, and Sapor with his children obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Persian dominions. Thither Odenatus pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, after having destroyed with fire and sword the neighbouring country to a great distance. The Persian lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and country, armed all their vasfals, and slew from the most distant parts of the kingdom to Ctesipbon. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which ferved only to increase the number of Odenatus's victories; many Persians of great distinction were taken prisoners, and sent by the conqueror to Gallienus: Sapor on one side, and the brave Odenatus on the other, exerted their utmost efforts, the latter to deliver Valerian, and d the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him . But here Trebellius Pollio, after having raifed our expectation, drops at once both Odenatus, and the fiege of Ctefiphon; and giving himself no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark as to the iffue of fo glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities in the capacity of an historian. All we know for certain is, that Sapor was not taken, nor Valerian rescued from his cruel bondage. Some writers feem to infinuate, that the revolt of Macrianus, which, according to most historians, happened this year, obliged Odenatus to raise the siege of Ciesiphon. Macrianus was of a mean descent; but had by his courage, and experience in war, raifed himself from the low station of a common soldier to the highest e p its in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great diftinction, by whom he had two fons Macrianus and Quietus, who had been raised to the rank of tribunes by Valerian, and were efteemed two of the best officers of the whole army. The father is styled by Dionysius of Alexandria, the chief of the Egyptian magicians 8; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an Egyptian, and greatly addicted to the study of magic. As the abominable mysteries of that art were abhorred, and deservedly cried down by the christians, Macrianus thence became their implacable enemy, and inspired Valerian, with whom he bore great sway, with an irreconcileable hatred to them, which occasioned the eighth persecution, as we have hinted above h. Some authors write, that abusing the confidence Valerian f reposed in him, he betrayed that prince to the Persians; but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his fon; and having gained over Balista, was by his means acknowledged emperor by most of the troops, who had served under Valerian, but despised Gallienus. He immediately took his two sons for his partners in the empire, and appointed Balista his captain of the guards. Trebellius Pollio, of all writers the least exact, to fay no more, does not inform us in what country Macri-

d ZONAR. p. 235. c Petr. Patr. ibid. p. 25. e Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651. 1 Trig. tyrann. p. 174. p. 175. Trig. tyrann. c. 13. EUSEB. l. vii. c. 10. h Idem ibid.

a anus was created emperor, nor where, or how long he reigned; and as to the other historians, Zonaras is the only one among them that takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of Afia received him with extraordinary marks of joy k. Dionyfius of Alexandria gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in Egypt; and that his and his fons reign ended before the ninth year of Egypt fubmits Gallienus, that is, before the August of the year 2621. During his usurpation hap- to him. pened, in all likelihood, at Alexandria the diffurbances described by that writer, who was bishop of the place. Fury and discord, says he, raged there to such a degree, Great diffurthat it was more easy to pass from the east to the most remote provinces of the west, bances at Alethan from one place of Alexandria to another: the inhabitants had no intercourse but by letters, which with great difficulty were conveyed from one friend to another:

- b it was more dangerous to cross the street, than the most tempestuous seas, the most dry and inhospitable deserts: the port resembled the shore of the red-lea, strewn with the carcasses of the drowned Egyptians; the sea was dyed with blood, and the Nile choaked up with dead bodies m. The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily swept off great numbers of people, informuch, that there were then in Alexandria fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there used to be from forty to seventy p. Of such perfons a register, it seems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn distributed among
- Macrianus no fooner faw himfelf invested with the fovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could affemble into the eaft, fays Polito, that is, as we conjecture, from Egypt into Syria. He engaged several times, and defeated the Persians; but looked upon P. Valerius Valens as a far more formidable enemy. Valens had been fent by Gallienus into Achaia, or Greece, with the title of proconful; but hearing there, that Macrianus had been proclaimed emperor, he affumed the fame title, Valens pro-Hereupon Macrianus immediately detached Piso, with a competent force, to sup-claimed empepress this new usurper. But Piso, finding him upon his guard, and ready to receive and Piso in him, retired into Thessaly, and there assumed the title of emperor, with the surname Thessaly; but of Thessalicus, as appears from his medals. But he did not long enjoy that empty they are both d and seducing title, being soon after murdered by some soldiers sent by Valens for killed.

that purpose. Valens himself was slain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at Rome before the twenty-fifth of June P. Pifo, who was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Rome, was univerfally lamented there on account of the merits of his anceflors, as well as his own. He had been highly efteemed by the emperors, nay, and by Valens himself, who upon hearing the news of his death, What account, said he, shall I give to the gods, the insernal judges, of the death of Piso? The Roman empire has not a person equal to Piso. Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the The character fenate, that divine honours might be decreed to him as to a lawful prince; nay, of Pifo.

e some writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmness and constancy. However that be, he was decreed a statue with a triumphal chariot: the statue was still to be seen in the time of Constantine; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of Dioclefian, and was never after fet up again 1. About the same time that Macrianus usurped the empire in the east, Manius Acilius Aureolus was forced by the army, which he commanded in Illyricum, Aureolus made to take upon him the fovereignty; for the foldiers every-where abhorred Gallienus, emperor in and would only obey emperors fet up by themselves. Aureolus from Illyricum marched into Italy, and made himself master of Milant. Gallienus, after various unsuccessful f attempts to suppress him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his affiftance against Posthumius, as we shall relate hereafter. He was, according to Zonaras, a native of Dacia, of a mean descent, and in his youth a shepherd; but listing himself afterwards in the army, he was soon raised from the rank of a common foldier to the command of a body of horse. He distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under Gallienus, in the battle against Inge-

nuus; for some authors ascribe to him the whole glory of that victory. This year

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1 Euses. l. vii. c. 23.
  k ZONAR. p. 236.
                    ° Birag, p. 388. P. T.
C. 10. p. 189. Vict. epit.
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m Idem ibid. c. 21. " Idem ibid. 9 Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20. p. 194. r Idem. Scythians.

Bithynia plun- 261, the Scythians breaking anew into Bithynia, laid waste the whole country a second a time, levelled with the ground feveral cities, plundered Nicomedia, and returned unmolested into their own country with a great booty, and many captives i. At the same time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from some signal calamity, the island of Sicily, less exposed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was milerably haraffed by a band of robbers, who roving up and down, committed dreadful devastations, and kindled a kind of fervile war, which was not suppressed without much difficulty and bloodshed k. The following year, Gallienus being conful the fifth time with Faustianus, the empire was in many places afflicted by other calamities, befides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The fun was overcast with thick clouds, and a great darkness continued for several days b together, attended with a violent earthquake, and dreadful claps of thunder, not in

The empire afflicted with a plague, famise, earthquakes, &c.

Hoo plunder the temple of Diana as Ephe-

the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and fwallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The fea, fwelling beyond measure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities; the plague raged with great violence in Greece, Egypt, and especially at Rome, where it swept off for fome time five thousand persons a day. The books of the Sibyls were consulted, public processions ordained, facrifices offered to Jupiter the author of health, &c. But all to no purpose; nay, to their other calamities were added the incursions of New irruptions the Goths in great swarms into Greece, and of the Scythians into Asia. The former of the Stythi- having made themselves masters of Thrace, over-ran all Macedon, and laid siege to C Theffulonica, the capital of that province, which threw all Greece into the utmost confidential continuity troops were dispatched to guard the streights of Thermopyla, so famous in hillory; the Athenians rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever fince the time of Sylla; the inhabitants of Peloponnesus shut up the ishmus from sea to sea; new levies were made; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, &c. But, in the mean time, Macrianus arriving in Greece on his march into Italy, fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter Achaia, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried however great part of their booty 1. At the same time the Scythians, that is, another party of Golbs, croffing the Hellespont under the conduct of one Raspa, committed dreadful d ravages in Afia, burnt feveral cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephefus, fo much respected by the pagans, and so famous for its rich ornaments, and immense wealth m. Thus was the destruction of the most illustrious monuments of paganism begun by the Goths, who were themselves pagans; and we shall see them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of Chalcedon, destroyed the poor remains of ancient Troy, and the famous Ilium; and repassing the Hellescont, laid waste all Thrace, and returned to their own country with an immense booty n.

In the mean time, Macrianus having fettled the affairs of Syria, left there his younger fon Quietus, with Balista, to guard that province against the Persians; and e fet out for Italy, with his eldest fon Macrianus, at the head of forty-five thousand men, to try his fortune against Aureolus in Illyricum, and Gallienus at Rome. He was met by the forces of the former either in Illyricum, or on the borders of Thrace; Micrianus and whereupon a battle enfued, in which Macrianus and his fon being killed, their whole army submitted to Aureolus, and were incorporated in his troops of. The news of defeated and their defeat and death was no fooner heard in the east, than most cities there revolted from Quietus, who thereupon that himself up with Balista in the city of Emesa, whither Aureolus, to complete his victory, fent ruffians to dispatch him. But before their arrival, Odenatus had befreged the place; which fo terrified the inhabitants, and the garifon, that they killed Quietus, threw his head over the walls, and then I fubmitted to Odenatus. Macrianus and his children being thus cut off, Gallienus was acknowledged anew in Egypt and Syria; for Odenatus, tho' master of almost all the eastern provinces, acted, or at least pretended to act, in his name P. He had no fooner withdrawn his troops from before Emefa, than Balista, whom he had Bilifia affumes spared on account of his advising the inhabitants to murder Quietus, assumed the the title of em- title of emperor, and put such numbers of the citizens of Emeja to the sword, no

olus.

f Gall. vit. p. 177. " JORNAND. ibid. k Idem ibid. P Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. tyran. c. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. m Idem, p. 177, 178. JORNAND. rer. . ZONAR. p. 236. Trig. tyran. c. 10. Gall. vit. p. 176.

a doubt for refusing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almost turned into a defert 4. We shall have occasion to speak of him hereaster; for he seems to have reigned at Emesa three years. About the same time Emilianus, styled on the ancient medals Tiberius Cestius Alexander Amilianus, commander of the legions And likewise in Egypt, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting Emilianus. from Gallienus, who was no lefs abhorred in Egypt than in the other provinces, to appeale the populace of Alexandria, who had rifen upon a very trifling occasion, and invested the house where Æmilianus lodged, threatening him with present death, He no fooner proclaimed himself emperor, in opposition to Gallienus, than the rage of the incenfed multitude affwaged, and the whole city of Alexandria, with loud b acclamations, acknowledged him for their fovereign. He immediately feized all the corn in the public granaries, and by that means occasioned a famine in several provinces. He visited in person the most distant parts of  $E_{2y/t}$ , redressed many grievances, repulfed with great vigour the neighbouring barbarians, which procured him the name of Alexander, and was preparing for an expedition into India, when the troops fent against him by Gallienus arrived in Egypt f, as we shall relate hereafter. This year Gallienus, agreeing with Aureolus, marched into Gaul with him and Claudius, who fucceeded him in the empire, to make war upon Polithumius, who Gallenus had reigned three years undisturbed. As Postbumius was greatly beloved, and vigo-makes man rousily supported by the Gauls, the war lasted some years. Gallienus was defeated uson Posthumus in the first general engagement of this year, and Posthumius in the second, after having lost the flower of his troops. But Aureolus, who was fent to pursue him, having fuffered him to escape when he might have easily taken him, he levied new forces, and began the war with fresh vigour 8. Gallienus however, quitting Gaul the following year, when Albinus and Dexter were confuls, returned to Rome, and from thence hastened into the east, where he wreaked his rage on the city of Byzantium; The Byzanbut upon what provocation, Trebellius Pollio, who describes the miserable condition times stangelto which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we tered by Gallienus. know is, that Gallienus, as foon as he appeared before it, loft all hopes of ever being able to master it; but being nevertheless admitted, the day after his arrival, d within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he caused the garison, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the sword. Not one person, says Trebellius Pollio, was left alive in the place ". Vorburgius ascribes this slaughter to the foldiers of Gallienus; and pretends, that the emperor left Gaul, and halfened into the east, on purpose to revenge the saughter of the Byzantines, and punish the cruelty of the foldiers. From Byzantium, Gallienus returned to Rome, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock-captives, dressed like Gotbs, Sarmatians, Franks, and Perfians. During this shew, some persons of humour, mixing with those who personated the Persians, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their e drefs, and feemed to betray great furprize. Being in the end afked, what they wanted? We are looking, faid they, for the emjeror's father; which so incensed Gallienus, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alivek. This year a new tyrant saturnings flarted up, by name P. Sempronius Saturninus. He was a man of great parts, and affirmes the renowned for his victories over the barbarians. History does not inform us where title of empeor how long he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while murdered by he was emperor, and was, on account of his feverity, put to death by the fame his foldiers. foldiers who had raifed him to the empire. When he was first proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they had loft a good captain, and made a bad prince. Towards the end of the year, Theodotus, a native of Egypt, f dispatched by Gallienus against Æmilianus, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and fent him to Rome; where he was, by Æmilianus the emperor's orders, strangled in prison, according to the ancient custom of putting defeated, taken captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward Theodotus, designed to make and strangled, Egypt a proconfular province, and honour him with that proconfulship; but was diverted from it by the priests alledging a prediction, which had prevailed even in Cicero's time, viz. that Egypt would recover its ancient liberty, when the fasces appeared there m. The faices were carried, as is well known, before the proconfuls.

d Gall. vit. p. 176. g Gall. vit. p. 178. Zon. p. 236. k Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. GOLTZ p. 115. f Trig. tyr. c. 21.
VORB, hift. Rom. Germanic. p. 539. f Trig. tyr. c. 21. h Gail. vit. p. 178, 179.

VORB. hift. Rom. Ger. vit. c. 22, p. 196.

m Idem ibid. c. 21, p. 195. k Gall. vit. p. 179. Vol. VI. No 3. Α¢

sieged and taken.

Bruchium be- At this time happened, as we conjecture, the siege of Bruchium, described by Euse- a bius; Emilianus himself, or his partizans, having probably taken shelter there after the battle. Bruchium, or, as Eusebius styles it, Pyruchium, was a quarter of the city of Alexandria near the sea, on the side of the Pharos, and, as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There stood the royal palace, the place where the Egy tian sen e or council met, the public granaries, the museum, and the celebrated library of the Egyptian kings, containing once feven hundred thousand volumes, of which four hundred thousand were burnt in Julius Casar's time. The Roman army, under the command of Theodotus, having taken the rest of the city, laid siege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famine". This year the Scythians made a new irruption into Asia, but were with great flaughter driven back into their own country b

Gallienus de-

Balista murdered.

into Gaul.

**Posthumius** takes Victori nus for his partner.

The Isaurians rewolt.

Celsus made emberor in Africa, and foon after mur dered.

by the Roman forces quartered in that province o. THE next confuls were Gallienus the fixth time, and Saturninus. This year Gallitus his parener nus, by the advice of his brother Valerian, and his kinsman Lucillus, to reward the in the empire. brave Odenatus for the many victories he had gained over the Persians, took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with the titles of Cafar, Augustus, and emperor, and all the badges of fovereignty, and caused money to be coined with his name, on which he was represented leading the Persians captive. The title of Augusta was given to his wife, and that of Casar to his children P. This action of Gallienus was highly applauded by the fenate, by the people of Rome, and the whole empire; for to his valour was intirely owing the prefervation of the eastern provinces, c over-run and forely haraffed by the Persians. This year, 264. Balista, who had held some provinces in the east ever fince the death of Macrianus, and his children, was at last killed, according to the most probable opinion, by a foldier fent by Gallienus goes Odenatus for that purpose q. Gallienus, in the spring of this year, left Rome, and marched a fecond time in person against Posthumius, who still reigned in Gaul. At his approach, Postbumius withdrew into a strong hold, which the emperor immediately invested, but soon after raised the siege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow while he was viewing the walls. On feveral medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory gained by Gallienus in Gaul, and he is styled the restorer of that province'. However Postbumius still maintained himself in possession of d great part of that country; and this year being hard pressed by Gallienus, he chose for his collegue M. Aurelius Piauvonius Victorinus, as he is styled on the ancient coins, of whom we read the following character in Julius Aterianus, a writer of those times: No one, in my opinion, ought to be preferred to Victorinus, who reigned fome time in Gaul; he equalled Trajan in bravery, Antoninus in clemency, Nerva in gravity, Vespasian in managing the public money, and Pertinax and Severus in his care of the military discipline: but his unbridled lust drowned all his good qualities, and cast fuch a blemish upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deserved the doom which in the end overtook him'. Of this doom we shall speak in its proper place. The next year, Valerian, the empe-e ror's brother, and Lucillus, his kinfman, being confuls, the Isaurians, revolting in Asia Minor, chose for their leader C. Annius Trebellianus, who took upon him the title of Augustus, caused money to be coined with his name, and reigned some time in Isauria and Cilicia; but was in the end drawn by Causifoleus, the brother of Theodotus, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge, into a plain, and there defeated and killed. The Isaurians ranked him after his death among the gods; and refusing to submit to Gallienus, whose cruelty they dreaded, maintained themselves a free people in the very heart of the Roman empire, at least till the time of the emperor Conftantine, and committed dreadful ravages in Afia. Minor and Syria ". While Gaul, Pontus, Thrace, and Illyricum, were held either by f a domestic or foreign enemy, Africa too had its tyrant, viz. T. Cornelius Celjus, set up by Vibius Passienus, proconsul of Africa, and Fabius Pomponianus, who commanded on the frontiers of Libya. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name Galliena, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great share in this revolt. Celsus was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raised; but he held it a short time, being killed the seventh day after his election. The inhabitants of Sicca, who had continued faithful to Gal-

n Eusen. l. vii. c. 31. p. 285. P Gall. vit. p. 179. Gol. Tz. p. 115. o Gall. vit. p. 178. Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. Gall. vit c. 5. p. 186, 187. Idem, c. 25. p. 198. r Gall. vit. p. 177. \* BIRAG. p. 376, 377. Trig. tyrann.

a lienus, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigie, which, as our historian observes, had never been practifed before . Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign, we may reckon the loss of all the conquests of Trajan, that is, of the whole province of Dacia, seized by the Goths, and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the Franks in Spain. Victor is of opinion, Spain planthat they entered that province on the side of Gaul P; but Adrianus Valesius proves, dered by the from the panegyric of Nazarius on Constantine, that they conveyed themselves thither Franks. by sea 9. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered Spain, ravaged the country far and wide, and took by storm, plundered, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of Tarraco, which, for the space of a hundred and fifty years, b bore the marks of what it suffered at this time. Some of the Franks from Spain croffed over into Africa'; but what was the iffue of that rash undertaking, we are no-where told.

THE following year, Gallienus being consul the seventh time, with Sabinillus, the brave Odenatus, entering the Persian territories, put all there to fire and sword, over-Odenatus came Sapor in several battles, besieged a second time, and, according to Syncellus, gains great made himself master of Ctesiphon. But in the mean time the Goths entering Asia advantages over the Perby the Euxine sea, over-ran Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Troas, Cappadocia, and Gala-sians. tia, laying waste the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. The next year, Paternus and Arcec filaus being consuls, Odenatus, leaving Ctesiphon, hastened back to the relief of Asia; but the Goths, not thinking it adviseable to wait his arrival, reimbarqued at Heraclea in Pontus, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them however were drowned, being overtaken in the Euxine sea by the Roman sleet. All authors agree, that Odenatus was killed about this time, but differ both as to the place and manner He is murof his death. According to Syncellus, he was killed at Heraclean; according to dered. Zosimus, at Emesa w. Trebellius Pollio writes, that he was murdered by one Mæonius, his cousin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but soon after put to death. Syncellus ascribes his death to another Odenatus, who was himself murdered by the guards . Some writers suppose Zenobia herself to have assisted the conspirators underd hand, being provoked against her husband for preferring his eldest son Herod, by a former wife, to the children he had by her v. It is certain, that Herod was killed with his father, who, according to some writers, had taken him for his partner.

Such was the end of Odenatus, deservedly ranked by historians among the greatest princes that ever reigned in the east. God, says Trebellius Pollio, was angry with the Romans, since he took Valerian from them, and did not long preserve Odenatus 2. He had begun, as appears from some medals a, the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three fons by Zenobia, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vabalath, or, as he is styled on some medals, Hermias Vhaballat b. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, Zenobia governed in their name with the title of queen of the His wife Zenoe east, arrayed them with purple robes, and other enfigns of the imperial dignity; and bia governs in in that attire, presented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the the name of the presented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the the name of the presented them. affemblies of the people c. It is uncertain whether they were put to death by Aurelian, or died before d. From their medals it appears, that Herennianus reigned at least two years, Timolaus three, and Vhaballat seven . Zenobia did not, it seems, tread in the footsteps of her busband, and keep up, as he had done, a good understanding with Galienus. For we find, that Heraclianus, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of Odenatus, had fent into the east to make war upon the Perfians, was this very year defeated by Zenobia, and obliged to return to Rome. Towards the end of the year, one L. Ælianus assumed the title of emperor at Mentz; f but was foon overcome by Posthumius, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his foldiers, who thereupon mutinied, and, trans-

ported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young Posthumius, his son. Posthumius Trebellius Pollio ascribes his death to Lollianus, who had revolted from him and mardered in caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Lollianus, styled on the ancient coins Gaul, and Lollianus Spurius Servilius Lollianus, was meanly born, but had raised himself in the army declared emis-

O Idem, c. 28. p. 198. P Aur. Vict. in Gall.

1. vii. p. 223. Hier. chron. Eutrop. Vict.

SYNCELL p. 382. W Zos. p. 651. Trig. tyr. c. 14, 16. SYNCELL. p. 382. Y Trig. tyrann. c. 16. p. 193. Idem, c. 14. p. 192. Goltz. p. 115. Idem, p. 116. Birag. p. 386.

Trig. tyrann. c. 26. p. 192. Idem ibid. Goltz. p. 116. Idem, p. 117.

Victorinus and his fon murdered.

ed emperor, raised to the empire in his F00773.

by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of Gaul which bordered on the a Rhine, while Victoriaus, whom Postbumius had taken for his partner, held the rest. But he did not long enjoy the fovereignty, being murdered on account of his feverity by his own foldiers, flirred up by Victorinus, who, upon his death, became fole mafter of all Gaul, but was foon after mortally wounded at Cologn, by one whose wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his fon L. Aurelius Victorinus his fucceffor, tho' then an infant. But the Gauls, not able to brook the government Marius declar- of a child, murdered him, and fit up in his room one M. Aurelius Marius, originally an armourer, but a man of great valour, and extraordinary strength. He was and murdered; killed the third day of his reign by a foldier, who had formerly worked under him. The affaffin ran him through with his fword, telling him, that it was of his own b making 8. Upon his death, the troops in Gaul proclaimed P. Pivefus or Petuvius Tetricus emperor. He was a Roman senator, had been conful, and was at this time governor of Aquitaine. He was acknowledged in Spain and Britain, as well as in Gaul, and held those provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of Aurelian's reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince h, as we shall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of Cæsar upon his son C. Pacuvius Pivejus Tetricus, who was then but an infant. All these usurpers in Gaul, viz. Posthumius, Lodianus, Victorinus, Marius, and Tetricus, were fet up by Victorina, or Victoria, the mother of Victorinus, who had a great interest in Gaul, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to Gallienus. She was honoured, probably by her son Victo- c rinus, with the titles of Augusta, and The mother of the armies. As she was a woman of masculine courage, and possessed of immense wealth, which she liberally distributed among the foldiers, she gave the empire of Gaul to whom she pleased, and bore under all the usurpers, who were but her creatures, an absolute sway. She died during the usurpation of Tetricus; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for fome writers feem to infinuate, that she was privately dispatched by his orders '. THE same year the Scythians, that is the Goths, ravaged anew the provinces of

The irruptions of the Goths. And the Heruli.

Alia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, and thence carried back with them an immense booty; while the Heruli, passing from the Palus Maotis into the Euxine sea d with five hundred veffels, landed at Byzantium, and Chrysopolis, now Scutari, under the conduct of one Naulobat. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by Venerianus, who was himfelf killed in the engagement. Notwithstanding their defeat, instead of returning to their own country, they crossed the Bosporus; and fteering their course towards Cyzicus, surprised and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of Afia, and the islands of Lemnos and Scyros in the Architelago. Then they failed towards Greece; and landing there, befreged and burnt Albens, Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, and laid waste all Achaia; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great flaughter by the Athenians, under the conduct of Dexippus the historian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devastations in e Baotia, Acarnania, Efirus, and Thrace k. Gallienus, who was just then returned from Gaul, where he had been making war upon Lollianus, leaving Aureolus at Milan, hastened into Illyricum; and coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. Naulobat, their leader, was obliged to yield himfelf to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the confulfhip, or the confular ornaments 1. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, St. Jerom, Orofius, and Trebellius Pollio, fpeak of a great victory gained by Gallienus in Illyricum over the Goths, meaning no doubt the Heruli; for all the northern nations are by some writers styled Goths, by others Scythians. After this victory, Gallienus hastened back to Italy, leaving f Marcianus in Illyricum, to pursue the war with the Heruli; which he did with no less courage than success, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the rest to quit their booty, and abandon the Roman dominions. The revolt of Aureolus was what obliged Gallienus to return in great haste to Italy. For Aureolus, not fatisfied with the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of Gallienus's absence to march with all the troops under his command towards Rome, with a defign to depose Gallienus, and cause himself to be proclaimed sole emperor; for

Wo are deteated by Gallienas.

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g Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187. h Idem ibid. c. 23. p. 196. l Idem, c. 30. p. 184. Syncell. p. 382. Zos. p. 651. l Gill. vit. p. 181. Syncell. ibid. 1 Idem, c. 30. p. 200. k Gall. vit. p. 184. SYNCELL. p. 382. Zoc. p. 651. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid. m Claud. vit.

a some writers tell us, that Gallienus had already taken him for his partner in the em- War between pire; while others style him only the emperor's general. Gallienus, hearing of his Aureolus and Gallienus. march, and suspecting his design, lest Illyricum, and reaching Italy in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to shelter himfelf within the walls of Milan; which city Gallienus immediately invested. This happened in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of Gallienus's reign, when Paternus was conful the second time with Marinianus. All authors agree, that Gallienus was killed during this siege, but differ both as to the manner and authors Gallienus murof his death. The most probable opinion is, that Marcianus, who was returned dered. from Illyricum, Heraclianus, and Cecrops, a native of Mauritania, and commander of b the Dalmatian cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and alayming the camp in the dead of the night, as if Aureolus were fallying out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his fon Gallienus, and his two brothers, Valerian and Egnatius. The foldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and suspecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but Marcianus distributing large sums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man, (for Gallienus always carried immense treasures with him) the mutiny was appeased, and the whole army declared Gallienus a tyrant, and took the usual oaths to Claudius, whom the conspirators proposed to them as the best qualified man in the whole empire to sustain the name and dignity of a Roman emperor . Such was the end of Gallienus, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, seven before, and eight after the captivity of his father Valerian. The senate declared him a public enemy, ordered most of his friends, ministers and And most of relations to be thrown down headlong from the Tarpeian rock, and caused his name his ministers to be erazed out of all public inscriptions. He was one of the most wicked princes condemned by mentioned in history, and is said to have equalled Nero in cruelty, and Heliogabalus the senate. in lewdness. He passed his whole time in the company of the most infamous prostitutes in Rome, and laying aside all care and thought of the public, suffered the Roman dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many usurpers who started up in his time, shewing no more concern for & the loss of a province, to use the expression of Trebellius Pollio, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly against the soldiers, of whom he is said to have sometimes ordered three or sour thousand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all senators from military employments, and would not even suffer any of that illustrious body to appear in the camp, or among the foldiers. Notwithstanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himfelf well versed in all the branches of polite literature, especially in oratory and poetry. His historian tells us, that on occasion of the marriage of his brother's fon, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled those that were written at the same time, after many days study, by the best Greek and Latin poets then in Rome P. After his death, Claue dius caused him, though universally abhorred both by the senate and people, to be Gallienus gedeified with the usual ceremonies. His body was in all likelihood conveyed by Clau-nerally apprordius's orders to Rome; for Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of his tomb on the Appian way, about nine miles from the city 4. Of the few writers who flourished under him,

n Gall, vit. p. 181. o Idem ibid.

we shall speak in our note (Y).

P Idem, p. 180.

9 Ammian. p. 472.

(Y) Palfurius Sura wrote the hiltory of the reign of Gallienus (65); and this is an we amount of Galeftinus, and Maonius Aflyanax, quoted by fome all flourished under Gallienus; for of the transactions of his reign they speak as of things happening in their time (66). Vossus ranks them among the Lasin historians (67). Suidas mentions one Ephorius of Cama, who wrote the history of Galenus, or rather, as others read, Gallienus, in twenty-seven books (68). Vosfius places him among the Greek historians, and takes him to have been a native of Cuma in Afia (69). He wrote other histories; but none of them have reached us (70). Trebellins Pollio quotes a

passage out of one Julius Aterianus, much to the credit and reputation of Victorinus, who usurped the empire in Gaul (71). The same writer quotes another passage out of one Gallus Antipater, who wrote the history of Aureolus, and probably of the other tyrants: but he feems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him a flave to bonours, and the diffrace of historians, though the passage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deserve such a severe cen-sure (72). Under Gallients flourished likewise Lufure (72). Under Gallients flourished likewise Lu-percus of Beryins, a celebrated grammarian, who wrote several grammatical pieces, and was in many things preferred to Herodian (73).

(65) Gall. vis. p. 183. (66) Valer. vis. p. 175. Trigins. syrann. c. 11. p. 190. hift. Lat. p. 182. (68) Suid. p. 1111. (69) Voss. hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 16. p. 240. l. i. c. 7. p. 37. (71) Trigins. syrann. c. 5. p. 187. (72) Claud. vis. p. 203. (Voss. bist. Grac. l. ii. c. 16. p. 240. Voss. Voss. Voss. Voss. No. 23. Bbb (67) Voff. (73) Suid. p. 58. A٩ claimed empe-

His extraction and preferments.

As foon as the tumult occasioned by the death of Gallienus was appealed, the a Claudius pro- foldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed Claudius emperor. The news of what had happened at Milan reaching Rome on the twenty-fourth of March, the senate immediately affembled; and the letter which Claudius wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimously confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed Claudius emperor, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, That they had always wished to have Claudius, or such a person as Claudius, for emperor. He was a native of Illyricum, born, according to some, in Dardania, according to others, in Dalmatia. Of his father and ancestors, Trebellius Pollio owns, that he knows but very little, though, faster his accession to the empire, some slattering genealogists pretended to derive his pedigree b from Dardanus and the Trojans s. On most medals he is styled M. Aurelius Claudius . He had no children, but two brothers, Quintillus, who succeeded him, and Crispus, the father of Claudia, who married Eutropius, and had by him Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. The name of Constantine was, it seems, peculiar to the family of Claudius; for one of his fifters was called Constantina, a name hitherto never mentioned in history. The present emperor is by all writers, even by Zosimus, an avowed enemy to Constantine, cried up as one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He was highly esteemed by the emperor Valerian, who first gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the request of the senate, appointed him general of all the troops in *Illyricum*, which comprehended *Thrace*, c Masia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. The same emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. Gallienus stood in great awe of him; and being informed, that Claudius disapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his power to attach him to his interest, sent him rich presents, and wrote to one Venustus, his particular friend, charging him by all means to gain Claudius, and remove from him all jealousies and suspicions a. In his letter he flyled Claudius his friend and kinsman. Claudius attended him in his wars against Postbumius in Gaul, and the Heruli in Illyricum, and was fent by him, after the revolt of Aureolus, to defend the city of Ticinum or Pavia. But in the mean time Gallienus being killed, he was, though, according to some writers, not privy to the conspi-racy, proclaimed emperor w. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he attacked Aureolus, encamped at a small distance from Milan, utterly descated the troops under his command, and took the usurper himself prisoner. He designed to grant him his life; but the foldiers killed him without his orders. The emperor raised a monument to his memory, caused his body to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the Adda, at the place where he had been killed; which, from his name, he called Pons Aureoli, The bridge of Aureolus; whence the present village of Pontirolo on the Adda, between Milan and Bergamo, in all likelihood, took its name x. After the death of Aureolus, the troops that had served under him acknowledged Claudius, who, without loss of time, led them and the rest of his & army against the Germans, who had broken into Italy, and were advanced as far as the lake Benacus, now Lago di Garda, near Verona. There the emperor deseated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged those who outlived the general flaughter to fave themselves by a precipitous flight into their own country, and returning to Rome, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, passed the remaining part of the year in settling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and justice, redressing all grievances, and suppresfing the many abuses and disorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

The Germans defeated by Claudius.

Aureolus de-

feated and

killed.

He marches against the Goths, and other northern mations.

In the beginning of the following year he entered upon his second consulship, having Paternus for his collegue, and foon after fet out from Rome, to make head f against the Goths and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, besides women, servants and children, had invaded the Roman dominions, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages, laying waste whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and sword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through Upper Masia. As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the fenate: "I am, conscript fathers, in fight of the

r Claud. vit. p. 203. \* GOLTZ. p. 117. BIRAG. p. 402. Claud. vit. w ldem, p. 203. p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>quot; enemy,

a " enemy, and ready to engage them: they are three hundred and twenty thousand " ftrong. If I overcome them, you will not, I hope, be ungrateful. If I should of not be attended with success, you will remember, that I fight after the reign of Gallienus. The whole empire is quite spent and exhausted, partly by him, and partly by the many tyrants, who, during his reign, usurped the sovereignty, and laid waste our provinces. We want even shields, swords, and spears. The provinces of Gaul and Spain, the main strength of the empire, are in the hands of 66 Tetricus. Our archers, to our great shame, are with held from us by Zenobia. Whatever therefore we perform successfully in our present circumstances, must be accounted great." But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, Claudius advanced And gains a b boldly against the barbarians, and, after a long and obstinate dispute, gained one vidtory over of the greatest victories mentioned in history; for no fewer than three hundred thou-them. fand of the enemy were killed or taken prisoners. The emperor himself gave the following account of this memorable victory, in a letter, which he wrote after the battle to Junius Brocchus, governor of Illyricum: " We have utterly defeated an " army of three hundred and twenty thouland Goths, and destroyed their fleet, " consisting of two thousand sail. The fields and shores are covered with swords, 66 shields, and dead bodies. We have taken such numbers of captives, that, not to mention the men, two or three women will fall to the share of each soldier in our victorious army ... Among the prisoners were many princes, and persons c of great distinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground, and every city could shew you, says Pollio, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible Claudius y. For this victory the emperor took the surname of Gothicus 2. While Claudius was thus employed against the barbarians, Zenobia, having overcome Probus, who com- Zenobia redni manded some troops in Egypt, reduced that province, and, after a long siege, took ces Egypt. and utterly destroyed Bruchium, the citadel of Alexandria. Probus, finding he could not by any other means escape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, dispatched himself with his own sword. The following year, when Antiochianus and Orphitus were consuls, the emperor, having nothing to sear from the barbarians, d resolved to march against Zenobia, who held all the provinces in the east; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himself was in the end seized, and carried off by The death of the raging distemper at Sirmium in Pannonia, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after Claudius. he had reigned, according to the most probable opinion, two years and one month b. In him centred, says Trebellius Pollio, the moderation of Augustus, the valour of Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him . He may be truly faid to have re-established, during his short, but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have restored it to its former lustre.

The senate not only bestowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up Extraordinary in the place where they affembled, a shield of gold, on which was engraved his honours con image. This shield was still to be seen in the reign of Constantine the Great. The ferred on him people erected to him at their own expence two statues, one of gold ten foot high, and people of which they placed by that of Jupiter in the capitol, and another of filver in the Rome. forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and representing the emperor in his triumphal robes d. Claudius, and not Gallienus, as Spanhemius pretends e, was the last emperor, who assumed on his medals the titles of bigb pontiff and tribune of the people f. Upon the death of Claudius, the senate and people of Rome proclaimed his brother His brother Quintillus emperor, who was then at Aquileia, in which city he was murdered by his Quintillus profoldiers, after a short reign of seventeen days, for attempting to restore with too claimed emperor; but dies f much severity the discipline of the primitive times. Thus Trebellius Pollio 8. But soon after. Zosimus, and Zonaras, tell us, that Quintillus, hearing Aurelian had been acknowledged emperor by the army in Pannonia, and finding his own troops ready to revolt; by the advice of his friends, caused his veins to be opened, and by that means put an end to his life and reign. Most writers speak of him as one in every respect equal to his brother. Upon his death, the senate readily confirmed the election of Aurelian raised Aurelian, and honoured him with the title of Augustus. He was, according to most to the empire.

His extraction writers, a native of Sirmium in Pannonia, of a mean descent, but universally admired a and preferments.

Concludes a

Goths.

nations;

and put the emperor to

flight:

beace with the

He defeats se-

on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. He had distinguished himfelf in a very eminent manner under the emperors Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is faid to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in feveral others nine hundred and fifty; whence fongs were made upon his exploits, and fung publicly by the youth on festival days. As there were two Aurelians at the fame time in the army, and both tribunes, the foldiers used to distinguish the present Aurelian with the surname of Manu ad ferrum, that is, Hand to the fourd; fo ready was he on all occasions to draw his fword, and encounter the enemy k. He was a most strict observer of the military discipline, and used to punish with the utmost severity the least neglect of duty, b and the least injury offered by his soldiers to any of the inhabitants of the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which post he had raised himself from the low station of a common foldier. From Sirmium, where he was faluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of Claudius, he hastened to Rome, and was received there, both by the senate and people, with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but, before he could fettle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haste to Pannonia, the Goths, notwithstanding their late most dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. Aurelian engaged them, and the battle lasted without any confiderable advantage on either fide, till night, when the enemy c repassed the Danube, and the next day sent embassadors to sue for peace; which Aurelian readily granted them, being informed, that the Alemanni, the Juthonga, whose country bordered upon Rhatia, and the Marcomanni, threatened to invade Italy itself, and were committing dreadful ravages and devastations in several parts. Against them therefore Aurelian led the flower of his army, and meeting them in veral German Vindelicia, which comprehended all the present Bavaria, and great part of Suevia, he put them to flight, and cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to pass the Danube. Hereupon they fent embassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their ancient alliance with Rome, provided they were allowed to return unmolested into their own country; for Aurelian had cut off their retreat, and detached part of d his army to guard the banks of the Danube. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmost despair. After Who neverthe. various consultations and debates among themselves, they resolved at length to enter less enter Italy, Italy, fince they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded, (for Aurelian apprehended no attempt of that nature) they advanced, before the emperor came up with them, as far as Placentia. There Aurelian attacked them; but, after having lost most of his troops, was put to slight, and utterly deseated. The barbarians, pussed up with so signal a victory, pursued their march, not doubting but they should be able to take Rome itself, as the Gauls had formerly done. But in the mean time Aurelian, having rallied his dispersed troops, and rein- ¢ forced them with the legions quartered in Illyricum, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fanum Fortuna, now Fano, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as escaped from this first battle, were slain in two others, But are in the one of which was fought near Placentia, and the other in the plains of Ticinum. Thus end all cut off. was the whole multitude cut off to a man m. To this day is to be feen at Pesaro, a city about five miles from Fano, a monument erected by the inhabitants in memory of the victory gained there by Aurelian over the Germans . While the emperor was preparing to return to Rome, news was brought him, that the Vandals had passed the Danube, under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes. This obliged him to haften to the defence of the threatened provinces. The Vandals f retired upon his approach; the emperor however pursued and overtook them before they reached the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to fue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hostages the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men in his army, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the Danube . Aurelian, having thus happily ended the wars with the Goths, Germans, and Vandals,

The Vandals defeated.

k Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211. 1 Idem, p. 2
h GRUTER, p. 276. DEXIPP. legat. p. 12. 1 Idem, p. 211. Idem, p. 215, 216. Dexipp. legat. p. 7-11.

a returned to Rome, and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first consulship, having for his collegue Numerius Ceionius Virius Bassus. As several disturbances had happened in Rome during his absence, he punished the authors of them with great feverity, and fuch too as were accused of having blamed his conduct in the German war. Trebellius Pollio tells us, that tho' he was in other respects an excellent prince, he often suffered his passion to get the better of his reason, and punished with excessive rigour faults, which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put several senators to death, upon the deposition of a single witness; Aurelian and often gave ear to the accusations of persons, who deserved no credit; which estranges the much lessened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and estranged minds of the from him the minds both of the senate and people P. The emperor Julian charges people with his him with having put many persons to death unjustly q; and Ammianus Marcellinus severity. writes, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war, and pay his troops r. This year, with the confent and approbation of the fenate, he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewise extended; so that they were near fifty miles in compass. great work was not accomplished till the latter end of the reign of Probust.

THE following year, when Quietus and Voldumianus were consuls, Aurelian, hav-

ing fettled affairs in Pannonia, Italy, and at Rome, left the city anew, and fet out for He marches the east, to make war upon the celebrated Zenobia, who, to the great difference of against Zenobia. c the empire, had held for several years most of the eastern provinces. This queen, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, is styled on several medals Septimia Zenobia 1; whence some writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor Septimius Severus. She pretended to derive her pedigree from Her extraction, the Cleopatra's and Ptolemies of Egypt, and her family was reckoned one of the most conduct, and conspicuous in the east. She was well versed in all the branches of polite literature, administration. understood thoroughly the Egyptian, Greek and Latin languages, and, in the knowledge of history, excelled most men of her time. She is even said to have compiled an abridgment of the Egyptian and Oriental historians, which was in great request

among the learned w. St. Athanasius writes, that she professed the fewish religion x, d and is therein followed by Abulfarajius y. She married the celebrated Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, and afterwards partner in the empire with Gallienus. She had great share in the many signal victories gained by her husband over the Persians, and is faid to have been no less courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, she arrayed her three fons, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vbabalat, in purple, caused them to be acknowledged by all the eastern provinces as joint emperors of Rome, and obliged them to conform to the Roman customs, and use not the Greek, which was spoken by other eastern princes, but the Latin tongue. As they were under age, she governed in their name, with the title of queen of the east, for the space of five, or, as others will have it, six years, discharging each duty of an excellent prince, and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She shewed great wisdom in her counsels, was steady in her resolutions, kind and generous to persons of merit, but inexorable when severity was judged necessary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the Persian monarchs, and causing all those who approached her to fall prostrate before her, after the manner of the Persian court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with a helmet, and, arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them feveral miles on foot, using a horse, and sometimes a chariot, when the marches f were long, but seldom a litter. In imitation of the Roman emperors, she gave magnificent entertainments, not fcrupling on these occasions to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the Perfian and Armenian embaffadors, though otherwise very fober and temperate z. In the reign of Gallienus, she deseated Heraclianus, as Her exploses. we have related above, and, by his overthrow, remained in peaceable possession of all Syria and Mesopotamia, to which she added Egypt, while Claudius was taken up with the Gothic war. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, in the reign of Aurelian, she seized on great part of Asia, and attempted to reduce Bithynia 2. Aurelian, desirous

\* AMMIAN. 1. XXX. p. 431. P Aurel. vit. p. 116. epit. Aurel. vit. p. 216. Zos. p. 219. ATHAN. folit. p. 857. p. 655. Zos. p. 655. Vol. VI. No 3.

Aurelian defeats the Goths, and kills one of their kings.

Takes Tyana ia Cappadocia.

ed it to be put to death.

Zenobia's army defeated.

Zenobia defeated a second time.

Palmyra besieged.

to put an end to her usurpation, ordered all his forces to affemble in Illyricum, and a fetting out from Rome early in the spring of this year 272, bent his march through Thrace, where he engaged and put to flight several barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into that province. He even passed the Danube, and in an engagement with Caunabaud, a Gothic prince, flew him and five thousand of his men 2. Having thus defeated the Goths, he pursued his march to Byzantium, and croffing the Bosporus, entered Bithynia, which was held by Zenobia, according to Vopiscus, but immediately submitted. From Bithynia he advanced into Cappadocia, where the inhabitants of Tyana shut their gates against him; which so incensed Aurelian, that he swore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His soldiers attacked it with great fury; but were in their repeated affaults repulsed with confiderable loss b by the inhabitants, till one of them, by name Heraclammon, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy. We are told by Vopiscus, that the ghost of the famous Apollonius Tyaneus, appearing to Aurelian, warned him not to destroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved by this apparition, would not fuffer his foldiers to offer the least injury to the inhabitants, answering them, when they put him in mind of his vow not to leave a dog alive in the place, that they might kill, if they pleased, all the dogs, provided they spared the inhabitants. This answer was received with great applause by the soldiers themselves, who were no less pleased, fays Vopiscus, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them suffers the per- all the riches of that opulent city b. Heraclammon, who betrayed the place, was the c for who beiray- only person whom the emperor suffered to be put to death. Concerning him he wrote the following letter to Mallius Chilo, who was, it seems, the emperor's particular friend: "I have taken Tyana, and suffered the person, by whose favour, and, as " it were, good offices, I took it, to be cut in pieces by my foldiers. I have spared " the rest; but could not endure such a traitor. Would he ever have been faithful " to me, who betrayed his own country? He was rich, I own it; but his estate I " have given to his children, that no one might accuse me, as if I had put him to "death for the sake of his wealth". From Tyana Aurelian led his army strait to Antioch, defeated the troops of Zenobia in the neighbourhood of that city, and entered, as it were, in triumph the metropolis of Syria. This victory however cost him dear; d for the Palmyrenians (so the troops of Zenobia are styled by historians) fought with incredible bravery, and the Romans owed the victory rather to art than valour; for observing the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themselves to flight; and facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite spent with the long pursuit, put them easily in disorder, and gained a complete victory d. From Antioch Aurelian purfued his march to Emefa, whither Zenobia had retired with her army, confifting of seventy thousand men. Under her commanded one Zabas, or Zabdas, a man of great courage and experience, who had fignalized himself in the Persian wars in the time of Odenatus. After feveral skirmishes with various success, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the Roman horse were put to slight at the first e onset; but their infantry attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked and exposed by the departure of their cavalry, who were pursuing the Romans, obliged them, after a long and obstinate dispute, to give ground, and shelter themselves behind the walls of Emesa; which place however they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with Zenobia to Palmyra, whither Aurelian purfued them close, though strangely harassed in his march by the Syrian robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men. He immediately invested the place, hoping to carry it by repeated affaults; but all his efforts proving unfuccessful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The belieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulsed the aggressors with showers of f arrows, darts and stones, but rallied them from the walls, without sparing the emperor himself. Aurelian owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and resolute enemy; and mentioning Zenobia, says, that she did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldness of a man in despair. "It is incredible, adds he, what thick showers of arrows, darts and stones she discharges "upon us; she harasses us night and day with fire from her engines, &c. However, "I hope the gods, who have never yet failed to fecond our endeavours, will not on "this occasion abandon the cause of the Roman people." The emperor, at length quite

\* Aur. vit. p. 216.

b Idem, p. 217.

a ldem, ibid.

d Zos. p. 655.

tired

a tired out with the toils and fatigues of fo long a fiege, wrote a letter to Zenobia, exhorting her to furrender, and promising her her life. To this letter Zenobia returned the following answer: "No man ever before you made such a demand. It is not fiver to Aure-" by letters, but valour, that you must induce me to submit. You cannot but know, lian, requiring "that Cleopatra chose rather to die, than live under Augustus, notwithstanding the her sosumie." mighty promises he made her. I expect daily the Persians, Saracens, and Ar-"menians, who are all hastening to my relief; and what will then become of you and your army, whom the robbers of Syria have put to slight? You will then lay " afide that pride and presumption with which you command me to surrender, as if you were the conqueror of the universe"." Aurelian, piqued with this answer, b immediately ordered a general affault; but was repulsed with great loss, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated, a few days after, the Persians, who came to the relief of the place; and what by menaces, what by mighty promises, prevailed upon the Armenians and Saracens to join him against the queen, whom they were come to affift. Zenobia, finding herself disappointed as to the succours, which the had long expected, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, resolved to withdraw privately from the city into Persia, and there solicit in person more powerful supplies. Accordingly she set out in the dead of the night with a small retinue on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treasures. But Aurelian, who was very watchful, having had timely notice of her slight, detached a party of horse after the fugitive queen; who coming up with her as she was ready to cross the Euphrates in a boat, seized her, and carried her back to Aure-Zenobiaraken, lian, who from that moment began to look upon himself as the conqueror and sole Aurelian. lord of the east. When she was brought into his presence, he asked her, What had prompted her to take up arms against, and insult over, the emperors of Rome? To this question the queen replied, with no less intrepidity than address, That she looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for Gallienus, Aureolus, and fuch as resembled them, she had never thought them worthy of that

terms what soever; but others sued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promising The city of Palto grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who spared the inha- myrajubmits. bitants, but stripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one Sandarion governor of the place, with five hundred archers and other troops under his command 8. After this, the emperor returned to Emesa, carrying with him the captive queen, whose death the foldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to spill the blood of a woman, the more because she had with great care desended the eaftern provinces against the Persians, and other neighbouring nations, ready to feize them during the domestic disturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire h. The emperor likewise spared Vhaballat, the queen's youngest son i. As for the other two, Herennianus and Timolaus, Pollio tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death k; and elsewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother 1. All writers agree, that Aurelian caused many persons of distinction to be executed at Emesa for siding with Zenobia, and ordered others to be thrown over-board when he croffed over from Chalcedon to Thrace. Among the former was the celebrated philosopher Longinus, of whom The fame of this victory foon reached the most distant nations, and they all strove, with solemn embassies, and rich presents, to gain the friendship of the con- All the eastern queror of Zenobia. Among these are mentioned the Blemyes, the Auxumites, the inha- and southern f bitants of Arabia Felix, the Bastrians, Iberians, Albanians, Saracens, Armenians, Ethio-nations court pians, Indians, Persians, and even the Seres or Chinese. Hormisdas, or, as Eutychius Aurelian.

THE city of Palmyra still held out, and some were against submitting upon any

calls him, Hormoz al Horri, who had succeeded his father Sapor in the kingdom of Persia, sent to the emperor, amongst other presents, a chariot, covered all over with gold, filver, and precious stones of an inestimable value, and a scarlet mantle of such a lively colour, that the Romans had never seen any but what came infinitely short of it. Aurelian, and after him Probus and Dioclesian, taken with its extraordinary brightness and beauty, sent, but to no effect, persons into the east, on purpose to discover the art of dying to such an extraordinary perfection m. Aurelian, having

<sup>\*</sup> Aur. vit. p. 218. f Ti 1 Zos. p. 661. Birag. p. 385. 8 Aur. vit. p. 219. h Idem 1dia. 2 168. l Idem, c. 23. p. 196. F Trigint. tyran. c. 29, p. 199. 8 Aur 385. k Trig. tyran. c. 26. p. 198. m Aur. vit. p. 218.

Palmyra revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitfword.

The revolt of Firmus.

umph.

thus recovered and fettled in peace the eastern provinces, returned by Chalcedon and a Byzantium into Europe, carrying with him his illustrious captive. He defeated, on his march through Thrace, the Carpi, who had broken into that province; but at the same time he was informed, that the inhabitants of Palmyra had revolted, put the Roman governor and garifon to the sword, and proclaimed a kinsman of Zenobia, named Achilleus, or, as Zosimus calls him, Antiochus, their sovereign. Upon this ants put to the intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, hastened back into Syria, and arriving at Palmyra before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without opposition, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age or condition 1. He had not yet quitted the east, when news was brought him, that Egypt had revolted, and fet up for emperor one Firmus, or rather Firmius, b as he is styled on such of his medals as have reached our times o. He was a native of Seleucia in Syria; but possessed an immense estate in Egypt, and carried on an advantageous trade with the Saracens, the Blemyes, a people of Ethiopia, and the inhabitants of India; for he used to brag, that with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. Vopiscus relates wonderful things of his strength and appetite. He was greatly attached to Zenobia, and, to keep up her party and interest, assumed the title of Augustus, made himself master of Egypt, and stopped the corn which it used to send yearly to Rome. Aurelian marched against him with that expedition which was peculiar to him, and being attended with his usual success, overcame the usurper, stormed a strong-hold to which he sled, and having taken c him prisoner, caused him to be publicly executed P. Having thus suppressed all troubles in the east, he returned the second time to Europe, with a design to recover and reunite to the empire the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which were still held by Tetricus. This he easily compassed, Tetricus himself, no longer able to bear the continual diforders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into Gaul 9. However a battle was fought near Chalon on the Marne; during which, Tetricus voluntarily yielding to Aurelian, his troops, destitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was Gaul, after it had been held for the space of thirteen years by different tyrants, united anew to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when Tacitus, afterwards emperor, and Placidianus, were consuls, Aurelian returned to Rome, where d he was received with the most magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and stately chariots: the first, which had belonged to Odenatus, was intirely covered with filver, gold and jewels; another, equally rich and magnificent, was a present to Aurelian from the king of Persia; the third was Zenobia's own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four stags, had been taken by Aurelian from a Gothic prince. In the latter the emperor himself made his entry. These chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beafts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, viz. Goths, Alans, Roxolans, Sarmatians, Franks, Suevians, Vandals, Alemans, & Blemyes, Auxumites, Arabians, Eudamonians, Indians, Bastrians, Iberians, Saracens, Armenians, Persians, such of the Palmyrenians as had outlived the late slaughter, fome Egyptians taken in the late rebellion of Firmius, and ten Gothic women, whom Aurelian had taken fighting in the habit of men. These were followed by Tetricus in a scarlet robe, and his son, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched Zenobia, whose uncommon beauty, noble stature, and majestic mien, attracted the eyes of the spectators, and seemed to eclipse the grandeur and lustre of the emperor himself. She was bound with chains of gold, which other persons bore up, apparelled with the richest tissues and robes, and so loaded with pearls and precious stones, that she was often obliged to halt, being ready to sink funder so great a burden. Zenobia was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the senate in a body, the people of Rome with their various standards, and the victorious legions, horse and foot, in rich and splendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the fymbol of victory, in their hands. The senate however, in the midst of the public rejoicings, betrayed no small concern to tee Tetricus, one of their own body, who had even been conful, led in triumph. In the capitol Aurelian facrificed to Jupiter the four stags that had drawn his chariot, in

OGOLTZ. P. 119. SPANH. l. vii. p. 599. \* Aur. vit. p. 220. Zos. p.

a compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol, he went to the palace, attended by the senate, and such crouds of people, that the day was far spent before he could reach it. The next and several following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, shews of gladiators, combats of wild beafts, fea-fights in the naumachia, and all forts of entertainments r. He treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness. To Zenobia he gave lands His humanity and possessions in the neighbourhood of Tibur, now Tivoli, sufficient to maintain her towards Zenoaccording to her rank. On that estate she lived, says Trebellius Pollio, like a Ro-bia, and her man matron, with her children, that is, according to Zonaras, with her daughters, children; whom Aurelian took under his protection, and married to persons of the first quality b in Rome. The same writer adds, that Aurelian himself married one of them; which may perhaps be as true as what Syncellus had written before him, viz. that the emperor gave Zenobia herself in marriage to an illustrious senator'. Be that as it will, it is certain, that her descendants lived still at Rome in great splendor about the latter end of the fourth century ". Baronius takes the holy bishop of Florence, Zenobius, who was contemporary with St. Ambrose, to have been of her family w. As for her fon Vaballat, he retired into Armenia, where Aurelian gave him, it feems, a small principality; for he coined money, and is styled on some of his coins, which are still to be seen, Vaballat of Armenia, and on others, Vaballat king of the Verimi, probably an obscure people of Armenia. The emperor shewed no less kindness to c Tetricus, than to Zenobia. To make some amends for the injury he had done him, And towards by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, Tetricus, and ftyling him his collegue, his fellow-foldier, and even honouring him fometimes with his fon. the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of Lucania, telling him pleafantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps v. He treated with the fame humanity and good-nature young Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph with his father, fuffering him to continue in the senate, and leaving his estate untouched, which he transmitted to his posterity,

who lived at Rome, under the succeeding princes, in great splendor, esteemed and revered by persons of all ranks. In the house of the Tetrici, on mount Calius, was d still to be seen, in the time of Constantine the Great, a most beautiful piece, reprefenting in mosaic work the father and son delivering up a sceptre and crown to Aurelian, and Aurelian restoring to them the senatorial robes, and investing them in

their former dignity 2. THE next consuls were, Aurelian the second time, and C. Julius Capitolinus. This year the emperor continued at Rome; and being now diverted by no foreign or domestic wars, he applied himself wholly to the suppressing of several abuses, which had prevailed in the time of Gallienus, and which Claudius had not been able to obviate, during his short reign. He made several regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had estranged from him, in the beginning of his e reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great bias. To the bounties of several reguthe emperors his predecessors, who had established funds for distributing bread and lations made oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-flesh to be given with by Aurelian. the bread and oil; and increased the latter largess by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even designed to establish a fund for distributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his design in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geese and chickens2. When he left Rome to make war upon Zenobia, he promifed to give to each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror. f The people thought he meant crowns of gold; but when they challenged his promile, the emperor caused loaves to be made of the finest flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds, and distributed them daily among the people so long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths. He appointed, that Egypt should supply the city of Rome yearly with a certain quantity of glass, paper, linen, and feveral other things, that were either the natural growth, or manufactured in that country b. He caused wharfs to be built along the banks of the Tiber, and the

<sup>\*</sup> Trig. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198. Zon. p. 240. 

\* Synceli. p. 385.

\* Birag. p. 407. Goltz. p. 116. 

\* Eutrop.

\* Aurel. vit. p. 225. 

\* Idem, p. 224. r Aur. vit. p. 220. t SYNCELI. p. 385. w Baron, ad ann. 274. " HIER. chron. Aur. Vict. epit. 2 Trig. tyr. c. 23, 24. p. 196, 197.

He twilde a

magnificent

(mn.

temple to the

chanel of that river to be cleanfed, and dug deeper. But nothing more obliged a His generosity, persons of all ranks, than his generously remitting whatever was owing this year by private persons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of Trajan all the papers, bonds, and registers, relating to such debts. At the same time he published an act of oblivion with respect to all crimes committed against the state to that day. From that time forward he punished with the utmost severity such as accused others, without being able to make good their charge . He enacted many wholfome laws, by which he is faid to have purged Rome of all protested lewdness, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be fold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each person might keep of such slaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted most severe laws against adultery, and punished b with death one of his own domestics guilty of that crime. He would suffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domestics, freed-men, and slaves, he kept in great awe, causing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his presence for the smallest faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of transgressing the laws, to the civil magistrates d. He designed to forbid all tiffue of gold, and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a stock of gold, as of filver; and, that the former metal, if such a prohibition should take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition however was not published by him, but by his successor Tacitus, who is supposed to have suggested it to him . About this time be built and confecrated a most magnificent temple c to the fun, of which frequent mention is made in history, and embellished it with most rich and costly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious stones. It was one of the most stately and magnificent structures in Rome. The gold veffels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewise inriched the capitol, and most of the temples in the city, with presents of great value fent him by foreign princes f. He extended the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, increased their revenues, and established funds for the repairs of the temples, and the falaries of the inferior ministers. Towards the end of the year, a dangerous sedition A great sedition in Rome. was raised in Rome by the persons employed in the mint, who having, by a notorious breach of trust, coined a great quantity of false money, to avoid the punish- d ment due to their crime, joined in a body, and, under the conduct of one Felicissimus, formerly a flave, but appointed by Aurelian one of the receivers of the exchequer, raifed fuch disturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march against them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount Calius, killed feven thousand of them; but were in the end, tho' they fought with all the boldness of men in despair, overcome, and punished with the utmost severity, not to fay, cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the false coin, and gave true money in its room s. Soon after this fedition, he put several senators to death, and likewife the fon, or, as others will have it, the daughter of his own fifter, for faults not specified in history, but only faid not to have deserved such a severe punish- e ment ". Towards the close of this, or the very beginning of the following year, when Aurelian was conful the third time, with Marcellinus, some disturbances happened in Gaul, which obliged the emperor to quit Rome, and haften thither. All we know of this expedition is, that Gaul was restored to its former tranquillity, and that the emperor, marching from that province into Vindelicia, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that fide, to repass the Danube'. A modern writer k is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left Gaul, rebuilt the city of Orleans, which at least ever fince the fifth century has been called by the Latin writers Aureliani urbs, and urbs Aurelianorum: its ancient name was Genabum or Cenabum. Gregory of Tours tells us, that he likewise either built or fortified the city of Dijon, at present f the capital of Burgundy. From Vindelicia the emperor marched into Illyricum; and there finding the province of Dacia in the hands of the barbarians, who had to the barba- feized it in the reign of Gallienus, he did not think it worth his while to recover a vince of Dicia country, which he was well apprifed he could not maintain in the midst of so many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the Roman troops from the few forts

Aurelian marches into Gaul, to appease some disturbances there.

He abandons

d Idem, p. 224.

8 Aur. vit. p. 222. Zos. p. 665.

k Le Maire, antiq. e Idem ibid. & Tacit. vit. p. 230. f Aur. vit. 22. Zos. p. 665. h Aur. vit. ibid. Aup. Vicr. p. 217, 222. Zos. p. 661. 8 Aur. vit. pepit. Aur. vit. p. 221. Zos. p. 240. k Le Maire, antiq. d'Oriens, c. 3. p. 9. p. 172.

they still held beyond the Danube, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been

driven

a driven out by the barbarians, part of Masia and Dardania to settle in. Thus out of these two countries he formed a new province, called by some the Aurelian Dacia, by others New Dacia, to distinguish it from Trajan's Dacia, which lay beyond the Danube. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to Sanson, comprehended the most distant parts of Bulgaria and Servia, was Sardica, now known to us by the name of Sofia, but called by the inhabitants Triadizzam. The Goths, it feems, possessed themselves of the country, which the emperor had abandoned. From Illyricum, the emperor marched into Tbrace, with a defign to pass the winter there; and early in the spring to cross over into Asia, and lead his army against the Persians, upon what provocation, history does not inform us. But while he was wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his b other vast designs. Historians give us the following account of his unhappy end. He suspected Mnessbeus, one of his freed-men and secretaries, of some extortion, and A constitute. had threatened to punish him. Hereupon Mnost beus, probably conscious to himself formed against of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and him. inflexible temper, refolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, counterfeiting his matter's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and among the rest his own; and shewing it to those whose names he had set down, he told them, that he had found it in the emperor's closet; that they were all doomed to destruction; and that only by some desperate attempt they could avert their imc pending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to fee their fervices thus rewarded, took, without hefitation, the resolution fuggested to them by Mnessbeus; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named Canophrurium, that is, the new-caftle, half way between Byzantium and Heraclea, they fell upon the emperor fword in hand, while he was attended only by a fmall guard, and dispatched him with many wounds. Vopiscus writes, He is murderthat he fell by the hand of Mucapor, who, it feems, was a man of rank, fince he ed. is styled general; and a letter is still extant written to him by Aurelian, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous opposition he met with from Zenobia at the siege of Palmyra. The emperor must have been killed about the d latter end of January; for his death was known at Rome on the third of February of this year 275. so that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three . His death did not remain unpunished; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, foon after his death, that they had been imposed upon by Mnestbeus, threw him to the wild beafts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceased emperor in the place where he had been killed, the whole army folemnizing his obsequies with the utmost pomp and magnificence. All those who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the spot by the enraged soldiery, or afterwards executed under his successors Tacitus and Probus. His death was much lamented by the senate, who, at the request e of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largeffes, than any of his predeceffors had done. Aurelian is commonly styled the restorer of the empire, which, after the evils it had His character. fuffered by the captivity of Valerian, and indolence of Gallienus, began to revive under Claudius, and was by Aurelian restored to its former strength and lustre. He delivered Italy from the incursions of the Alemanni, rescued the east from the shameful yoke of a woman, humbled the Persians, still elated with the captivity of Valerian, re-united Gaul to the empire, and restored to Rome, Thrace and Illyricum, over-run and oppressed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his frindship courted, by the most distant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and f generofity; but as his excessive cruelty over-balanced all his other good qualities, he is by Vopiscus, and most other writers, ranked not among the good, but the useful princes. In the beginning of his reign, he seems to have countenanced the true religion P; but being afterwards feduced by wicked counfellors, he resolved utterly to extirpate the christian name, and had already taken up the pen to sign the bloody

<sup>m</sup> Aur. vit. p. 222. Lactan. perfec. c. 9. p. 8. Syncell. p. 385. <sup>n</sup> Aur. v. p. 221. Aur. Vict. epit. Zos. p. 661. <sup>p</sup> Euseb. l. vii. c. 30. p. 282, 283. n Aur. vit. p. 218. o Idem,

letters and edicts drawn up against them, when a sudden slash of lightning struck the pen out of his hand, and filled both him, and all about him, with terror and difmay. However, as the effects of fear, which stops the hand without changing

the heart, are but short-lived, he returned to his former resolution, and published a against us, says Lastantius, edicts of blood and slaughter, which served only to draw vengeance from heaven upon his own head 9; for before his edicts reached the more distant provinces, he was affassinated in the manner we have related above. Hence this is not by the ecclefiastic writers reckoned one of the ten general persecutions, tho' feveral champions of the faith fuffered martyrdom in the provinces, where his edicts were published. Of Aurelian, Victor the younger observes, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do before him. Jornandes writes, that Dioclesian was the first Roman emperor who presumed to wear that royal ornament'. But that he, and not Victor, was mistaken, appears from one of the duke of Arfchot's medals, on which Aurelian is represented with a crown b on his head refembling our ducal crowns. The fucceeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of Constantine. Of the writers, who flourished under this prince, we shall speak in our note (Z).

4 LACT. persec. c. 6. p. 6. Euseb. ibid. I JORN. reg. c. 23. p. 445. Croii ducis, tab. 63. Antwerp. ann. 1604. SPANHEM. l. viii. p. 681, 683.

Arschotana numism.

(Z) Under Aurelian flourished two celebrated philosophers, Longinus and Amelius. The former, named Cassius Longinus, and likewise Dionysius, which name is prefixed to his treatise on the sublime, is by most writers thought to have been a native of Athens (74). From Vopiscus it appears, that he could not write in the Syriac tongue (75); and consequently, that he was not by birth a Syrian, as some have afferted. His family, it feems, came originally from that country (76); for his mother Frontonides was lifter to Fronto of Emesa in Phanicia, who taught rhetoric at Athens in the reign of Severus, published many works, and dying in that city, bequeathed his estate to his nephew (77). Longinus, when he was yet very young, travelled with his father into several countries, which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philosophers of those times. In one of his works, which Porphyrius, his epitomizer, his conveyed to us, he names feveral philotophers of different fects, among whom the most famous are Plotinus, his disciple Amelius, Ammonius, a christian philosopher, and one Origenes. Longinus was a long time the disciple of the two latter (78). He protessed and taught the philosophy of Plato, and had the celebrated philosopher Porphyrius for his disciple, who tells us, that he and some other philosophers were seasted at Athens by Longinus on Plato's birth-day(79). Longinus was not only a great philosopher, but the best critic and orator of his age, and so well versed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly styled a treasure of knowledge, and a living library (80). He was a man, fays Eunapius, of an extraordinary discernment in discovering beauties and faults in the writings of others, and therein surpassed all men (81). He was charged, fays that writer, without telling us by whom, to write critical differtations on the works of the ancients, and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the same subject before him (82). He taught Zenobia the Greek tongue, espoused her cause with great warmth against Au-relian, and was supposed to have dictated the letter which that princess wrote to the emperor during the siege of Palmyra. That letter so provoked Aurelian, that, upon the reduction of the place, he caused the supposed author of it to be put to death; which he suffered with great firmness and intrepidity, comforting those who were affected with his

misfortune. This base revenge restected no small diffionour on Aurelian 83); for the loss of so great a man was looked upon as a public calamity (84). He left many works behind him very useful, says Zosimus (85), to such as desire to be instructed in the sciences, and which were admired by all the world. He must have begun to write very early, if what Porphyrius afferted be true, viz. that Origen, who died in 253, read with application his works (86). Eusebius quotes a passage out of one of his works, shewing the absurdity of the opinion of the Stoics concerning the foul (87). Porphyrius mentions a work of his upon vehemence, inscribed to Por-phyrius himself, and to one Cleodamus (88); and the preface of another upon the Supreme Being, addressed to one Marcellus, wherein he confuted the opinions of Plotinus and Amelius (89), quoting a work, which he had written against Porphyrius himself for his having preferred the opinion of Plotinus to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the same preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written to Amelius against some particular sentiments of Plotinus, and upon Plato's opinion touching justice (90). Porphyrius gives us the abstract of a letter, which Longinus wrote to him about the year 270. defiring him to fend him the works of Plotinus, and to leave Sicily, where Porphyrius then was, and come to him in Phanicia. Porphyrius adds, that if his affairs had allowed him to go thither, Longinus would have better understood the sentiments of Plotinus, and faved himself the trouble of confuting them (91). The same writer quotes three other works of Longinus, viz. on principles, or first causes, on the love of antiquity, and on men of letters (92). Suidas mentions several philological pieces published by Longinus (93); but takes no notice of his treatise on the sublime, the only intire work of Longinus which has reached our times, and fully answers the great idea which the ancients raise in us of its author. Cacilius, who flourished in the time of Augustus, wrote a treatise on the sublime; but contented himself only with shewing in what true sublimeness consisted, without prescribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief subject of Longinus's treatise, handled in a manner worthy of fo great a writer. Among the inflances he aliedges of those who have written in a style truly sublime, and suitable to the greatness of

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of Aurelian, the foldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, not able to prevail upon themselves

their subject, he speaks of Moses thus: The Jewish legislator, who was no common man, having filled his mind with sublime notions of the grand ur and power of God, expressed them at the beginning of his laws in a flyle answering the mighty subject; God said, Let there be light, and there was light; let the earth appear, and it was so (94). Longinus inscribed this work to one Posthumius Terentianus, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom some writers take to be the sime person with Terentianus Maurus, who published several works, some of which have reached our times. But of him we have spoken in the reign of Domitian (95); for he flourished, according to Vossius, under that prince.

Amelius, against whom Longinus wrote, was a philosopher of greet expenses the plant.

philosopher of great note among the Platonies (96). Suidas says he was of Apamea, but Porphyrius assures us, that he was born in Hetruria: perhaps his family came originally from Apamea in Syria, and settled in Hetruria. Cyrillus of Alexandria supposes Amelius and Gentilianus to have been two distinct perions; and quotes for that Porphyrius, who tells us in express terms, that Amelius was likewise called Gentilianus (97). He was disciple to Plotinus, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the first of Claudius, that is, from the year 246. to the beginning of 269 (98). He had studied before under Lysimachus, a stoic philosopher (99). He was at Apamea in Syria at the beginning of the year 270. when Plotinus died. He was a very laborious man, and is faid to have composed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of Plotinus in the frequent conferences that philosopher had held with him and others of the same sect (100). In the year 263, he had not yet published any thing of his own; but before the death of Plotinus, he wrote forty books against magic, and the heretics called Gnostics (1). He composed one in three days time, shewing in what chiefly the doctrine of Plo-sinus differed from that of Numenes. This piece he inscribed to Porphyrius by a letter, which is still extant (2). To him he likewise addressed some other works, to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of Plotinus. Amelius and Plotinus were, in the opinion of Longinus, the only philosophers who, in his time, published works worth perusing (3). The tenets of these two philosophers were the same, but Amelius explained them more, perhaps too much, at length; and hence probably it was that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the Platonics themselves about the latter end of the following century (4). Eusebius (5), Theodoret (6), and Cyrillus of Alexandria (7), produce a passing out of his works, whereas he appears the beginning of St. his works, wherein he quotes the beginning of St. folm's gospel. Theodoret calls him the chief of the school of Porphyrius, that is, of Plotinus, whose tenets were held by Porphyrius (8). Suidas writes, that Porphyrius was instructed by him in the principles of the Platonic philosophy (9). About the same time flourished one Androclides, author of a piece upon the fophists, who made extemporary

speeches: in that work he mentions Porphyrius; whence Suidas concludes him to have flourished at the same time. He was the son of one Synesius of Philadelphia in Lydia (10).

Some historians too flourished under Aurelian, viz. Callicrates of Tyre, whom Vopifeus styles the most learned of all the Greek historians of his time (11); and Theoclius, or Theon, of Chios, as some critics conjecture (12). Both these historians wrote the life of Aurelian; but dwelt, it seems, too much on most trifling incidents (13). Nicomachus, another Greek historian, wrote at the fame time; for Votifens tells us, that he copied from him the letter which Zenolia wrote to Aurelian; that Zenobis dictated it in the Syria: language; and that Nicomachus translated it into Greek, in which language it was fent to Aurelian, who had written to her in Vossius takes this to be the the same dialect (14). Nicomachus who transcribed, as we read in Sidonius (15), and corrected the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, in contronting it with the original of Philostratus (16). Aurelianus Festivus, a freedman of the emperor Aurelian, wrote the history of his reign, or at least part of it, with the life of Firmus, who usurped the title of emperor in Egypt (17). Vossing ranks him, Cornelius Capito'inus, who wrote the history of Zenobia, and Gellius Fuscus. who wrote the life of Tetricus, tyrant of Gaul, among the Latin writers, no doubt, on account of their names; for Vopiscus, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of Constantius Chlorus, tells us, that some Greek, but no Latin author had undertaken before him to write the history of Aurelian's reign (18). Erennius Dexipous, by birth an Athenian, by profession an orator, the son of another Dexippus, flourished under Aurelian, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators Greece had ever produced (19). His style, says Photius, was grave and majestic; his words expressive; his phrases proper, and well-suited to the subject; so that he may he called a fecond Thucydides; but in clearness he far excels the first (20). Thus he was a man of far excels the first (20). Thu' he was a man of letters, yet he fought with success at the head of his countrymen against the Goths, or Heruli, in the year 267 (21). He wrote the history of the Roman emperors from Alexander to Claudius, with no lets concifenels, flys Capitolinus (22), than fincerity; whence he is often quoted by him, and Trebellius Pollio, who flyle his history the history of the times. He wrote a separate history of the was of the Romans with the scythiaus, which he initial Scythica. This Photius preferred, for the elegance of fly e. to all his other works (23). He likewise wrote in all his other works (23). He l'kewife wrote in four books the history of the successors of Alexander the Great (24). Voffus attribes to him the book on Arifotle's categories, which has reached our times (25). But others maintain, that Dexippus, the author of that work, was disciple to Iamblichus, who flourished in the reign of Julian the apostate (26). We ought perhaps to distinguish likewish Dexippus, the author of some comedies (27), from the historian, tho' Vossius confounds them (28),

(94) Long. c. 8. p. 20. (95) Vide Hift. Univers. vol. V. p. 693. (96) Euseb. prapar. l. xi. e. 18. p. 540. (97) Cyrill. in Jul. l. viii. c. 6. p. 283. Plot. vit. p. 5. (98) Plot. vit. p. 3. 6. (99) Idem, p. 13. (100) Idem, p. 3. (1) Idem, p. 10, (2) Idem, p. 31. (3) Idem, p. 14. (4) Euseb. prap. l. xi. c. 11. c. 9. p. 140. (5) Idem ibid. (6) Theod. de curand Gracor. affect. p. 500. (7) Cyr. in Jul. l. viii. p. 283. (8) Theod. ibid. (9) Suid. a, p. 198. (10) Idem, a. p. 261. (11) Vir. Aurel. p. 209. (12) Vide Vost. hift. Grac. l. iv. c. 17. p. 485. (13) Aur. vit. p. 210. (14) Idem, p. 218. (15) Sidon. l. viii. epist. 3. p. 214. (16) Vost. ibid. l. ii. c. 16. p. 214. (17) Firm. vit. p. 244. (18) Aur. vit. p. 209. (19) Suid. S. p. 659. Eunap. c. 2. p. 21. (20) Phot. c. 82. p. 200. (21) Gallien. vit. p. 181. (22) Capit. p. 150. (23) Phot. c. 82. p. 200. (24) Idem ibid. p. 201. (25) Vost. p. 243. (26) Johns. l. iii. p. 299. (27) Suid. p. 1516. (28) Vost. kijt. Grac. l. ii, a. 16. p. 243. s. 16. p. 243.

Tacitus unani-

mousty chosen by

the senate.

to name any of them in his room, wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the a The army refer death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their the election of a letter was read, Tacitus, who was at that time prince of the senate, and voted the new prince 1?
the senate, and first, declared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the senate, and the senate to the the army had done to the senate: For what disputes, said he, and disturbances will inevitably ensue, should not the army approve of the person whom we name? The senate acquiesced to his proposal; but the soldiers referred the choice a second and a third time to the fenate, as the fenate did to the foldiers; fo that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments, and commendable dispute between the senate and army, remained near eight months without a head, and nevertheless no usurper started up during that time; no disturbances happened, either at Rome or in the provinces. b But the barbarians in the mean time, taking advantage of the inter-regnum, began to put themselves in motion. The Germans, that is, the Lyges, the Franks, the Burgundiones, and the Vandals, broke into Gaul; the Goths threatened Illyricum; and every one expected, that the Persians, against whom Aurelian had declared war, would not continue long quiet. These things Velius Cornificius Gordianus, then conful, laid before the fenate on the twenty fifth of September, and earnestly pressed them to proceed, without further delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his speech by telling them, That the empire could no longer subsist without a head, and that the army would either accept the prince whom they chose, or, rejecting him, chuse another. There had been some talk before of raising Tacitus to the c empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into Campania, and lived there two months in retirement; but being recalled by the fenate, he was present at this meeting held on the twenty-fifth of September; and after the conful Gordianus had ended his speech, he rose up to deliver his opinion the first, as prince of the senate; but before he had uttered a fingle word, the whole affembly cried out with one voice, We salute you, Tacitus, emperor: to you we commit the care of the state, and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the senate: your rank, your character, your past conduct, deserve it. He attempted to excuse himself in regard of his great age (for he was then feventy-five); but they all cried out, That other emperors, stricken in years, had governed with great applause; that they wanted not a soldier, but an emperor; not d a strong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this was taken the suffrage of each senator in particular, when Metius Falconius Nicomachus, the eldest consular, after having in an elegant speech bestowed the highest encomiums upon Tacitus, inlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the administration of young and unexperienced princes, and conjured Tacitus, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his fons, who were yet children, but to name for his successor a person, whom he judged equal to so great a trust, if the state were, by the immutable decrees of the Fates, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that to dispose of the senate, the people of Rome, and the whole empire, in e the same manner as he disposed of his houses, lands and slaves, was repugnant to the laws of justice and equity; and that nothing would so much commend his name to all future ages, as to shew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and iffue. When Metius had ended his speech, the senators all to a man cried out, Tacitus is emperor. The decree was accordingly drawn up, investing him with the fovereign power, and figned by all the senators, even by Tacitus himself. From

> THE present emperor, named on his coins M. Claudius Tacitus, but, by Vopiscus, f Aurelianus, or Aurelius Tacitus, acknowledged Cornelius Tacitus, the celebrated historian, for his kinfman; and therefore, to fecure his inimitable performance against the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be transcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public libraries, and in the cabinets of the learned; but notwithstanding his care, only a small part of what that excellent historian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was stricken in years, but had several children, who were very young. Florianus, named on the ancient coins M. Annius Florianus, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is,

the senate they all went to the field of Mars, where Ælius Cesetianus, then governor of Rome, declared to the foldiers and people assembled there, the election of Tacitus,

which was received with the usual acclamations ".

a that he had been consul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the senate. His prefer-He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great ments admirer of the manners of the primitive Romans. When he was created emperor, he gave his immense estate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying the temples. What ready money he had by him, he distributed among the foldiers. He fet at liberty all the flaves he had at Rome, and caused his house to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it stood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy and care of the public money, his impartiality in the administration of justice, are much commended by the authors of his life. In the first speech he made to the senate, he declared, that he would transact b nothing without their consent and authority; and then proposed the two following laws, which were received with great applause, and confirmed by a decree; viz. that Two of his whoever should mix metals with a baser fort, should forfeit his estate and life; that law: flaves should not be admitted as witnesses against their masters, even in cases of treafon. In the same speech he desired the consulship for his brother Florianus; but the fenate did not think fit to grant him his request; which he was so far from resenting, that, on the contrary, he seemed highly pleased with the liberty they had taken, faying, I am glad they know bim. From the very beginning of his reign he applied himself to the suppressing of several abuses which still prevailed in Rome. By one edict he put down all the brothel-houses; by another he ordered all the public baths c to be shut up at sunset; and by a third prohibited all sorts of gold tissue and gilding. He respected the memory of the good emperors, and caused a temple to be built to their honour, and facrifices to be offered to them on their several anniversaries. He paid a particular regard to Aurelian, and prevailed upon the senate to decree him a statue of gold, to be set up in the capitol, and others of silver, to be placed in the fenate, in the temple of the fun, and in the square of Trajan b. The senate, overjoyed for the recovery of their ancient right of creating emperors, ordered public processions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, seasted their friends, and wrote letters to all the states and cities in alliance with Rome, acquainting them, that they were at length restored to their former authority; that the kings and d princes of the barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconsuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of Rome, from whom they might appeal to the fenate c. The new prince was fcarce well fettled in the empire, when news was brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the Palus Maotis through Colchis, pretending to have been invited by Aurelian to affift him in his intended expedition against the Persians. Tacitus immediately left Rome, and arriving in Thrace, Tacitus where he was received by the army with the greatest demonstrations of joy imagin-marches able, passed from thence over into Asia, deseated the barbarians, and obliged them against the to return into their own country d. The following year the emperor entered upon and deseats e his fecond confulship, having Æmilianus for his collegue; and having passed the them. winter in Cilicia, was preparing to return to Italy, when he was, according to some writers, seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his His death. life; but, according to others, killed by his own foldiers. He died at Tarjus in Cilicia, or, as others write, at Tiana in Cappadocia, after a short reign of about six months. Upon his death, his brother Florianus, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in Florianus asall the provinces of Europe and Africa; but the legions quartered in Syria, Phani- Jumes the emcia, Palestine, and Egypt, declared for Probus, whom Tacitus had appointed com-pire; but is mander of all the forces in the east. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels his own men. f of the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all fides. Florianus gained at first some advantages over his competitor; but as the troops under his command were more addicted to Probus than to him, they began to mutiny, and, at the approach of Probus, who was refolved to put the whole to the iffue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined Probus. This happened in the neighbourhood of Tarsus in Cilicia. The death of Florianus was no sooner known in Europe and Africa, than the armies every-where proclaimed Probus emperor, and the senate readily Probus proconfirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the titles of Augustus, daimed empe-

\* Zonar, p. 240. Zos. p. 662. \* Ticit. vit. p. 230. father

b Idem, p. 232.

e Idem, p. 231, 232.

preferments.

He delivers Gaul from the barbarians, and reduces great part of Germany.

He overcomes the Logi, the Burgundians, and the Vandals.

father of his country, high pontiff, &c. and investing him with the tribunitial and a proconfular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his justice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a person in every respect qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: and truly, if Vopiscus is to be credited, he was one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. That writer prefers him to Irajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Alexander,, Claudius, nay, and to Augustus himself. His character. He was, says he, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in short, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince m. He was a native of Sirmium in Pannonia. Extraction and His father, by name Maximus, was, in his youth, by profession a gardener; but afterwards lifting himself among the troops, he was raised to the post of tribune, and b married a woman of rank, by whom he had one fon, the present emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in history. Probus entered into the army when very young, and having distinguished himself on many occasions under Valerian, Gallienus, Claudius, and durelian, he was by these princes raised to the highest posts of the army, and employed, always with success, in the many wars which they waged with the barbarians n. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, when preferred to the empire. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he left Cilicia, and returned to Europe. He passed the winter in *Pannonia*, and having there taken upon him his first consulship, and named M. Aurelius Paulinus for his collegue, he fet out in the spring for Gaul, c where the Franks and other German nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is faid to have fought in that province many successful battles, to have killed near four hundred thousand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the rest to quit the booty they had taken, and fave themselves by slight beyond the Rhine. Having thus restored Gaul to its former tranquillity, he passed the Rhine at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater fuccess than any of his predecessors had ever done, as appears from the account which he himfelf transmitted to the senate in the following letter: " I return thanks to the immortal " gods, conscript fathers, who have given manifest tokens of their approving your " choice in raising me to the empire. Germany, that wide and extensive country, d " is intirely subdued. Nine kings of different nations have thrown themselves pro-" strate at my feet, or rather at yours. All the barbarians now plough and sow for " you, nay, and fight for you. Return therefore thanks to the gods for fo fignal a conquest. Four hundred thousand of the enemy have been cut in pieces; sixteen "thousand have been incorporated in our troops. We have recovered fixty great cities which they had taken, and delivered Gaul from the yoke under which it " grouned. The crowns of gold, with which the cities of Gaul have presented me, "I have transmitted to you, to be consecrated, and, by your hands, offered to the great Justier, and to the other gods and goddesses. We have not only recovered "the booty which they had taken, but inriched ourselves with their spoils. The e " fields of Gaul are ploughed with the cattle of the barbarians; their sheep are " inclosed in our folds, and our magazines are filled with their corn: in short, we " have left them nothing but the bare foil. I have had fome thoughts of reducing "Germany to a Roman province; but the republic, exhausted with so many wars, " is not perhaps at present in a condition to maintain the additional troops which " must be raised for that purpose "." Vopiscus adds, that he drove the enemy beyond the Elb and the Necker, and built a great many forts in the country lying between those rivers and the Rhine, which he might have easily reduced to a Roman province; but did not think it adviseable to burden the republic with new troops, which he must have raised, and lest there, to keep those warlike nations in awe. Zosimus tells f us, that one of the battles, which he fought with the Logi, a German nation, probably the same people whom Tacitus calls Lyges, lasted two days, the armies being parted only by night; that the victory inclined sometimes to the Romans, and sometimes to the Germans, who fought with incredible bravery; but that the former at length prevailed, by the bravery of Probus, and not only gave the enemy a total overthrow, but took their king, by name Semnon, prisoner, with his sons, and the flower of their nobility; whom however the emperor afterwards fet at liberty, upon their restoring to him all the booty and prisoners they had taken 9. The same writer

a adds, that in another engagement with the Burgundians and Vandals on the banks of the Rhine, he took their king Igillus prisoner, with many others of those two nations, whom he transplanted into Britain, where they proved very serviceable to the Romans upon all feditions and infurrections 9. They fettled perhaps in Cambridgeshire; for Gervasius Tilburiensis mentions an old vallum in that county, which he calls Vandels.

burg, and fays, it was the work of the Vandals r. THE following year the emperor entered upon his fecond confulship, having Lupus for his collegue, and early in the spring set out from Gaul; and bending his march through Rhatia, he arrived in Illyricum, whence the Sarmatians, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving b their booty behind them. From Illyricum he pursued his march into Thrace, where he was met by deputies from all the Gothic nations, fent by their respective states and The Gothis fine princes to sue for peace, and court his friendship. Having thus settled peace and for peace. tranquillity in all the provinces of Europe, he passed over into Asia, and entering Isauria, which had revolted from Rome, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the Isaurian robbers, and Palsurius their leader, whom he took and put to death, he intirely reduced that country, transplanted the inhabitants into Isauriareduced. distant provinces, and divided Ifauria among his veterans, upon condition that they should send their sons, as soon as they attained the age of eighteen, to serve in the army, left, trufting to their rocks and mountains, they should follow the example of c the ancient inhabitants, and turn robbers. From Isauria the emperor marched into Syria, where he entered upon his third confulship, having Paternus for his collegue,

and early in the spring led his army against the Blemyes, a barbarous nation, dwelling between Egyft and Ethiopia, who had made themselves masters of Coptos and Ptolemais in Thebais, and fruck terror into the neighbouring countries. Probus de- The Blemyes feated them with great flaughter, recovered the above-mentioned cities, took a great defeated. number of the barbarians prisoners, and sent them to Rome, where their extraordinary figure, fays Vopijeus, raifed great admiration in the Roman people ". Pliny

had described them many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breasts w. Some writers think, that the shortness of their d necks gave rife to this fable. The king of Persia, Varranes II. alarmed at the same of the victories gained by Probus over fo fierce and warlike a nation, fent embaffadors to him, with rich presents, to sue for peace; but the emperor, not satisfied with The Persians their proposals, refused the presents, and sent back the deputies; which so terrified see for peace. the king, that he concluded a peace with Probus upon his own terms. The eastern provinces being thus fettled in peace, the emperor returned to Thrace, where he

allotted lands to one hundred thousand Bastarnæ, a Scythian nation, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak hereaster. They all remained faithful to him; but the Gepidæ, Juthungi, and Vandals, to whom he allotted lands in the same province, revolted while the emperor was engaged in domestic wars, which broke out the fole lowing year. From Thrace the emperor returned to Rome, and there triumphed Probus triover the Germans and Blemyes s, and diverted the people, for feveral days together, umphs. with all forts of shews, combats, and entertainments. And now no foreign nation

daring to attempt an invalion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was foon disturbed by domestic broils, which first broke out in the east, where Sext. Julius Saturninus, as he is styled on the ancient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to some, a native of Mauritania, according Siturninus reto others, of Gaul, and had distinguished himself in many wars; for he is said to volts. have restored tranquillity to Gaul, to have recovered Africa from the Moors, and appealed the disturbances that had long prevailed in Spain 1. The emperor Aurelian

f had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eaftern provinces, and at the same time ordered him never to set foot in Egypt, fearing, fays Vopiscus, as he was well acquainted with the ambitious temper of the Gauls, and the strange inclination of the Egystians to novelty, lest he might be prompted by them to assume the sovereignty. Notwithstanding this prohibition, Saturninus being led by his curiosity to visit Egypt, he no sooner appeared at Alexandria, than he was by that turbulent and restless people proclaimed emperor. He declined at first that dignity, and quitting Alexandria, returned in great haste to Palestine; but afterwards

865. F Vide CAMD. Britain. p. 136. & Buch. Belg. l. vii. p. 218. Prob. 1 Idem ibid. Prob. 1 Idem ibid. Prob. 1 Idem ibid. Prob. Vit. p. 239. Saturn. vit. p. 244. Zos. p. 663. Goltz. p. 116. Birag. p. 309.
No. 3. F f f 9 Idem ibid. p. 865. vit. p. 239. Y Idem, p. 240.

and killed.

Proculus revolts.

Is betrayed by the Franks, and put io death.

Bonosus proclaimed emperor. Is overcome, hands on him-

dered.

apprehending, that what had already happened might give Probus no small umbrage, a and occasion his ruin, he suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, shedding many tears amidst the acclamations of the soldiery and populace q. Zonaras writes, that Probus, who had a great kindness for him, not believing he had revolted, caused the person to be punished who brought him the first news of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote several kind letters to him; but his soldiers threatening him with death, if he hearkened to, or complied with the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them. Hereupon Probus dispatched some troops against them, which being joined He is overcome by others in the east, engaged Saturninus, put him to flight, and obliged him to shelter himself in the citadel of Apamea, which they took by storm, and put the whole garison, together with Saturninus, to the sword. The emperor, who designed b to pardon him, shewed no small concern for his death r. The following year, Messala and Gratus being consuls, two usurpers started up in Gaul, Proculus and Bonosus. The former was a native of Albingaunum, now Albenga, subject to the republic of Genoa. His ancestors had been famous robbers, and had, by their robberies, acquired immense wealth; for Proculus is said to have armed two thousand slaves of his own when he revolted. In his youth he had been himself a robber; but entering afterwards into the army, he had fignalized himfelf by many noble exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of feveral legions, when he took upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called first Viturgia, and afterwards Sampso, a woman of great ambition, and a manly courage, c and by the inhabitants of Lions, who had been treated with great severity by Aurelian, and apprehended the like treatment from Probus. He was proclaimed emperor at Cologn, and acknowledged, according to Vopiscus, in Narbonne Gaul, Britain, and Spain. The same writer tells us, that he defeated the Alemanni in several battles; but was himfelf at last overcome by Probus, and forced to take refuge among the Franks, from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The Franks promifed him their affistance; but, instead of performing their promise, they betrayed him to the emperor, by whom he was punished according to his deferts . Bonosus, or, as he is styled on the ancient coins, Q. Bonosius, was descended of a Spanish family, but born in Britain. His father kept a public school, and taught children the first d rudiments of the Latin tongue. The fon entered early into the army, and raised himself by degrees from the low rank of a common soldier to the post of general, and was employed as such to guard the frontiers of Rhatia; but having suffered the Germans to surprise and burn the Roman fleet on the Rhine, his dread of being punished for this neglect, prompted him to assume the sovereignty, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained himfelf in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought feveral battles with Probus; but being at length reduced to great streights, he chose rather to strangle andlays violent himself, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror. Authors observe of him, that he could drink as much as ten men, without being in the least disordered; and that e by drinking with the embassadors of the barbarians, he often discovered the secrets with which they were intrusted. Vopiscus tells us, that the emperor Aurelian married to him a princess of the royal blood of the Goths, by name Hunila, whom he had taken prisoner, that Bonosus might, by her means, become acquainted with the great men among the Goths, and discover, in drinking with them, their secret views and designs. Hunila was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and therefore Probus, upon the death of her husband, not only spared her, and the two fons she had by Bonosus, but settled an annual pension upon the mother, and suffered the children to enjoy their paternal estate ". Zosimus w and Zonaras x speak of the The governor of revolt of the governor of Britain, whom they do not name; and tell us, that the f Britain revoles, emperor complaining of him to a Moor, named Victorinus, upon whose recommendation he had preferred him to that government, the Moor begged, and obtained leave to go into Britain, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a fense of his duty. Upon his arrival, he was received by the usurper with great demonstrations of kindness; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time. His death put an end to the revolt in Britain. We are not told whether or no Probus approved of this treachery.

> F Idem ibid. F Idem, p. 662. ZONAR. p. 246. 9 Sat. vit. p. 249. F Ide id. W Zos. l. i. p. 663. 1 Idem, p. 245-247. \* Bonof. vit. p. 247. Idem

THE following year the emperor entered upon his fourth confulfhip, having Tiberianus for his collegue. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domestic troubles were happily appealed, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of Probus's mighty atchievements. However, that the troops might not abandon them- How Probus felves to idleness, he took care to employ them in many useful works, saying, That employed his fince they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the of peace. public. As Hannibal therefore, to find some employment for his soldiers, had formerly filled Africa with olive-trees planted by them, fo Probus, for his valour styled by many a fecond Hannibal, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of Gaul, Pannonia and Mæsia, allowing, says Vopiscus, the Gauls, Pannonians, Spaniards, and Britons full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleased; which had been denied them ever fince the time of Domitian v. The emperor Julian writes, that Probus, during his short reign, either rebuilt or repaired seventy cities z. As the city of Sirmium, the place of his nativity, flood in a low marshy ground, he employed great numbers of his foldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the sea. This incensed them against him, and their rage was heightened by the appreheafion they were under of being foon difbanded; for the emperor had faid, That he hoped in a fhort time there would be no occasion for foldiers or armies. This they could not bear, and therefore the following year, when Probus was conful the fifth time with Vistorinus, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from c one town in *Illyricum* to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himself had built, to observe from thence the foldiers while they were at work. But thither the incenfed multitude pursued him, and having eafily formed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, dispatched He is murdered him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned fix years and four by the mutimonths. His death is a scribed by many to Carry, who succeeded him is a scribed by many to Carry, who succeeded him is a scribed by many to Carry. months. His death is afcribed by many to Carus, who succeeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but Vopiscus endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raised a stately monument to the honour of the deceased prince, with the following epitaph: Here lies the emperor Probus, whose life and manners answered his name. He subdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants d who started up in his time. The loss of so good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the fenate and people of Rome, but by the barbarians themselves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and justice. His fucceffors honoured his memory with all possible marks of respect and esteem, ranking him among the gods, confecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniversity, &c. He was, without all doubt, one of the best, as well as of the greatest princes, that ever reigned at Rome . After his death, his family withdrew from Rome, probably not to give umbrage to his successors, and settled in the neighbourhood of Verona b. As for the sew writers who slourished in his reign, we refer

the reader to our note (A). Upon the death of Probus, Carus, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by Carus prothe unanimous confent of the army, raifed to the empire, as a person in every respect claimed empewell qualified to succeed so good a prince, so great a warrior. The senate were ror. well pleased with the election of Carus; but dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his fon Carinus, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the foldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and defirous to maintain the peace and tran-

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y Prob. vit. p. 240.
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\* JUL. CÆS. p. 17.

a Prob. vit. p. 241. b Idem ibid.

(A) Under Probus flourished Turdulus Gallicanus, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by Vo-pifcus in his life of Probus, who styles the author of it a man of honour and sincerity (29). He likewise cites M. Salvidienus, from whom he copied the speech made by Saturninus, when he put on the purple, and assumed the title of emperor (30); which prompts us to believe, that Salvidients wrote the history of that usurper. Onesimus published the life of Probus, done, according to Vopifcus, with great exactness (31), and likewise that of the emperor Carus (32). Vossus ranks them all three among the

Latin historians (33), and mentions a Greek historian, by name Onasimus, a native of Sparta or Cyprus, who lived, according to Suidas, under Constantine, and was both a tophist and historian. Perhaps Onesimus and Onasimus were one and the same perfon, there having passed but twenty-four years be-tween Probus and Constantine. Suidas ascribes to Onasimus several philological and other works (34).

About the same time flourished another sophist, named likewise Onasimus, but who was a native of Athens (35).

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(29) Prob. vit. p. 233. (30) Saturn. vit. p. 245. 2) Idem ibid. (33) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 184.
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(31) Bonof. vit. p. 246. & Car. vit. p. 250. (34) Suid. p. 523. (35) Idem ibid.

quillity

and preferments.

quillity established by Probus, they at last acknowledged Carus, and conferred upon a him the usual titles and honours b. Of his family and ancestors we know but very little. Some fay, that he was by birth a Roman, but by descent an Illyrican; others, that he was born in *Illyricum*, but of *Carthaginian* parents. In a journal quoted by *Vosifcus*, he is styled a native of *Milanc*. The two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, and several others, will have him to have been born in *Narbonne*. The emperor himself pretended, that his ancestors were originally Romans d. He raised himself by degrees to the chief employments in the state, both civil and military. He had been conful; for the confulfhip, which he took after his accession to the empire, is called his second confulfhip. Probus, after having employed him in most of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the foldiers to b fuch a degree, that, upon the death of Probus, they all agreed to raise him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, justice, and integrity of Carus, as appears from a letter quoted by Vopiscus, which he wrote to the fenate in his behalf, defiring them to reward his eminent fervices, by erecting to him an equestrian statue, and building him a house at the public charge, for which the emperor himself promised to supply the necessary marble. Carus was no fooner fettled in the empire, than he gave the title of Casar to his two fons Carinus and Numerianus, of whom the former was a youth intirely abandoned to all manner of wickedness, and the latter endowed with every good quality requisite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the fame time he declared them his partners c in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himself; but on the medals of this year 282. the first of Carus's reign, his two sons are only styled Cæsars. The Sarmatians no sooner heard of the death of Probus, than they broke into Illyricum and Thrace, over-ran those countries, and threatened Italy itself. Hereupon Carus, drawing together his forces, marched against the barbarians, and coming, after several skirmishes, to a general engagement with them, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, took twenty thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to abandon the Roman dominions, and retire into their own country, whither he would have purfued them, had he not been informed, that the Persians were ready to invade the eaftern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king Varranes II. d a warlike prince, who had lately fignalized himself against the Segetani, and intirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this intelligence, Carus, committing the care of the western provinces to his eldest fon Carinus, and taking with him Numerianus, left Thrace, and croffing over into Afia, marched strait to Antioch, and thence into Mejopotamia; which the Persians, who, it seems, had already seized that province, abandoned at his approach. From Me'opotamia he advanced into Persia, laid waste the country far and wide; and meeting with no opposition, as the Persians were then engaged in a civil war, he besieged and took the famous cities of Seleucia fians, and takes and Ctesiphon, with Cocke, which was a place of great strength on the other side the Tigris, and, as it were, the citadel of Ctesiphon 8. For these conquests he took the

Defeats the

Sarmatians.

He creates his

two fons Cæ-

fars.

Gains great advantages over the Per-S-leucia and Ctetiphon.

His death.

he was preparing to pursue his conquests beyond that city, which the Romans, as

was pretended, were by an ancient oracle forbidden to do. Junius Calpurnius, one of the emperor's fecretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which

he wrote to the governor of Rome: "While Carus, our truly dear prince, lay fick in his tent, a violent storm broke out, attended with dreadful stashes of lightning,

44 and claps of thunder. Day was all on a fudden turned into night, and the air f

" darkened to such a degree, that we could not discern one another. While we " were under the utmost consternation, frightened and dismayed, after a clap of

thunder more loud and terrible than all the rest, we heard one cry out, The emperor " is dead. Soon after, his chamberlains, distracted with grief, set fire to his tent; "which gave rise to the report, that he was killed with lightning; but it is certain, that he died of his illness." Thus one of his secretaries, whose letter Vopiscus pro-

duces, to confute those who ascribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for

furname of Perficus, which we read on most of his coins h. He was bent upon utterly ruining the Persian monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded in that great defign, the Perfians being then divided among themselves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, while

d Idem, p. 249. C Idem, p. 242. DII 115. BIRAG, p. 419. SPANH, l. v. p. 419. <sup>b</sup> Car.vit. p. 243. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>d</sup> Ide a Car.vit. p. 250. Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 115. F BIRAG. P. 426.

a his attempting to extend his conquests beyond Ctesiphon i. However, the two Vistors, Eutropius, Rufus, Festus, Apollinaris, Sidonius, St. Jerom, Eusebius, Georgius Syncellus, and Zonaras, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the fecond year of his reign, and his death happened between the eighth of December of this year 283. and the twelfth of January of the year enfuing; for his name is prefixed to all the laws that were published till the eighth of December, and those of Carinus and Numerianus to a law dated the twelfth of January of the year 284 k. He reigned, according to the most probable opinion, a year and four months. He was conful when he died, and had his fon Carinus for his collegue in that dignity. Upon the death of Carus, his fon Numerianus was immediately faluted by the whole Numerianus b army with the title of emperor. As to his other fon, Carinus, he was then in Gaul, proclaimed emand had been raised by his father to the sovereignty before he set out for the Persian peror. war. Numerianus, grieved beyond expression for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had shed, could not bear the light, he caused himself to be carried in a close litter. Arrius Aper, his father-in-law, and captain of the guards, who had free access to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a design He is murdered to raise himself to the empire. The body of the deceased prince he left in the litter, telling the foldiers who wanted to fee their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and striving in the mean time to gain them over to his own interest. e body was thus carried three days; but as it began in the end to be offensive to the smell, the crime was discovered sooner than Aper expected, and he immediately seized, no one doubting but he had been the author of the murder. Upon the death of Numerianus, the army with one voice proclaimed Dioclesian emperor. Such was Dioclesian the unhappy end of Numerianus, after he had reigned about eight months. He was raised to the killed near Heraclea in Thrace, as he was leading his army back into Italy. All the empire. ancients speak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person of his rank. He was an excellent orator, and is faid to have once fent such an eloquent speech to the senate, that a statue was decreed him, to be set up in the Ulpian library, with this inscription, To Numerianus Cæsar, the most eloquent orator of his age. In d poetry he far surpassed all the writers of his time, and lest several pieces behind him, both in verse and prose, which were mightily cried up by the learned 1. He had often declared in public, and it was probably of him that Calphurnius, a celebrated poet of those times, said, That he diverted himself with pleading, while he was still in his mother's arms m; that is, when he was very young. Both he and his father Carus were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them, &c. It appears from some medals, that the latter had impiously assumed the title of

god before his death. Some writers flourished in his time, of whom in note (B). Dioclesian was descended of a mean and obscure family in Dalmatia, being, accord- His extractions ing to some, the son of a notary, and of a slave, according to others; nay, Victor preferments, e the younger tells us, that he was himself in his youth slave to a senator, named &c.

k Cypr. an. p. 45. Cod. Just. l. v. tit. 71. leg. 7. p. 509. l. viii. tit. 56. leg. lef. c. 1. p. 9. 1 Num. vit. p. 251. m Calph. eclog. i. ver. 45. 

(B) Vopiscus tells us, that the life of Carus and his children was written before the year 300. by Fa-bius Cerilianus, whose diligence and exactness he commends (36); and that of Carinus in particular, by Fulvius Asprianus, whose scrupulous exactness, and too great care to amit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (37). Aurelius Apollinaris likewise wrote the life of Carus, probably in Iambics; for he was a poet, and is said to have taken delight in that kind of verse (38). Vossius ranks these three among the Latin Writers (39). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chace, by M. Olympius Nemesianus, has reached our times. likewise wrote some pieces on fishing and naviga-tion, and was highly esteemed in those days (40). He is supposed to have been a native of Carthage,

where his works, in the time of Hinemar, were publicly read in the schools (41). He inscribed his poem on the chace to Carinus and Numerianus, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that time, been at court, nor seen Rome (42). Four other eclogues have reached our times, supposed to have been written by T. Calphurnius, or Calpurnius, a native of Sicily, and to have been inscribed to Nemesianus. In the first mention is made of declamations made by a prince, supposed to be Numerianus, almost in his infancy (43). Scaliger takes the sports that were ex-hibited by Carinus and Numerian to be the subject of the last ecloque (44). Perhaps Junius Calphurnius, fecretary to Carus, and the above mentioned poet, were one and the same person.

(36) Car. vis. p. 249, 250. (37) Idem, p. 254. (38) Idem, p. 251. (39) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. e. 4. p. 184. (40) Nemes. p. 508, 511. Car. vis. p. 251. (41) Voss. poet. Lat. p. 53. (42) Nemes. cyn. ver. 64. p. 509. & ver. 77, 81. (43) Calpur. p. 501. (44) Scalig. in Euseb. chron. p. 253. Vol. VI. No 3.

Anulinus, who afterwards gave him his liberty o. The name, both of his mother, a and the place of his birth, was Dioclea; whence he was called Diocles till his accession to the empire, when he gave his name a Latin found and termination, calling himself Dioclesianus P. He entered early into the army, and by degrees raised himself to the first military employments. We are told, that while he yet served in an inserior post, a woman, by profession a Druid, in whose house he lodged, upbraiding him with covetousness, he answered her in jest, I shall be more generous when I am emperor. You are joking, Diocles, replied the Druid; but I tell you in good earnest, that you will attain the emfire after you have killed a boar. This is supposed to have happened in the city of Tongres, in the present bishopric of Liege 1. Dioclesian served with great credit under Probus, who gave him the command of the troops quartered b in Mafia. He attended Carus in his expedition against the Persians, and distinguished himself in that war. Syncellus tells us, that he was raised by that prince to the confulship. He had, at the time of Numerianus's death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's person, and were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have observed above. He was a great master of civil affairs, prompt at foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, naturally inclined to violent measures, but at the same time master of his temper; an enemy to all useless expences, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never applied himself to any study but that of the military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of c ancient times ". Lastantius charges him with cowardice, and fays, that he avoided, as much as he well could, exposing his person to dangers w. He was, according to Eutropius, naturally covetous, and bent upon amassing riches by any means whatever x. By his wife Prisia he had a daughter, named Galeria Valeria, who was married to Maximinus Galerius; but proved barren y. Both the mother and daughter favoured, and, according to Lastantius, once professed, the christian religion; for that writer reckons them among the first, who, terrified with the menaces of Diocle-fian, defiled themselves with impure sacrifices. Dioclessan being, by the unanimous confent of the army, proclaimed emperor, in the manner we have related above, afcended the tribunal; and after having harangued the foldiers, and folemnly declared d upon his oath, that he had been no-ways accessory or privy to the death of Numerianus, he caused Aper to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and fon-in-law, and then descending from the tribunal, drew his fword, and buried it in his breast, saying, You shall have the bonour, O Aper, to fall by an illustrious hand. The new emperor would not have begun his reign with an action that favoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned prophecy of the Druid, the word aper fignifying in the Latin tongue a boar; whence, in secing Aper fall, he cried out, I have at length killed the fatal boar. Vopiscus tells us, that, mindful of the prediction, he strove always in hunting to kill the boars with his own hand; and adds, that when he faw Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Carus and e his two sons, raised to the empire before him, he used pleasantly to say before Maximian, and our historian's grandfather, (for to these two alone he imparted the prophecy) That he killed, but others enjoyed, the boar 2. Dioclesian was proclaimed emperor at Chalcedon, on the seventeenth of September of the year 284. which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, The æra of Dioclesian, and sometimes, The ara of martyrs, which for many ages obtained in the church, and is still in use amongst the Cophts in Egypt, the Abissines, and some other African nations. The first year of this æra begins with the Egyptian year on the twenty-ninth of August of 284 b. Dioclesian made his public entry into Nicomedia on the twenty-seventh of September of this year, and spent the remaining months in making the necessary pre- f parations to oppose Carinus, who, hearing of his brother's death, and the assumption of Dioclesian, had left Gaul, and was hastening, at the head of a powerful army, into Illyricum. The following year Carinus took upon him his third consulship, having Aristobulus, his captain of the guards, for his collegue; and arriving in Venetia, overcame there and flew one Julianus, governor of that province, who had caused himself

The ara of Diocletian.

He puts Aper

to death.

a to be proclaimed emperor c. Elated with this victory, he advanced into Myricum, where he fought several battles with Dioclesian, whom he intirely deseated in a general engagement near Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Mæsia; but while he was pursuing the enemy, he was killed by some of his own men, stirred up The death of against him by a tribune, whose wise he had debauched. Thus Aurelius Victor d. Carinus. But Eutropius writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and killed by Dioclesian c. Be that as it will, Dioclesian, seeing himself, by the death of his rival, become fole mafter of the empire, marched to Rome; and having established his authority there, fet out soon after for Germany, where he gained several advantages over the Alemanni, who had made an irruption into Gaul. The fame year his generals fought b with success against the inhabitants of Britain, who, it seems, had attempted to shake off the yoke. For these victories he assumed the surnames of Germanicus and Britannicus, as appears from an inscription dated the second year of his reign f. From Germany he returned through Illyricum into the east; for he was at Sirmium on the first day of the following year 8, and at Nicomedia on the twenty-first of January b. The next consuls were Junius Maximus the second time, and Vettius Aquilinus. This year Dioclesian took Maximian, styled on the ancient coins M. Aurelius Valerius Ma-Dioclesian ximianus, for his collegue, and partner in the empire. Maximian was born of ob-takes Maxifeure parents, in a village near Sirmium in Pannonia; but entering early into the parenter in the army, had fignalized himfelf by many noble exploits, and was reckoned one of the empire. c best commanders of his time. All the ancients paint him as a man of a most cruel and favage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedness; but at the same time extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to Disclesian, with whom he had lived many years in great friendship. The emperor therefore, who had no iffue male, and reposed an intire confidence in Maximian, chose him for his partner in the empire, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured him with the title of Augustus. Some authors write, that Dioclesian not only took him for his collegue in the sovereignty, but divided the empire with him, referving to himself the eastern provinces, and leaving to Maximian, Italy, Africa, Spain, and the rest of the western countries. Maximian had by d his wife, Galeria Valeria Eutropia, by birth a Syrian, Maxentius, who usurped the empire at Rome, and Fausta, the wife of Constantine the Great. Maxentius was by fome thought to have been a supposititious child k. Eutropia had by a former husband a daughter, ftyled on the ancient coins Flavia Maximiana Theodora, whom Maximian married to Constantius Chlorus, of whom hereaster. Aurelius Victor tells us, that Dioclesian was induced to take Maximian for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the disturbances which happened this year in Gaul, where two commanders, Aulus Pomponius Ælianus, and Cn. Salvius Amandus, having affembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers and peafants, caused themselves to be proclaimed emperors. Maximian, leaving Dioclesian in Nicomedia, hastened into Gaul, and there, with the troops Arebellion in quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and restored the province to its Gaul suppressed former tranquillity m. The revolted peafants were called Bacaude, or Bagaudæ, the by Maximian. etymology of which appellation has puzzled the best antiquaries. S. Maure des Fosses, about three short miles from Paris, was formerly called the castle of the Bagaudæ, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the feventh century, by Julius Casar, in the peninsula formed by the Marne, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The Bagaudæ are said to have held out there a long time against Maximian, who at length made himself master of the castle, levelled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which however gave to the place its present name ". While Maximian was employed against the f rebels in Gaul, Dioclesian was making great preparations in the east, in order to recover Mesopotamia from the Persians, who, after the death of Carinus, had seized that province. But Varranes II. at that time king of Persia, chose rather to restore what he had taken from the Romans, than to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long and dangerous o. Mention is made of some advantages gained this year by Dioclesian over the Saracens P. He was the last day of this year at Tiberias

p. 331. b Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530. i No-• Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. d Idem ibid. • Еитко
р. 19, 20. в Сод. Justin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331. f Noris de Diocles. num. c. 4. p. 19, 20. 8 Cod. Justin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 0. p. 351.

RIS de Diocles. num. Lactan. persec. c. 8. p. 8. Pagi, p. 157.

orat. i. p. 9. 1 Eutrop. p. 585. 24.

& insim. Latinitat. p. 661, 662. Panegyr. orat. x. p. 125—132. " Vide Du Cange glossar. med. P PANEGYR. P. 132.

in Palestine, as appears from the date of some laws in the code q. The following a

He utterly defeats several German nations.

year, 287. Dioclesian entered upon his third consulship, and Maximian upon his first. The former from Palestine passed into Pannonia, as appears from the date of several laws enacted this year 1; but what called him into that province, or what he performed there, we are no-where told. As for Maximian, he was attacked in Gaul by the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Heruli, whom Bucherius places on the coasts of the Baltic sea, and by several other barbarous nations, who were all overcome by Maximian, and destroyed either by the sword, or by famine. Mamertinus, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that, of such an immense multitude, not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow'. The same year, Carausius, a native of Gaul, having by Maximian's b orders built a fleet at Boulogne, gained great advantages over the Franks and Saxons, who began to infest the seas with piracies, and, in several engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the German nations that had broke into Celtic Gaul. However, as he kept and applied to his own use the booty which he had taken from the barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, Maximian resolved to put him to death; but Carausius, having timely notice of his design, passed over into Britain with the fleet under his command, and there taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that island . He afterwards caused a great number of vessels to be built, levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to his affiftance, and, by instructing them how to c work their ships, and fight by sea, maintained himself a long time in possession of the island, in spite of the utmost efforts of Maximian.

Caraufius revolts, and feizes Britain.

Maximian defeats the barbarians a fecond time.

Gains great advantages over the Franks.

Britain given up to Carau-

THE following year Maximian was conful the fecond time, with Januarius. Mamertinus, his panegyrist, tells us, that on the first day of his confulship, news being brought to Treves, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into Gaul, and were but at a small distance from that city, he immediately quitted his consular robes, put on his armour, and mounting his horse, marched against the enemy, cut most of them in pieces, and the same day re-entered Treves in triumph ". Soon after, he croffed the Rbine; and entering Germany, laid waste the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to Gaul loaded with booty w. d The fame of his name struck such terror into the Franks, that two of their kings, Atec and Genobaud, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms x. From an ancient inscription it appears, that both Dioclesian and Maximian took the surnames of Francicus, Alemannicus, and Germanicus. Mamertinus speaks of some victories gained by Maximian's generals over a fickle and deceitful nation, meaning, no doubt, the Franks; for fuch was, at least in those times, the character of that people 2. Dioclesian likewise entered Germany this year on the side of Rhætia, and is faid to have extended the bounds of the empire to the springs of the Danibe . The next year, Baffus being conful the second time, with Quintianus, Claudius Mamertinus pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor Maxi- e mian in the city of Treves, as is commonly believed, the emperor himself being prefent. As he was then affembling on the coast of Gaul the ships, which he had caused to be built in feveral parts, with a defign to attack Caraufius in Britain, his panegyrist promises him certain victory over that rebel b. But it happened quite otherwife; for Caraufius's men, who had been trained to fea-fervice, eafily put to flight those who were sent against them, dispersed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coast of Gaul, where most of them were dashed to pieces. Maximian, to cover the difgrace of this defeat, gave out, that the fea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient feafon. But in the mean time, he began a treaty with Caraufius, wherein it was concluded, that he f should enjoy the government of Britain, as the more proper person, on account of his skill in sca-affairs, to defend the island against the invasions of the barbarians c. This agreement is marked on all Caraufius's coins, which represent two emperors shaking hands, with this legend, Concordia Augg. d. Thus was Britain, by treaty, given up to Caraufius, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the space of

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Just. l. iv. tit. 40. leg. 3. p. 311. 

p. 125. 

t Eutrop. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524. Panegyr. 8. p. 108. 

w Idem ibid. p. 226. 

\* Vales. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12. 

t Idem, p. 126. 

b Idem, p. 128. 

Eutrop. p. 586. Aur. Vict. p. 525. 

Noris de Diocles. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23.

a fix or feven years, reckoning from this treaty, or, what to us feems most probable, from the time he first seized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of Severus, and gained some advantages over the barbarians c. The same year, Dioclesian gained a complete victory over the Sarmatians, the lithunga, or Dioclesian rather Juthunga, and the Quadif. Eumenes writes, that the whole nation of the defeats the Sarmatians was cut off; and the province of Dacia, which they had seized, re-united Sarmatians. to the empire 3. For these victories, Dioclesian assumed the surname of Sarmaticus, as appears from feveral ancient coins and inscriptions. The next confuls were Dioclesian the fourth time, and Maximian the third. The former gained this year some confiderable advantages over the Saracens i; and then leaving the eaftern provinces, b returned to Illyricum, and from Illyricum entered Italy by the Alges Julia in the depth of winter. Maximian at the fame time left Gaul; and passing the Alpes Cottie, met Dioclesian at Milan, where the two emperors held feveral private conferences; The two empethe subject whereof is not mentioned by historians, and then returned to their respective meet at tive armies; for they came attended only by a small guard, but were received in Milani all the cities through which they passed, with the greatest demonstrations of joy ima-The following year, Tiberianus and Dion, the fon, or rather grandfon, as is conjectured, of the celebrated historian, being confuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the north, and in Africa. The Goths, having overc come the Burgundians dwelling on the banks of the Danube, were intent upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the Burgundians were powerfully supported by the Alam and the Tervinga. Another Gothic nation, entering into a confederacy with the Taifalæ, made war upon the Vandals, and the Gapidæ. In Africa the Blemves were at war with the Ethiopians, and the Moors were engaged in a civil war. Neither was Persia exempt from civil disturbances, raised by Hormisda, who, revolting from his brother Varranes II. endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and feize it for himself, being supported in his unjust pretensions by several Persian lords, and fome foreign nations k. The barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces subject to Rome enjoyed this year a profound trand quillity, which however was but short-lived; for the following year, 292. when Annibalianus and Asclepiodotus were consuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign as well as domestic enemies. Not to mention Carausius, The empire who still held Britain, the Persians, delivered from their intestine broils, broke into threatened on Mesopotamia, and threatened Syria. The Quinquegentiani, perhaps so called because all sides. they were quinque gentes, that is, five nations, joined in confederacy against the Romans, over-ran Africa; M. Aurelius Julianus revolted in Italy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; the fame title was affumed at Alexandria in Egypt by Achilleus, ityled on his coins L. Epidius Achilleus 1. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking themselves alone able to oppose so e many enemies at once, refolved to strengthen their interest with the affistance of others, and to name each of them a Casar, who should succeed them in the empire, and jointly with them defend the Roman dominions both against foreign invaders, and domestic usurpers. Pursuant to this resolution and agreement, Dioclesian chose The two empe-Maximinus Galerius, and Maximian, Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, who were each rors chuse two of them invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured with the Casars. titles of emperor, father of their country, high pontiff, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the fovereign ". The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their Casars, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which Constantius married Theodora, daughter-in-law to Maximian, and f Galerius Valeria the daughter of Dioclesian". Some authors write, that both the Cafars were named by Dioclesian, and by him invested in that dignity with great solemnity the first day of March of this year 292. on a rising ground, about three miles from Nicomedia, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a statue consecrated to Jupiter. But most writers suppose Galerius to have been chosen by Dioclesian, and Constantius by Maximian; and all agree, that Galerius was adopted by the former, and Constantius by the latter. After the nomination of the two Casars,

\* Paneg. 11. p. 132, 133.

\* Paneg. 13. p. 133.

\* Paneg. 13. p

The empire divided into four parts.

The exils

divition.

attending this

the empire was divided into four parts: Dioclesian chose for himself the countries a beyond the Agean sea; Thrace and Illyricum were allotted to Galerius; Italy and Africa, with the adjacent islands, to Maximian; and Gaul, Britain, and Spain, with Mauritania Tingitana, to Constantius. Each of these princes governed the provinces that fell to their share, with an absolute sway; but the other three paid great deference to Dioclesian, acknowledging themselves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking upon him as their common father. An intire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to affume any superiority over the rest, or to give the least motive of jealousy or umbrage to his collegues °. From this time forward, the empire continued almost constantly divided; but at the same time each emperor was looked upon as master of the whole. Hence b to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his collegues; and likewise to all the requests and petitions that were presented to them. This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniences, and is therefore much exclaimed against by Lastantius, who ascribes it to the cowardice of Dioclesian, unwilling to expose his own person to danger P. As each of the four sovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the fame number of forces as had been maintained by the state when governed only by one emperor, there were more foldiers to pay, than people to supply the necessary sums. Hence the taxes and imposts were increased beyond measure, the inhabitants in the several provinces reduced to beggary, the lands lest untilled for want of hands, &c. In c proportion as the people grew less able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was increased to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almost quite ruined 9. Italy itself, which had hitherto only supplied with provisions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the same tribute as the provinces; which reduced it in process of time to a deplorable condition r.

Birth, education, freferments, &c. of

Galerius, whom Dioclesian named to the dignity of Casar, is styled on most of his coins, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus. He was born in a village near Sardica, the metropolis of New Dacia; his mother, by name Romula, having retired Galerius Ca- thither from O'd Dacia, or Dacia beyond the Danube, while that country was over- d run by the Carpi. Galerius, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of Romulianum to the place of his nativity. As Romula was a professed enemy to the christians, she inspired her son with the same hatred to them; which chiefly gave rise to the bloody persecution which broke out in the latter end of Dioclesian's reign. Galerius was descended of an obscure family; for both he, and his sister's son Maximinus, whom he afterwards created Cæsar, are said to have been in their youth cowherds; whence Galerius was nick-named Armentarius, from the Latin word armentum, fignifying a drove of cattle. He was a person altogether illiterate; but nevertheless raised himself from the mean condition of a common soldier to the chief posts in the army, having given signal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors e Aurclian and Probus. Lastantius reckons him amongst the worst emperors, and speaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedness, naturally inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning, and men of letters ". The fame writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was fomething shocking and offensive, apt to inspire those who approached him, rather with terror and aversion, than with esteem or affection. Aurelius Victor, who seems to have been no-ways prejudiced against him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and favage temper, and that his ruftic, haughty, and disobliging behaviour, drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifts of nature been f improved by a polite and liberal education . He had no children by Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian; but a son, named Candidianus, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to Maxentius, the fon of Maximian . Of Constantius, the other Casar, we shall speak in a more proper place. Galerius was no fooner created Cafar, than he marched, with all the troops he could affemble, against the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the Danube and Illyricum; but per-

<sup>•</sup> EUSEB. VICT. ibid. 
• LACT. perf. c. 7. p. 6.
• Idem ibid. EUTROP. p. 581. 
• VICT. epit. p. 543.
p. 526. 

\* LACT. perf. p. 401. 44. 19. 16. r Aur. Vicr. p. 524. q Idem, p. 6, 8. " LACT. perf. c. 9. p. 8. W AUR. VICT.

a formed nothing, either in this or the three following years, against the enemies of Rome, which historians have judged worth transmitting to potterity. He caused feveral large forests to be grubbed up in Lower Pannonia, and a lake to be difcharged into the Danube; by which means he gained a new province, which, from Pannenia his wife's name, he styled Valeria, lying between the Danube and the Draw, and Secunda, A known in future ages by the name of Pannonia Secunda. The chief cities of this new province. new province were, Mursa, Aquincum, and Valeria y. Maximian passed this year over into Africa, where he gained a complete victory over the Quinquegentiani, and reduced Julianus (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in Italy, as we have hinted above, and afterwards croffed over into Africa) to fuch streights, that he stabbed b himself with his own sword 2. Constantius was no sooner invested with his new dig-

nity, than he hastened into Gaul; and arriving at Gessoriacum, now Boulogne, which Constantius was held by the troops of Caraufius, invested the place, and blocked up the haven tikes Gessoriawith huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great stones like a rampart. The garifon being by this means prevented from returning into Britain, and deprived of all hopes of relief, submitted to Constantius, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for feveral days, was quite disjointed by the first tide after the surrender of the city, and broken to pieces. Constantius, notwithstanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of Britain, not thinking himself furnished with a sufe ficient number of ships for so great an undertaking. Where Dioclesian was this year, or what he performed, we are no where told. The following year, Dioclesian being conful the fifth time, and Maximian the fourth, Caraufius was treacheroufly Caraufius

murdered by Allectus, his bosom friend, and prime minister, who thereupon usurped murdered by the government, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor b. Constantius, while assumes the his steet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the British expedition, cleared government of Batavia of the Franks, who had feized on that country, and transplanted them, Britain. with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, destitute of inhabit- Constantius ants, obliging them to till the ground, to pay tribute, and to supply, when required, drives the recarring a certain number of troops. The emperor Julian tells us, that Maximian and Batavia.

d Constantius not only drove the barbarians out of the Roman territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity d. It was probably on account of his victories over the Franks, that Constantius assumed the title of Germanicus, which is given him in an inscription of the following year, 194. quoted by Lattantius . Eumenius, the panegyrift, tells us, that Constantius performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of Britain; that he utterly exterminated feveral barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, reftored many provinces, pillaged and laid waste Germany from the Rhine to the Danube, and took

the king of a very fierce and warlike nation prisoner t. He restored to its ancient e splendor the city of Augustedunum, now Autun, which had been almost utterly ruined He restores the in the year 269. by Tetricus, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor city of Autum. Claudius into Gaul. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, and most of the houses belonging to private persons, were, at an immense charge, rebuilt by Constantius, who moreover embellished the city, in regard of its attachment to Claudius, his great uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, supplied it with plenty of water, transplanted thither the most conspicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator Eumenius, who was himself a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and instructing their youth, and, in short, did all that lay in his power to raise Autun above all the other cities of Gaul 8.

THE following year, when Constantius and Galerius were consuls, two strong castles were built by the latter on the Danube, in the country of the Sarmatians; the one over-against Acincum, or Aquincum, now Strigonium, or Gran, in Lower Hungary; the other opposite to Bononia, which stood between the Draw and Save, and is at present known by the name of Bonmoster. From the date of several laws, published this and the preceding year, it appears, that Dioclesian spent them both in Illyricum and Thrace; which provinces belonged to Galerius, whom perhaps he was come to affift

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Aur. Vict. p. 525, 526. BAUDRAN. p. 303. Aur. b Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Panegyt. 8. p. 108. 106, 107. d Julian. p. 12. Lact. perf. p. 366. <sup>2</sup> Aur. Vict. ibid. Panegyr. 7, 8. p. 93, 105. Panegyr. 1, 3, 7, 8. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, F Paneg. 8. p. 103, 107. Paneg. f Paneg. 8. p. 103, 107. 6, 8, 9. p. 85, 112, 114.

The Carpi intirely subdued.

Constantius invades Britain.

His army lands in the iftend.

by Constantius's men from

Britain reunited to the empire.

against the barbarians on the other side the Danube: in the same manner we shall a fee Maximian enter Gaul to defend that province against the incursions of the barbarians, while Constantius was employed in Britain. The next consuls were Ty/cus and Annulinus. This year the Carpi, after having long maintained themselves in spite of the utmost efforts of the Roman emperors, were at length intirely reduced by Galerius, and by Dioclesian transplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into Pannonia . From an inscription of this year, we learn, that the emperors cauled the walls of Vitodurum, now Wintberthur, in the canton of Zurich, between Zurich and Constance, to be rebuilt. Aurelius Proculus, who commanded in the country of the Sequani, had the superintendency of the work. In that inscription, Dioclesian is styled imperator the tenth time, and Maximian the eighth. The following year, b 296. Dioclesian being conful the fixth time, and Constantius the second, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of Britain. Eumenius the panegyrist pretends, that the Romans were every-where victorious; that they had recovered whatever they had formerly possessed (he ought at least to have excepted ancient Dacia); and, that having overcome the rest of their enemies, they deemed it a great difgrace, that such a wealthy province as Britain, which supplied them with many valuable commodities, should still be held by an assassin and usurper . Conftantius therefore, without further delay, resolved to pass over into Britain; and Maximian, to whom he imparted his resolution, hastened into Gaul, to prevent the barbarians beyond the Rhine from breaking into the empire, while he was employed & against the rebels in Britain. Constantius had equipped several sleets, and in different ports, that the enemy, not knowing where to expect him, might be obliged to divide their powerful navy. One of his fleets, commanded by Asclepiodotus, his captain of the guards, to whom historians ascribe the whole glory of the victory, fet fail from Boulogne; and escaping, by the help of a fog, the British navy, which lay off of the isle of Wight, and was ready to engage them, landed their men without meeting with the least opposition. Asclepiodotus had no sooner put his army ashore, than he set fire to his fleet, that there might be no hopes of safety, but in victory. Constantius, who had failed with another squadron from the mouth of the Seine, landed at another place, not mentioned by historians, and was received by d the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Allesius was encamped at a finall distance from the place where Constantius landed; but either not daring to engage him in person, or hoping to overcome Asclepiodotus before the two armies joined, he quitted his post, and marched with great speed against the latter. Conflantius followed him, but did not arrive, notwithstanding all the expedition he could Allectus over use, till after the battle, in which Allectus, who had engaged, hurried on by sear come and flain, and despair, before the arrival of the Roman troops who obeyed him, was killed; and his army, confisting only of foreign auxiliaries, either dispersed or cut in pieces. Before the battle, he had quitted the imperial robes, that they might not discover him; fo that the conquerors, with much ado, discovered his body among the heaps e of the barbarians who lay flain in the field 1. Part of Constantius's fleet, separating from the rest during the fog, entered the Thames; and sailing up that river, arrived This accident, which might have been attended with bad consequences, at London. occasioned a new victory. For such of the auxiliaries of Allectus as had escaped the general slaughter, fled to London, with a design to plunder that wealthy city, and London faved return to their respective countries with the booty. But Constantius's men landing luckily in the port of London at the same time, fell upon the barbarians, and made being plundered. a dreadful flaughter of them in all parts of the city; which was by that means, to the great joy of the inhabitants, happily preferved. Constantius granted a general pardon to the partizans of Caraujius and Allectus, and caused his own men to restore f whatever they had taken from the natives upon their first landing, saying, that he was not come to oppress, but to deliver the people from oppression m. Thus was Britain re-united to the empire, after it had been held seven years by Carausius, and three by Allectus. Of this victory, Eumenius the panegyrist speaks thus: "O im-"portant victory! worthy of many triumphs! By this Britain is restored; by this the " Franks are utterly defeated; and other nations in that rebellious confederacy, reduced

> h Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. John. rer. Goth. c. 16. p. 634. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586.
>
> MMIAN. I. XXVIII. p. 357.
>
> GRUTER. p. 166. VALES. not. Gall. p. 615. FERRAR. de ant. Italic.
>
> 332.
>
> k Paneg. 8. p. 107.
>
> I Idem paneg. 7. p. 99. & 8. p. 109—111. Aur. Vic. p. 525.
>
> WTROP. p. 586. Euseb chron.
>
> Paneg. 8. p. 110, 111. Eutrop. p. 586. AMMIAN. 1. XXVIII. p. 357. p. 332. h Paneg. 8. p. 107. EUTROP. p. 586. Euseb chron.

a "to obedience. To conclude, the fea itself is scoured, to establish a lasting tranquillity 66 in those provinces. You, great Cafar, for your part, may with justice triumph in this " conquest of a new world; and, by restoring the naval glory of Kome, may boast, "that you have added to the empire a larger element than all its former dominions. -66 Britain is now so perfectly reduced, that all the neighbouring nations are under abso-" lute subjection "." Thus Eumenius, a greater friend to Constantius, as will appear in the sequel of the history, than to truth; for the brave Caledonians were not by him brought under the yoke, but still maintained their ancient liberties. The same writer observes, that from Britain, Constantius sent several workmen to be employed in rebuilding and embellishing the city of Autuno. Constantius, naving thus settled

b affairs in Britain, returned to Giul; and transplanting great numbers of Franks into Part of Gaul that province, peopled with them the countries of Amiens, Beat vois, Troies, and Lan-peopled by the gres, almost quite destitute of inhabitants, obliging the new corners to cultivate the Franks. lands, to pay the usual tributes, and supply the Roman armies with a certain number of troops P. The same year, Dioclejian recovered Egypt from Achilleus, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, for the space of near six years. Dioclesian murched against him this year in person, overcame him without much trouble, and punished him according to his Achilleusoverdeserts. Thus Aurelius Victor r. But Eutropius writes, that he fustained an eight come, and

months siege in Alexandria; and Eujebius, that great numbers were killed on both Egypt reduced to sides, during the sieges. Dioclesian not only punished with death the ringleaders of the revolt, but filled Egypt with murders and profcriptions "; and even gave up, according to Orosius w, the city of Alexandria to be plundered by his greedy and enraged soldiery. If what these authors write be true, we leave our readers to judge of the sincerity of Eumenius, who tells us, that Dioclesian, by his extraordinary clemency, restored tranquillity to Egypt. Some writers observe, that he made a strict fearch after all the books of chymittry, written formerly by the Egyptians, and caused them all to be publicly burnt, left the Egyptians, inriched by that art, should be tempted to shake off the yoke anew. Constantine, the son of Constantine, attended Dioclesian in this war; for Eusebius tells us, that he saw him as he passed with the d emperor through Palestine'. The city of Coptos and Busiris in Thebais, having sided in this war with Achilleus, were by Dioclesian utterly ruined a. Zonaras supposes these

cities to have been destroyed by Dioclesian, some time before the revolt of Achilleus, for having attempted to shake off the Roman yoke b. Eumenius tells us, that the victories gained by Dioclesian in Egypt, struck terror into the Indians and Ethiopians. However, the emperor was so far from taking any advantage of that consternation, and extending the limits of the empire on that side, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the Nubians, who used to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territory of Oasis, yielding to them a large country, as much, says Procopius, as Dioclesian a traveller could go through in feven days, on condition, that they prevented the yields part of e Blemyes, and other barbarians, from breaking into Egypt on the side of Ethiopia. Nubians.

The fame writer adds, that Dioclesian caused a castle to be built in an island formed by the Nile in the neighbourhood of Elephantis, and a temple, in which facrifices were offered, both by the Roman and Nubian priefts, for the prosperity of both nations. By this means, the emperor hoped to establish a good understanding between the Romans and those barbarians; and therefore called the castle Philas, that is, friendship. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the pension which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the Blemyes, and which was still paid in the time of Justinian, was sufficient to restrain them from making inroads into the empire, when not awed by the Roman troops d.

THE next confuls were Maximianus the fifth time, and Galerius the second. The former, quitting Gaul upon the return of Constantius from Britain, crossed over into Africa, cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious Moors, befieged their castles, and The Moors strong holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto subdued by deemed impregnable; and having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and fur-Maximian.

render at discretion, transplanted them into other countries. The same year, a

Galerius de-

ses, king of

Perfia.

Narses, king of Persia, emulating the glory of Sapor, who had deseated the Roman armies, and taken the emperor himself prisoner, entered Armenia at the head of a mighty army; and having without much trouble reduced that kingdom, advanced into Mesopotamia. Dioclesian, mindful of the missortune that had besallen the unhappy Valerian, instead of marching against him in person, withdrew into Egypt, committing the whole management of that dangerous war to Galerius, whom he injoined to leave Illyricum forthwith, and hasten into Mesopotamia, to oppose there the attempts of the Persian monarch. Galerius obeyed, slew to Mesopotamia, and meeting the Persians between Callinicum and Carrbæ, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had then with him. The battle lasted some hours; but in the b end the Romans, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and fave feated by Nar- themselves by flight. Galerius hastened to Dioclesian, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the difaster, and advise with him about the most proper meafures to prevent the evil confequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greatest contempt imaginable, and fuffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, feveral miles by his chariot f. This affront, instead of difheartening him, inspired him with an eager desire of wiping off the disgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much ado, obtained leave of Dioclesian to raise a new army, he assembled all the troops in Illyricum and Masia, made new c levies, and in a short time returned with a considerable army, and entered Armenia. All authors agree, that Galerius in this war performed whatever could be expected from a brave foldier, and experienced commander: he even went in person, attended only by two horse-men, to reconnoitre the enemy, passing himself upon those who stopped him for a deputy fent by the Roman emperor to the Persian monarch. Having thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them so seasonably, and con-Narfes utterly ducted the whole action with fuch prudence and address, that only with twenty five thousand men he forced their entrenchments, tho' defended by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thousand of them in pieces, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom were the king's wives, sisters, and d children both sons and daughters, and a great many persons of the first rank &. Galerius treated the princesses with great respect, and would not suffer the least affront to be offered to them; which feemed so surprising to the Persians, that they owned themselves as much inserior to the Romans in chastity as in valour h. Eutropius tells us, that Licinius, afterwards emperor, fignalized himself on this occasion i. Narjes. who was prefent at this battle, and, according to Zonaras, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the rest, and took shelter in the most remote deserts

of his kingdom; whence he fent Afharban, one of his chief favourites, to conclude

a peace with the Romans upon any terms. Apharban, in the most humble and sub-

missive manner, intreated the conqueror not to destroy the Persian empire, but to e use his victory with moderation; which, he said, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itself. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them intirely to him; and only begged in his master's name, that, mindful of the generosity which in all ages had been peculiar to the Romans, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him for treating his wives and children with fuch humanity, that of restoring them to their former condition. Galerius answered him, that it ill became the Persians to expect moderation in others, after they had in such an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abused their victory in treating their illustrious captive Valerian like the meanest of slaves, nay, worse than their beafts of burden. However, as it is beneath a Roman, added he, to retaliate f such indignities, and we are taught to spare those who submit, and humble such as oppose us, let your master know, that he may perhaps soon have the pleasure of feeing the persons who are so dear to him k. Galerius, having dismissed the Persian embassador, hastened to Dioclesian, who received him at Nisibis in Mesopotamia with all possible marks of honour and esteem. They held several conferences, the subject of which was, whether or no they should conclude a peace with the Persians, and

The Perficus fue for peace.

d feated in a

second battle

by Galerius.

e Panegyr. 8. p. 105—108. f Aur. Vict. p. 525. Juli. orat. 1. p. 31. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 27. 8 Eutrop. p. 586. Festus, p. 553. Lact. perfec. c. 9. p. 8. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245. Zonar. p. 244. h Petr. Patric. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26. & 30. l Eutrop. ibid. k Eutrop. ibid. Petr. e Panegyr. 8. p. 105-108. Patric. legat. p. 26.

a upon what terms. We are are told, that they might have easily reduced Persia to a Roman province; but that Dioclesian did not approve of it, for reasons, says Aurelius Victor, unknown to us!. Sicorius Probus, one of Galerius's secretaries, was therefore dispatched to Narses, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the Asprudis in Media, in the presence only of Apharban, and two others. The terms proposed by Probus were, that Narses should yield to the Romans the five following Which is provinces, Intelene, Sophene, Arxacene, Carduene, and Zabdicene; that the Tigris should granted them be the boundary between the two empires; that Nisibis should be a common empory yielding five to both nations; that the limits of Armenia should be extended to the castle of provinces to b Zintha on the confines of Media; and lastly, that the king of Meria should receive the Romans. the crown at the hands of the Roman emperor. Narjes excepted against the article relating to Nisibis, but complied with the rest. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the Persian king's wives and children sent back to him m. This peace proved very advantageous to the Romans, and lasted forty years, till the Persians, desirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of Constantine's reign. The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the springs of the Tigris, and on the Roman fide of that river; but were by the Romans commonly called the provinces beyond the Tigris, because they had been so called by the Persians. Instead of Intelene and Sophene, we read in Ammianus Marcellinus, Moxoene and Kehimene: as e to the names of the other three, there is no disagreement among authors. For these conquests, Galerius affumed the pompous titles of Perficus, Armeniacus, Medicus, Galerius is and Adiabenicus, as if he had subdued all these nations; and became so elated with puffed up with his victory, that Dioclesian began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, ima-his victory. gining that he would not be much longer satisfied with the bare title of Casar n. The following year, Anicius Faustus being consul the second time with Severus Gailus, Dioclesian built several forts and castles on the frontiers of the empire towards Persia, and furrounded with high walls, and strong towers, the castle of Cercusium in Mesopotamia, at the confluence of the Aboras and the Euphrates. The next confuls were, Dioclesian the seventh time, and Maximian the fixth. This year the Marcod manni and Bastarnæ received a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were transplanted into the Roman territories. From several laws it appears, that Dioclesian was this year in the months of January, February, April, and November, at Sirmium, and on the fifth of June at Philippopolis in Thrace 9. The following year, when Constantius and Galerius were consuls the third time, is quite barren of events. The next confuls were, Titianus the second time, and Nepotianus, whom Onupbrius takes to be the father of Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, who usurped the empire fifty years after . This year Constantius gained a remarkable victory over the Constantius Alemanni, who coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of gains a signal troops with him, obliged him to retire, and shelter himself within the walls of victory over the had entered the signal be the Alemanni. e Langres. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and falling upon the enemy, cut fixty thousand of them in pieces'. Eumenius mentions another victory gained this year by Constantius in the plains of Vindonissa, now Vindisch, in the canton of Bern, near the confluence of the Aar and the Russ. The same writer tells us, that a numerous army, confisting of different German nations, having rendezvoused in an island in the Rhine, while that river was frozen over, were by a fudden thaw that up there, and obliged to furrender at differetion to the Romans, who kept them blocked up with their fleet". Dioclesian was, as appears from the code ", on the fourth of July at Antioch in Syria. The following f year, when Constantius and Galerius were consuls the fourth time, a great dearth Agreat dearth prevailed in most provinces of the empire, occasioned, says Lastantius , by the in most provinavariciousness of Dioclesian, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all forts ces of the emof necessary provisions; but the rates being too low, the traders, instead of exposing to fale, concealed their commodities: by which means the dearth was changed into

<sup>1</sup> Aur. Vict. p. 525. 

M Petr. Patric. legat. p. 29. 

Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. Lact. perf. c. 9. p. 9. Aur. Vict. p. 525. 

Panegyr. 9. p. 121. Grut. p. 166, 167. Ammian. l. xxix. p. 359. 

PAUR. Victor. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. 

God. Just. l. ii. tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. 

FONDPH. p. 261. 

Zonar. p. 244. Theophan. chronog. p. 5. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. 

Panegyr. 7. p. 92. 

W Cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 268. 

\*Lact. peri. c. 7. p. 362.

a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to fell their commodities at a their own prices. The same thing happened in the reign of Julian, surnamed the apostate. We read in the chronicle of Alexandria, that Dioclesian gave this year to that city the military bread o: what is meant thereby, we are not told. Procopius writes, that Dioclesian ordered two millions of bushels of corn to be yearly distributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis?. Before the reign of Dioclesian, corn was given monthly to old and disabled persons; and in the reign of Constantine, to the ecclefiastics q. Dioclesian seems to have passed this year partly in Syria, and partly at Nicomedia in Bithynia, with Galerius r. The next year Dioclesian entered upon his eighth, and Maximian upon his seventh consulship. Dioclesian and Galerian passed the winter at Nicomedia in Bithynia, in consultations, not about the b means of extending the empire, and fecuring it against the incursions of the barba-The tenth ge- rians, but concerning the most effectual methods of utterly extirpating the christian neral persecureligion, to which Galerian had imbibed from his infancy an irreconcileable hatred. He found means to inspire Dioclesian with the same sury, and, as we may call it, madness; the effect of which was the most bloody and dreadful persecution the church had yet fuffered. This perfecution, which was the tenth and last general one, broke out on the twenty-third of February of this year, 303, the nineteenth of Dioclesian's reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expressed, the christians being every-where, without diffinction of fex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the most exquisite torments rage, cruelty, and hatred c could invent. Such numbers of christians suffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants, imagining they had compassed their wicked intent, and intirely abolished christianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying inteription, that they had extinguished the christian name and superstition, and every-where restored the worship of the gods to its former purity and lustre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and superstition. During this persecution, Albanus Verolamiensis, Julius, Aaron, a crizen of Isca legionum, now Exeter, and other champions of the faith, almost without number, fuffered martyrdom in Britain. But to give an account of their fufferings, of their d truly heroic firmness, and unshaken constancy, would be intrenching on the province of the ecclefiaftic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of Dioclesian; but he no sooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, says Eusebius, than he felt the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which foon overtook him. A few days after the issuing of the first edicts

A fire breaks against the christians, a fire broke out in the palace at Nicomedia, where Dioclesian out in the pa- and Galerius were lodged, and reduced part of it to ashes'. Eusebius writes, that lace at Nico- he could never know how that accident happened ". Constantine, who was on the

media.

the effect which was intended by the author of it, Galerius; for Dioclesian, ascribing it to the christians, resolved to keep no measures with them; and Galerius, the more to exasperate him against them, withdrew from Nicomedia the same day, saying, f that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the christians . About this time, one Eugenius pro- Eugenius assumed the title of emperor in Syria. He commanded five hundred men claimed empe- in Seleucia, who being employed in the day-time in cleanfing the harbour of that ror by a few city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themselves from that insupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. Eu-

fpot, ascribes it to lightning w; and Lastantius assures us, that Galerius caused fire to be privately fet to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the christians, e and by that means incense Dioclesian still more against them, which he did accordingly x. Constantine tells us y, that Dioclesian was so disturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he constantly imagined to see lightning falling from heaven, which was in effect the beginning of that phrenzy, which by Lastantius and Eufebius is ascribed to the malady, of which we shall speak anon. Dioclesian's terror and dismay were greatly increased by a second fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the first, but was stopt before it had done any great mischief. However, it had

<sup>°</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 644 P Procop. arcan. hist. c. 26. p. 77.

Evagr. p. 68. Atharapol. p. 737.

Cod. p. 240, 243.

Coetum. Coetu Z LACT. ibid. Eusen de martyr. Palæs. c. 2. p. 320.

a genius, who expected nothing less, refused at first the dignity offered him; but was

at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with present death, if he resuled to second their designs. Being therefore arrayed with a purple robe taken from the statue of one of the gods, he led his men strait to Antioch, which city he reached the same day in the close of the evening, and entered it without opposition, as there was no garifon in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unapprifed of his revolt; but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and falling upon the rebels, for the most part intoxicated with wine, with such arms as chance presented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of Who are all cut Eugenius began and ended the same day . Dioclesian ought rather to have rewarded in pieces. b than punished the Antiochians; but on this occasion he betrayed that cruelty which The cruelty of was natural to him; for, without any trial, without paying any regard to the usual Diocksian to forms of law, he commanded the chief magistrates of Antioch and Seleucia to be publicly executed as if they had been all prive to the conspirace; which rendered him ans. licly executed, as if they had been all privy to the conspiracy; which rendered him fo odious to the Syrians, that they could not, without horror, hear his name mentioned ninety years after b. Among the many persons who lost their lives on this occasion, Libanius names his paternal grandfather, and his grandfather's brother, whose estates were likewise confiscated. Towards the close of the year, Dioclesian and Maximian, with their two Cafars, Constantius and Galerius, repaired to Rome, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the senate had long since decreed Dioclesian tric them, and their many victories and conquests well deserved. As Dioclesian, both in umphs, and leaves Rome. his triumph, and the sports that followed it, shewed greater occonomy than was pleafing to the populace, they took thence occasion to rally him with great liberty; which he not being able to bear, left the city foon after his triumph, and fet out for Ravenna on the nineteenth of December. As the season was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering diftemper, which in a short time weakened him to such a His illness. degree, that he could neither walk nor fland d. He entered upon his ninth conful-.ship at Ravenna, having Maximian, the eighth time conful, for his collegue. In the beginning of the spring he set out from Ravenna, and passing through Venetia and Illyricum, carried always, contrary to his custom, in a litter, arrived at Nicomedia d in the beginning of the autumn. As his distemper increased daily, on the thirteenth of December to deep a fwoon feized him, that he was believed to have paid the last debt of mortality, and a report of his death was spread all over the city. However, he recovered his fight and voice; but his head remained so affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the use of his reason. As he was not in a condition to appear abroad till the first of March of the following year, many persons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of Galerius, lest the soldiers should, in the mean time, according to their custom, proclaim a new emperor. To dissipate this report, he shewed himself to the people of Nicomedia on the first of March; but there appeared such a change in his e countenance, that many doubted whether it was the same person. Soon after, Galerius arrived, who had already threatened Maximian with a civil war, if he did not resign the empire; and was come into Nicomedia with a design to oblige Dioclesian likewise to refign the fovereignty, fince he was no longer able to discharge the functions of the imperial dignity. As Dioclesian did not yield to the reasons he alledged, but only offered to take both him and Constantius for his partners in the empire, Galerius told him plainly, that if he did not refign of his own accord, he would force him to it. Dioclesian, frightened with these menaces, and well apprised, that Galerius, who had, for some time, been increasing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length, and it was agreed, that Dioclesian and Maximian should refign the Galerius f fovereignty; that Constantius and Galerius should, at the same time, be invested with obliges him to it; and that, to preserve the form of government introduced by Dioclesian, two new empire. Cæsars should be named. Dioclesian immediately dispatched an express to Maximian, who was then at Milan, acquainting him with what had passed at Nicomedia. He was no less unwilling, than his collegue, to part with the sovereignty; but nevertheless, to avoid a civil war, in which, he was well apprised, Galerius would prevail, he came into the same measures f. Such is the account which Lastantius gives us of the refignation of Maximian and Dioclesian, in a piece not long fince recovered from

\* LIBAN. 07at. xiv. p. 399. & 07at. xv. p. 410, 411. b Idem ibid. a idem ibid.

\*\*Constant Properties of Ammian I. xvi. p. 131. c Lact. perfect c. 17. p. 15. Euseb. I. viii. c. 13. persec, c. 17. p. 15. Ammian, l. xvi. p. 131.

LACT. persec, c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16.

Vol. VI. Nº 3. Kkk darkness.

darkness. Constantine, who was then at Nicomedia, and lodged in the same palace a with Dioclesian, affures us, in a speech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himself no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was subject, resigned of his own accord &; and the panegyrists who wrote at that time, mention his refignation as a shining instance of greatness, generosity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, they tell us, that both he and Maximian had

agreed long before, and even bound themselves by a solemn oath in the capitol, to resign the sovereignty. Aurelius Victor writes, that Dioclesian quitted the government, and betook himself to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire h. As two new Casars were to be chosen,

Severus declared Cafars.

Sign the empire

Dioclefian leads a resired life.

10.2

Dioclesian proposed Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and son-in-law of Galerius, and b Constantine, the son of Constantius; but Galerius, rejecting them, prevailed upon Miximin and Dioclesian to name two others in their room, viz. Severus, whom he had already sent to receive the purple at the hands of Maximian, and Daia, or Daza, his fifter's fon, to whom he had a little before given the name of Maximin. They were both greatly attached to Galerius, but neither of them any-ways qualified for fuch a high station. However, Dioclesian consented to their election; and a few days after, on the first of Diocesian and May of the present year 305. the twenty-first of his reign, he resigned the empire in Miximum rethe presence of his court and the army, divesting himself of the purple, and delivering it to Maximin, whom at the same time he declared Cafar, together with Severus. This ceremony was performed in the fame place where Galerius had been declared c Ca/ar, about three miles from Nicomedia. Dioclesian, before he divested himself of the purple, made an harangue to the foldiers, telling them, That his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to Constantius and Galerius, who were more able and better qualified than he to discharge so great a trust. When the ceremony was over, Dioclesian passed through Nicomedia with a small retinue, and retiring to Dalmatia, his native country, chose the city of Salona for the place of his residence. The same day Maximian, quiting the purple at Milan, consigned it to Severus, as had been agreed on before-hand, declared Constantius and Galerius emperors, and then retired to Lucaniz, where we shall foon see him raising disturbances, with a design to resume the dignity which he had quitted. As for Dioclesian, he d patfled the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, at a country-feat in the neighbourhood of Salona, on the spot where the city of Spalatro was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of Dioclesian are still to be seen there, and take up two thirds of the town. It was, according to the description which Constantius Porphyrogenitus gives us of it, a most stately and magnificent building, and contained four temples, one of which is still intire, and the cathedral of Spalatro. Dioclesian diverted himfelf, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, faying often, Now I live; now I see the beauty of the sun. Some time after, when Maximian and others wrote to him to join them, and resume the empire, he returned them this answer; I wish you would but come to Salona, that I might show you the colworts which I have planted with e my own hands: I am fure you would never thenceforth mention the empire to me k. He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes who reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father, fince to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inscription of the year 306, both he and Maximian are styled the ancient emperors, and the fathers of the emperors. In his time they confecrated the therma, or hot baths, which he had begun at Rome, and confulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counsels. Thus Galerius invited him in the year 307 to Carnus, or Carnuntum, in Pannonia, to advise with him about the promotion of Licinius m. However, several things happened afterwards, which gave him great concern and uneafiness: His daughter Valeria refusing to marry Maximin f after the death of her husband Galerius in the year 311. was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and banished. Constantine and Licinius, in the beginning of the year 313. espoused with great zeal the cause of the persecuted christians, whom he and his collegue Maximian had attempted utterly to extirpate ". Victor adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of Licinius with the lifter of Constantine, and he excusing himself on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the disturbances raised by

Massentius.

B CONSTANT. Orat. c. 25.

h Aur. Vict. p. 525.

t Lact. perf. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Vict. epit. p. 543.

k Idem, p. 542. Eutrop. p. 587.

p. 26.

n Idem ibid. c. 41. p. 36.

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a Maxentius o. The same author adds, that the dread he was in of an ignominious death, prompted him to end his life with poifon P. Theophanes writes, that the fenate His death. had already iffued a decree for his execution 4; and Latlantius, that feeing himfelf, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill used and despised, he resolved to put an end to his life, abstained from all food, and died of hunger, grief and despair. In the chronicle of Alexandria we read, that he died of a dropfy'; and in Eusebius, that he was consumed and worn out by a lingering distemper. He died, according to Aurelius Victor", soon after the marriage of Licinius, which was celebrated in the March of the year 313. after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty and some months. He was deified with the usual solemnities after his death w, prob bably by Licinius or Maximin II. for Constantine, at the time of his death, professed the christian religion. Libanius writes, that Dioclesian shewed himself in many, but He shewed not in all things, an excellent prince x; and the emperor Julian commends him him/eljia mang for having done many things that proved very useful to the public y. He enacted things an exa great many wholfome laws, and was fo far from countenancing informers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could not make good their charge. He would not receive the accusation of one Thaumasius against his benefactor Symmachus, in whose house he had been brought up, and condemned another to banishment, for informing against his brother 2. He suppressed the officers called frumenc tarii, of whom Casaubon speaks much at length, without giving us any satisfactory reason why they were so called a. They were first established to give the emperor immediate notice of the disturbances that happened in the provinces; but abusing their office, especially in the distant countries, they often extorted large sums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuse them, if they did not comply with their unjust demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their suppression; for those who were styled agentes in rebus and curiosi, proved no less mischievous than the frumentarii b. Dioclesian encouraged and preferred persons of merit and virtue, discountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worship of the gods, and was, till seduced by Galerius, rather a friend than an enemy to the christians, of whom he had, till the year 303. great numbers both in his court and army c. He was greatly addicted to building, and embellished His public

magnificence of that surprising fabric. Besides the bathing places, in which three thousand persons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in Trajan's library were conveyed thither d. The emperor Constantius II. when he came to Rome in 358, admired nothing so much as Dioclesian's baths, which seemed rather a province, says Ammianus Mare tellinus, with no small exaggeration, than a building. Part of these baths were by pope Pius IV. changed into a church, consecrated to the Virgin Mary, under the title of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Dioclesian embellished with a great number of stately buildings many other cities, but above all Nicomedia, with a delign of equalling it to Rome, for which purpose he spared no cost or labour, that might render the place either beautiful or convenient. He built there a circus, several basilics, a mint, an arsenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus Nicomedia became the ordinary residence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the east, till the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople s. We have spoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at Spalatro in Dalmatia, in which province he f likewise built the castle of Dioclea, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants whereof were called Dioclesians E. But these buildings proved very burdensome to They prove

feveral cities of the empire, especially Rome, Carthage, Milan, and Nicomedia, with many stately edifices. From the ruins of his thermæ, or public hot baths, which are still visited and admired by all travellers to Rome, we may judge of the grandeur and

the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their ancient habitations to make burdensome to room for them, but moreover to furnish workmen, beasts of burden, and the neces- the people.

9 Тнеорн. chronogr. p. 8. г Lact. реги. с. т. р. 317. ч Aug. Vict. p. 542. w Eu-LACT. pers. c. 42. • Vict. epit. p. 542. P Idem ibid. VICT. epit. p. 542. P Idem ibid. 4 Theoph. chronogr. p. 8.

LACT. peril. c. 42.
p. 36. Chron. Alexand. p. 656. Euseb. l. viii. c. 7. p. 317. 4 Aur. Vict. p. 542. W Eutrop. p. 586. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. Y Jul. orat. i. p. 12.

Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. i. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810. Casaub. not. in Spart. p. 22.
Aur. Vict. p. 524. Eldem, p. 525. Lact. perf. c. 10. p. 9.

Prob. vit. p. 233. Vict. epit. p. 525. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71.
P. 7, 15. Constan. Porphyr. de administr. imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72.

fary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embellished the

AJumes the title of God.

cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finished, he caused it a to be pulled down, tho' reared at an immense expense, and to be rebuilt upon a different plan, perhaps to pull it down a second and third time h. Lastantius charges him with avarice, and with putting, under various false pretences, many persons to death, in order to seize their estates 1. Eutropius k, Zonaras 1, and Aurelius Vistor m, tell us, that, to cover the meanness of his extraction, he affected extraordinary magnificence in his attire, caused those who approached him to fall prostrate at his feet, affumed the titles of Lord and God, as Caligula and Domitian had done, and claimed divine worship. Hence Spartian, in addressing his works to him, uses this expresfion; I lay them at the feet of your deity". Other writers express themselves in the same style, whether they direct their speech to him or his collegues, who, it seems, fol- b lowed his example o. Dioclesian took the name of Jovius, and Maximian that of Hercules, as if they had been descended from these pretended deities, and even obliged their fuccessors to assume the same titles. Thus Galerius and Maximin added to their other citles that of Jupiter and Jovius, and Constantius the surname of Herculeus, which he transmitted to Licinius, and his son Constantine; but they soon quitted them; for Lastantius tells us, that in the year 320, the impious names of Jupiter and Hercules were abolished from off the face of the earth P. We cannot help observing, before we close this chapter, that tho' no reign was more remarkable, either for length, or variety of great events, than Dioclesian's, yet no prince's reign is less known; which feems the more furprifing to us, when we reflect on the great num- c ber of historians who flourished in his time. Many of them must, without all doubt, have written the history of his life, as we know they did those of his predecessors, which most of them inscribed to him: but no particular and distinct account of his reign has reached us; nay, a chasm even in the history of Zosimus, from the death of Carus to the refignation of Dioclesian, has deprived us of what we might have learnt concerning him of that, as we may call him, second-hand historian. May we not afcribe this general loss of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his attempting utterly to abolish the holy scriptures? This, at least, seems more probable to us, than what we read in a modern critic, viz. that the christians, out of hatred to so cruel an enemy, suppressed all histories and memoirs relating to him 4. d Of the writers who flourished under Dioclesian, we shall speak in our note (C).

h Lact. perf. c. 7. p. 7.

i Idem ibid. c. 9. p. 9.

m Aur. Vict. p. 523.

c. 62. p. 46.

Granus. not. in Spart. p. 201.

k Eutrop. p. 586.
Paneg. 10. p. 123.
V Zonar. p. 244.
LACT. ibid.

(C) Claudius Eusthenius, secretary to Dioclesian, wrote in four books the history of the four princes Dioclesian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius (45); and this is all we know of him. Vossius is of opinion, that Asclepiodotus wrote the history of Dioclesian's reign, because Vopiscus quotes him in relating some things concerning that prince (46); but as Asclepiodotus was captain of the guards to Constantius, and well acquainted with the court, Vopiscus might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grandfather, who never committed any thing to writing. The Augustine writers, viz. Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus, all lived in the reign of Dioclesian, though some of them wrote under his successors. Ælius Spartianus wrote first the lives of all the emperors, from Julius Cafar to Adrian, and afterwards resolved to add to them the lives of all the other emperors and Cafars, and to inscribe the whole to Dioclesian, of whose family he seems to have been (47). The lives of the following princes pass under his name, viz. of Adrian, of Alius Verus, his adopted son, of Julian, Niger, Severus, Caracalla, and Geta: Thole of Alius Cafar, Adrian, Julian, Severus, and Niger, are in-feribed to Dioclesian; that of Caracalla has no dedication prefixed to it; but the life of Gera is addressed to Constantine, already Augustus. What the author says in his address, gives us room to believe, that

he had dedicated other lives to the same prince; nay, Salmasius takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to Maximin I. (48). This opinion we shall examine anon. Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, names Julius Capitolinus and Ælius Lampridius among the historians who had written before him (49). To the latter are generally ascribed the lives of Commodus, of Diadumenus the fon of Macrinus, of Heliogabalus, and Alexander. The life of Commodus is inscribed to Dioclesian; those of Heliogabalus and Alexander to Constantine, who defired the author, as he tells us, to write the life of Heliogabalus, and to address it to him, as he had done several other lives before (50). He adds, that he designed to write the history of Alexander Severus, and his successors, to Constantine; namely, of the Gordians, of Aurelian, Claudius, Dioclesian, Maximian, Licinius, Severus, Alexander, who revolted in Africa in 308. and of Maxentius. These princes were, it seems, at that time all dead, and consequently he could not write this before the year 324. He tells us elsewhere, that he had written the lives of M. Aurelius and Macrinus (51). In some ancient manuscripts, all the lives that pass under the name of Lampridius, are ascribed to Spartian; and truly the lives said to have been written by these two historians are in every respect so like, that some learned critics have taken them to have been done

(45) Car. vit. p. 254. (46) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 185. (47) Ver. vit. p. 13, 16. (48) Salmas. not. in Spart. p. 242, 243. (49) Prob. vit. p. 234. (50) Lampr. p. 45, 101, 136, 113. (51) Commod. vit. p. 45. Diadum. vit. p. 99.

by one writer, named Ælius Lampridius Spartianus. Cafauton and Vossius are greatly inclined to this opinion (51); the more because Vopiscus often quotes Lampridius, and never Spartian. On the other hand, Salmalins takes them to be two diffinct writers (52.) Julius Capitolinus likewise undertook to write the lives of all the emperors in fo many distinct and feparate books, as others had done before him; but, upon fecond thoughts, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, he joined several lives together, of such emperors especially as reigned at the same time (53). Under his name pass the lives of T. Antoninus, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Pertinax, Albinus, Macrinus, the two Maximins, the three Gordians, Maximus, and Balbinus. The history of Titus Antoninus, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, and Macrinus, are dedicated to Dioclesian; and that of the Maximins, of the Gordians, and of Albinus, to Constantine, for whose sake he undertook the whole work (54). Perhaps Cornelius Capitolinus, quoted by Trebellius Pollio in his account of Zenobia (55), and Julius Capitolinus, are one and the same person. Some manuscripts ascribe to Spartian all the lives that pass under the name of Capitolinus, except those of the Maximins, of the Gordians, and of Maximus and Balbinus (56). Salmasius yields to the authority of the manuscripts (57); but Vossius afferts, that the lives commonly ascribed to Capitolinus, were done by him, and not by Spartian (58). Vulcatius Gallicanus, a Roman senator, undertook, in the reign of Dioclesian, to write the lives of all those who had enjoyed the fovereignty, whether by right or usur-pation (59), but of all he wrote, or designed to vrite, nothing has reached our times, except his history of Avidius Cassius, who revolted in the east during the reign of M. Aurelius, which is dedicated to Dioclesian. This life too Salmasius ascribes to to Dioclesian. This life too Salmasius ascribes to Spartian (60). But the name of Vulcatius, which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of Vosfins (61), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the transcriber. Valejus takes the historian to be one and the same person with Gallicanus, who was consul with Bassus in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of Philip, and of

all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or usurpers, from his time to the reign of Claudius and his brother Quintillus (62). He had begun, it feems, this work before the year 291. when Tiberianus was governor of Rome (63). Great part of this work has been long fince lost. He likewise defigned to write the life of Aurelian; which defign if he ever put in execution, it was after Vopiscus had written on the same subject; for that writer glories in his being the first among the Latins who published the life of Aurelian (64). Trebellius Pollio scems to have been greatly attached to Constantion. tius the father of Constantine (65). Vopiscus thinks he overlooked some things, and was too minute and diffuse in others (66). His history of the thirty tyrants was published after the year 201. when Constantius was already Casar. He inscribed his work to some particular friend or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of Claudius he addresses to Constantine, and not to Constantius, as some have maintained (67). Vossius thinks his language and style not unworthy of praise, if compared with that of his contemporary writers (68). Some afcribe

to Capitolinus the lives that pass under the name of Pollio; but their opinion is rejected by the best critics (69). Flavius Vopiscus was a native of Syracuse, and feems to have been descended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with Dioclesian. He was induced to write the life of Aurelian, as he himself informs us, by Junius Tiberianus governor of Rome (70), in 291. or 292, but he did not publish it before Constantius was created Cafar (71). He feems to have made some additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a faying of Dioclesian after his refignation, which, he fays, he had learnt of his father (72). He wrote likewise the histories of Tacitus and his brother Florianus, of Procus, of Firmus, and of fome other usurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of Carus and his children, while Galerius was waging war with the Persians (73); that is, about the year 297, but he must have alterwards added several things to it; for he mentions the shews exhibited by Dioclesian in 300. and says, That Eusthenius, who had been jecretary to that prince, had written his life, and the lives of his three collegues (74). From which expression we may conclude, not only that Eufthenius was no longer his fecretary, and confequently that Dioclesian was no longer emperor, but likewise that he and his collegues were dead, fince their lives were already written. The last of them died in 311. Vop: fens inscribed his works, not to he emperors, but to his friends. The lite of Firmus is odrelled to Baffus, and that of Probus to one Celfus, his intimate friend, perhaps Herennius Celjus, who aspired at the confulfhip (75), and was, according to Cajauton (76), governor of Egypt. Vorifeus was a great almirer of Apoilonius Tyanaus, and promises in one place of his work to write his life; but of such a performance no mention is made by any of the ancients (77). Thele ix writers, viz. Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopifeus, are commonly known to the learned by the name of bistoria Augusta scriptores, though they are in effect rather biographers than historians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, stature, mien, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to describe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their respec-tive reigns. Vopiscus, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the reft, both as to his me hod and style; but nevertheless has many great fautts, and is not to be compared with any of the ancient Latin hiftorians. As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and or method in digesting what they had chosen. Of these fix writers, Capitolians is the most confused and injudicious; whence some have jusp . Eted, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of Capitolinus, Spartian, and fome others (78). Their ftyle is quite coarfe and unpolified, their expressions uncouth, and sometimes hardly intelligible. Vopifcus writes, that Lampridius and Capitolinus minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (79). Pollio owns his style to have nothing of the elegance of the ancients (80). But of the many historians, some say fifty and upwards, who have handled the fame subject, only

(51) Cafaub. in Spart. p. 1. Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 7. p. 192, 193. (53) Gord. vit. p. 151. Maxim. vit. p. 138. (54) Capit. p. 30, 29. p. 198. (56) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 186. (57) Sahist. Lat. c. 65. p. 18. (59) Cassii vit. p. 40, 41. (60) Salm. (52) Salmaf. in Spart. p. 66. (54) Capit. p. 30, 39, 96, &c. (55) 186. (57) Salmaf. in Spart. p. 108. (55) Trig. tyran. c. (58) Voff. biff. Lat. c. 65, p. 18. (59) Cassii vit. p. 40, 41. (60) Salmas. in Spart. p. 108. biff. Lat. l. ii. c. 5, p. 187. (62) Aur. vit. p. 209, 242. (63) Idem ibid. (65) Casaub. in not. p. 203. (66) Aur. vit. ibid. (67) Vide Voss. hist. Lat. c. 6, p. 190. (69) Vide Casub. in Pell. p. 203. (70) Aur. vit. p. 209. (61) Voff. (64) Idem ibid. (68) Voff. (71) Idem, (75) Trig. vit. p. 250. (74) Idem, p. 254. 116. (77) Aur. vit. p. 217. (80) Trig. tyran. p. 184. (72) Idem, p. 223. (73) Car. vit. p. 250. 95. (76) Cafaub. in Vopife. p. 216. (7 tyran. vit. p. 195. (78) Vide Cafano. in Spart. p. 13. (79) Prob. vit. p. 234. Vol. VI. No 3. Lll

the above-mentioned fix have reached us. Tatius, or Statius Cyrillus, was contemporary with these fix writers, and translated the lives of several emperors out of Greek into Latin. Constantine desired him to abridge them, and to join several lives together in one volume (81). His work has been long since lost. Sotericus, a poet and historian, slourished in the reign of Dioclesian, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of Oasis in Libya, and much esteemed by the learned men of his age. He lest behind him several works, and among the rest the life of Apollonius Tyanaus (82); but only a small fragment of what he wrote has been conveyed to us by the scholiast of Lycophron (83).

But of all the writers who flourished under Dioclefian, the most famous was the philosopher Porphyrius, born, as he himself writes, in the city of Tyre, or that neighbourhood; for he styles himself a Tyrian (84). St. ferom gives him the furname of Bataneotes (85); whence some have believed him to have been a native of Batanea, a village in Syria, according to Stephanus, or rather in Phanicia; for it stood within titteen miles of Casarea in Palestine. Perhaps the family of Porphyrius came originally from Tyre, and thence he ityled himself a Tyrian, though born in the village of Batanea (86). It is certain, that he passed part of his life in the neighbourhood of Tyre (87). Baronius maintains him to have been by religion a Jew 88) probably for no other reason, but because he supposed him to have been a native of Batanea; but in those days Batanea was inhabited not only by Jews, but likewise by Greeks and Syrians. It is true, he always spoke with great reverence of the God of the Jews (89); but at the same time he declared himself an open enemy to that people, as well as to the Christians (90). St. Austin styles him Porphyrius the Sicilian (91), probably on account of his having refided a long time in Sicily, and publishing there feveral books against the christians. He was descended of a good family. His ancestors were not Greeks, but Syrians, fo far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called Malchus; which name he himself bore in his youth: but as the name of Malchus in the Syriac language signified king, Longinus advised him to exchange it for that of Porphyrius, which has some relation to royalty, the word woppupa signifying in Greek, purple, which was peculiar to the emperors and Casars. However, he was by some still called Malchus; and Longinus himself gave him that name in addressing a work to him (92). He was born in the year 233, for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of Gallienus (93). writes, that at first he professed the christian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abused by some christians at Casarea in Palestine, out of revenge he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn the religion, which he had till that time professed (94). Holstenius likewise supposes him to have been once a christian, and for that supposition quotes St. Austin (95); but that father only fays, that Porphyrius had read the scripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled with the humility of Jesus (96); from which words no one can conclude, that he ever professed the doctrine and humility of Jesus. While he was yet very young,

he saw Origen, at that time in great credit among the christians (97), not at Alexandria, as Vincentius Lirinensis writes (98), (for he had left that city in 231.) but either at Cafarea in Palestine, or at Tyre. Porthyrius came to Rome about the year 252. He was disciple to Longinus, under whom he studied at Athens the philosophy of Plato, and made such progress in his studies, that he soon became the honour and ornament of that school (99). Though he was one of the most dangerous and inveterate enemies the christian religion ever had, yet this has not hindered the christian writers from doing him justice, and bestowing upon him the praises he deserved. Eusebius ranks him among the most illustrious men, and eminent philosophers, that flourished at any time (100). Cyrillus of Alexandria extolls his knowledge; and St. Austin styles him an extraordinary genius, and the most learned among philosophers (1). In the year 263, being then thirty, he passed from Greece to Rome, where he heard Plotinus, who taught there; and no fooner heard him, than forgetting Longinus, and all the other philosophers, he addicted himself intirely to him (2). Suidas supposes him to have been likewise disciple to Amelius (3); but the latter studied at the same time under Plotinus, so that he and Porphyrius were rather condisciples (4). Porphyrius indeed might have learned many things of Amelius, who was eighteen years older than he, and been in that sense his disciple. He lived fix years with Plotinus, and the fruit he reaped from his instructions was a profound melancholy, which in the end reduced him to fuch mifery, that he refolved to destroy himself. Plotinus, suspecting his design from some words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from fuch gloomy thoughts by travelling. He therefore took his leave of Plotinus, and, in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of the reign of Gallienus, fet out from Rome, and crossed over into Sicily. He landed near Messana, now Messma; but, without vifiting that city, went strait to cape Lilybaum, to see one Probus, who was generally esteemed a man of great learning. He continued fome days with Probus, without taking any food, or conversing with any one (7); but in the end got the better of his melancholy, and staid near two years at Lilybaum. While he was there, Plotinus died at Rome, about the beginning of the year 270. From Sicily Perphyrius feems to have passed into the east, to have staid some time at Tyre, and returning from thence to Sicily, to have croffed over from Lilybaum to Africa, and there visited the city of Carthage (6). From Africa he failed back to Sicily, and from Sicily returned to Rome, where he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and even made some public speeches or declamations (7). He lived to a great age, fays Eunapius; and Porphyrius himself, in his life of Plotinus, speaks of a thing that happened to him when he was fixty-eight; that is, in the year 299. or 300(8); so that he not only lived to the reign of Probus, as Eunapius Writes, but to that of Dioclesian, and perhaps longer; which confirms what we read in St. Austin, viz. that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the internal ipirits, contpired to extirpate the christian religion; and therefore could

(81) Max. vit. p. 138. Voss. hist. Lat. c. 7. p. 193. (82) Suid. p. 784. (83) Voss. hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 16. p. 246. (84) Plot. vit. p. 6. (85) Hier. in Gal. par. prim. 156. (86) Vide Jons. l. iii. c. 15. p. 286. (87) Plot. vit. p. 12. (88) Baron. ad ann. 302. (89) August. civit. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. p. 253. (90) Euseb. prap. evang. l. x. c. 9. p. 485. (91) Aug. retract. l. ii. c. 11. p. 24. (92) Eunap. c. ii. p. 16. Plot. vit. p. 10. (93) Idem, p. 3. (94) Socr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 100. (95) Porphyr. vit. c. 5. p. 19. (96) Aug. civ. Dei. l. x. p. 118. (97) Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 220. (98) Vinc. Lir. c. 23. p. 352. (99) Euseb. prapar. evan. l. x. c. 3. p. 464. Eunap. c. 2. p. 16. (100) Euseb. ibid. Porphyr. vit. c. 1. p. 10, 11. (1) Aug. civ. Dei, c. 32. p. 120. (2) Plot. vit. p. 3. Eunap. c. ii. p. 17. (3) Suid. p. 573, 193. (4) Plot. vit. p. 3. (5) Idem, p. 4. Eunap. c. 2. p. 17, 18. (6) Porphyr. vit. p. 2—12. Plot. vit. p. 17. (7) Eunap. c. 2. p. 21. Plot. vit. p. 16. (8) Idem ibid.

not persuade himself, that it had been given by God for a means of falvation; whereas he ought, continues St. Austin, to have looked upon that bloody perfecution as an evident proof of the giory and invincible strength of the church (8). He died, according to Eunapius (9), at Rome. St. Jerom feems to have believed, that he was buried in Sicily (10). He had married a widow, by name Marcella, who had five children by a former husband. Eunapius tells us, that he married her with no other view but to bring up her children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend(11). As the christian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameless. Eunapius cries up his eloquence, and the beauty of his style and expressions (12). He was thoroughly versed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and music (13); but shone chiesly in philosophy, his favourite science and study. Authors observe of him, that whereas other philosophers studied to conceal their sentiments with an affected obscurity, Porphyrius expressed himself in a manner adapted to the meanest capacities (14). He taught philosophy at Rome both by word of mouth and in writing. Iamblichus, a celebrated philosopher in those times, and Theodorus of Afine in Peloponnesus, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his difciples (15); as likewise were, according to some writers, Chrysaores, Nemercus, and Gedalus, who inscribed fome works to him (16). He was very communicative to those who defired to be informed and instructed, and kind to his disciples, whom on all occasions he was ready to affift to the utmost of his power. He applied himself, as most of the Patonic philosophers did in those days, to the execrable study of magic, which he disgussed with the plausible name of theourgia, or divine operation (17). He composed an infinite number of books upon different subjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the differtation which Holftenius published on the life and writings of that philosopher (18). We shall only take notice of fuch of his works as are still extant. A manuscript has reached our times on the quantity and measure of words, under the name of Porphyrius, whom Holstenius believes to have been the true author of it. To Homer is added in several editions a small work, containing thirty-two questions concerning that poet, done by Porphyrius, and looked upon by Holstenius as the beginning of an intire comment, well known to the ancients. time writer published in 1630. a piece, which he alcribes to Porphyrius, on the cave of the nymphs, described in the thirteenth book of the odysty: the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans: at the same time Holstenius published a fragment of Porphyrius on the river Styx; and several other fragments of that piece are to be found in Stobaus. Porphyrius often quotes there the heretic Bardesanes, and his disciples, who, he says, lived in the time of Heliogabalus. He wrote in five books the curious history, or, as it is styled by others, curious entertainments (19). Out of the first book of this work, Eusebius quotes a long passage upon plagiaries, who copy from one another (20). Among his philosophical works, Holftenius takes, in the first place, notice of

the introduction upon the universals, which he wrote while in Sicily, to explain to Chrysaores, his disciple, the categories of Arifotle. One Ammonius wrote a comment upon this work, which is still extant. Another work of Porphyrius, on Aristotle's categories, was first printed at Paris in 1543. Besides these two, he wrote a third on the same subject, in seven books, which he inscribed to Gedalus. This was in great part copied by Iamblichus, who likewise published a treatise on the categories longer than that of Porphyrius (21). In the latter end of the last century was published at Basle an introduction written by Porphyrius, on Ptolemy's work touching the influence and force of the stars; and several manuscripts of a comment by Porphyrius on another work of Ptolemy, treating of harmony and mutic, are still extant (22). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philosophers, were well known to the ancients; but he brings them no lower than to Plato's time (23). The subject of the first book of this work was the life of Pythagoras, which Holstenius has published, but imperfect. The third contained the life of Socrates, of whom he speaks very contemptuoufly, having, as is supposed, compiled these lives with passages borrowed from the ancients, and among the rest from Aristoxenes, a declared enemy to Socrates (24). The reader will find, in the fecond book of Stohaus, great part of a work done by Porphyrius on what it is in our power to do, and inscribed by him to Chrysacres (25). The four books, which he wrote against eating of flesh, and the Latin translation of them by Bernardus Felicianus, are highly esteemed by Holstenius. These books are addressed to Castricius Firmus, who had an estate at Minturna, in the neighbourhood of Rome, and greatly admired, or rather adored, both Plotinus and his favourite disciple Porphyrius (26). Eusebius and Theodores have made use of several passages in this work, in writeing against the sacrifices of the gentiles (27). As this work Porphyrius condemned the facrifices, which the Jews were by their law commanded to offer to the true God, Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, undertook to consute him as to that particular. St. Austin often quotes a treatise of Porphyrius on the return of the foul to God (28), divided into several books. This is, without all doubt, the treatise on the foul, which is often cited by Eufebius, and was divided into five books, written by Porphyrius to confute Bathius, a celebrated peripatetic in the time of Augustus (29). Porphyrius published another work on the faculties of the foul, out of which a long paffage has been conveyed to us by Stobaus. Holflenius has published several sentences or sayings of Porphyrius, which make up part of a treatife intituled, introduction to things intelligible. Eusebius and St. Auslin make frequent mention of a letter from Porphyrius to one Anebon, an Egyptian priest or prophet, containing feveral questions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was answered by Iamblichus, under the seigned name of Abammon (30). Eusebius and Stobaus quote scveral passinges out of a book upon statues, wherein Porphyrius is supposed to have excused, in the best manner he could, the worship paid by the pagans to their idols (31). Cyrillus of Alexandria has tran-fcribed some passages out of another book of his, inscribed to Nemercus, upon Divine Providence. Eufebius and St. Auslin speak frequently of a treatise

intituled,

(8) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. c. 32. p. 120, 121. (9) Eunap. c. 2. p. 21. (10) Hier. in Ezech. p. 377. (11) Eunap c. 2. p. 11. (12) Idem, c. 2, 3. p. 19, 20. (13) Idem, p. 18, 19. (14) Idem ibid. (15) Phot. c. 242. p. 1057. Steph. p. 121. (16) Porphyr. vit. c. 5. p. 44. & 51, 53. (17) Aug. ibid. l. x. c. 9. p. 111. Euseb. prap. Evang. l. iv. c. 6. p. 143. (18) Holslen. vit. Porph. c. 6. (19) Vit. Porph. p. 46—49. (20) Euseb. prap. Evang. l. x. c. 3. p. 464. (21) Porphyr. vit. p. 51, 52. (22) Idem, p. 54, 55. (23) Idem, p. 56. Eunap. p. 10. (24) Porphyr. vit. c. 7. p. 60. (15) Idem, p. 64. (26) Idem ibid. (27) Idem ibid. (28) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. p. 9, &c. (19) Porph. vit. p. 71, 72. Euseb. prap. Evang. l. iii. c. 34. (30) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. c. 11. p. 112, &c. Euseb. ibid. l. xiv. c. 10. p. 741. (31) Eutrop. p. 75. Euseb. ibid. l. iii. c. 9. p. 100.

intituled, philosophy founded upon oracles, in all like-lihood the same work with that which Eusebius elsewhere styles a collection of oracles. This work consisted at least of three books (32). St. Austin is of opinion, that most of the oracles related by Porphyrius in that treatife were feigned by himself (33). He published, by the advice of Plotinus, a book against the heretics called gnostics, to shew, that a treatise on magic, which they perused, and ascribed to Zoroaster, was a supposititious piece, and written by some of them (34). He published an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the ancients, and have been long fince intirely loft. But none of his works have rendered him fo famous as that which he wrote against the christians, to whom he bore an irreconcileable hatred, and whose religion he endeavoured to discredit with the blackest calumnies. He read with great attention the feri-ptures, not to feek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, fays Theodoret (35). He pre-tended to have discovered in the sacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it feems, the subject of his first book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (36). He found the prophecies of Daniel so clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to shew, that the prophecies ascribed to Daniel had been published under his name by one who lived in the time of Antiochus, and wrote when the things supposed to have been foretold, had already happened (37). As Porphyrius was a man of great learning, and highly effected by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the christian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor Constantine, after he had embraced the christian religion, published some severe edicts, either against the person of Porphyrius, if he was still alive, which is not at all likely, or against his memory and writings, which he caused to be publicly burnt (38). Some authors think,

that this punishment extended to all his writings; but Constantine's words need not be taken in so general a sense (39). That prince, to shew his aversion to the Arians, ordered them to be called Porphyrians (40). The christians did not fail to answer the ill-grounded calumnies, and sophistical reasonings, of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy bishop Methodius confuted him in a very learned piece, which he published before the persecution of Dioclesian, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the persecution (41); but we can bardly persuade ourselves, that he was then at leisure to compose such a long and elaborate work, the bishops being, in times of perfecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging, the diffressed christians under their care. Eusebius of Casarea, a man of great learning and erudition, published, foon after Methodius, an answer to the calumnies of Porphyrius in thirty books; and Apoll naris wrote the same number of books against him about fixty years after Eusebius. But all these works, as well as that of Porphyrius, which they confuted, have been long fince loit. Julian the apostate borrowed from Porphyrius what he wrote against the christian religion; but he was fully answered by the pious and learned Cyrillus of Alexandria. St. Ferom, St. Austin, Eusebius and Theodoret, make use of several passages out of Porphyrius, in confuting the caumnies of the pagans; for that implacable enemy to the christian religion, notwithstanding all his hatred and molice, could not help uttering many things which redounded greatly to the honour of those whom he intended to traduce and expose: hence the judicious observation of Theodores, with which we shall close this note; viz. That as God obliged Balaam to bless his people, whom he was come with a design to curse, so he turned the tongue of Porphyrius against himself, and employed him as a means to desiroy the falshood which he laboured to establish (42).

(31) Porph. vit. p. 78. Jonf l. iii. c. 15. p. 289. (33) Aug. civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. p. 253. (34) Plot. vit. p. 10. (35) Theodoret. de Grac. affect. l. vii. p. 588. (36) Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219. Porphyr. vit. c. 10. p. 81. (37) Hier. in Dan. p. 567. (38) Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. (39) Idem ibid. (41) P. Pagi, p. 302. (42) Theodor. de curand. Gracor. affect. l. iii. p. 117.

## C H A P. XXV.

## The Roman history, from the resignation of Dioclesian, to the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, by Constantine the Great.

Constantius and Galerius acknowledged emperors.

PON the refignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, the two Casars, Constantius 2 and Galerius, were univerfally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have spoken above, and shall here give a succinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities, of Constantius, the father of the great Constantine, to whom Extraction and the christian religion is so highly indebted. Constantius, styled in the ancient inscripreserments of ptions, Flavius Valerius Constantius (D), was the son of Eutropius, one of the chief Constantius.

(D) Constantius is sometimes called Julius by Aurelius Victor, to distinguish him from the other emperors of the same name (43) He probably assumed the name of Valerius, when he was adopted by Maximian, who had borrowed it of Dioclesian. As for that of Flavius, it was, according to some authors (44), peculiar to the family of the emperor Claudius II. whose great nephew he was. In some inscriptions, Constantius is falsly styled the grandson of Claudius; and in one, Constantine is called the grandson of Claudius, and the son of Constantius (45).

(43) Aur. Vict. p. 524.

(44) Vide Salmas. in Claud. p. 331.

(45) Gruter. p. 283.

a lords of Dardania in Upper Mæsia, by Claudia, the daughter of Crispus, brother to the emperor Claudius; fo that he was not, as some have styled him, grandson's, but great nephew to that prince. He is commonly distinguished from other emperors of the same name by the surname of Chlorus, borrowed perhaps from the faleness of his countenance, for fuch is the import of that word in the Greek tongue. He was born, according to some writers, on the thirty-first of March, of what year we know not, being only told, that at the time of his death, which happened in 306. he was, or at least seemed to be, very old ". In his person, he was well shaped; and in his aspect there was something extremely gracious and pleasing w. He was not so well versed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under b two great warriors, Aurelian and Probus\*. An ancient anonymous writer tells us, that he ferved some time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length appointed governor of Dalmatia. He fignalized himself in war, and gained a great victory over the Alemans in Campis Vindonis, that is, in the neighbourhood of Windisch, at present a small village in the canton of Bern, the same year that Constantine was born, that is, in 274 2. He was made governor of Dalmatia in the year 282. or 283. by Carus, who had even some thoughts of creating him  $C \omega f a r$ , in the room of his debauched and wicked fon Carinus, whom he defigned to depose. Dioclesian, judging him well qualified for the sovereignty, agreed with Maximian to c create him Cæsar, together with Galerius, on the first of March of the year 292. as we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of Maximian, who by that ceremony adopted him; and hence he is fometimes called by the name of Hercules b, which Maximian had affumed. He took place of Galerius, tho' created Cafar at the same time, on account of his more noble extraction . Upon his being made Cafar, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, fell to his share. We have related in the foregoing reign, the exploits he performed in *Gaul* and *Britain*, while he was only *Cæjar*. When he attained to the empire, he governed the fame provinces with fuch justice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their fovereign. He is d extolled, not only by Eusebius and Lastantius, whose testimony might be suspected, but by all the pagan writers, as the most equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and His excellent generous prince, that ever swayed a sceptre. He was not solicitous, says Eutro-qualities. pius, about inriching the exchequer, but pleased that his people should enjoy the fruit of their labour and industry. He was often heard to say, it was better the wealth of a country should circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was extremely sparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the use of his table. What Eutropius writes is confirmed by Eusebius, who relates the following remarke able story, p ssing over in silence, says he, many others no less remarkable, but generally known: As the moderation and mildness with which Constantius governed An instance of were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally faid, that he had no money the affections of by him, being unwilling to raise any upon his people, Dioclesian sent persons on him. purpose to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. Conftantius heard these reproaches with patience; and having persuaded those, who made them in Dioclesian's name, to stay a sew days with him, he fent word to the most wealthy persons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of shewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one strove who should be foremost in f carrying to the exchequer all their gold, filver, and valuable effects; fo that in a short time Constantius, from the poorest, became by far the most wealthy of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of Dioclesian to visit his treasury, desiring them to make a faithful report to their master of the state in which they should find it. They obeyed; and while they stood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and filver, Constantius told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with astonishment,

had long fince belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depositum, in

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T ZONAR. vit. Dio. p. 243. Ammian. anonym. p. 471. Spon. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. Salmaf. p. 331.

Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43.

Bucher. de cycl. p. 276.

Euseb. vit. Conft. l. i. c. 18. Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. w Paneg. 5. p. 126. & 9. p. 192. \*Aur. Vict. p. 524. Prob. vit. p. 241. Anonym. Animiano ubjunctus, p. 471. \*Paneg. 9. p. 192. \*Car. vit. p. 235. Paneg. 4. p. 115. C. LACT. Pareg. 18. \*Aur. Vict. p. 136, 137. 9. p. 192, 219. \*Eutrop. p. 587. fubjunctus, p. 471. pers. c. 20. p. 18.

His piety.

He favours the christians.

His issue.

the hands of his people; adding, That the richest and surest treasure of the prince was a the love of his subjects. The deputies were no sooner gone, than the generous prince fent for those who had affisted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they had so readily brought into his treasure f. Suidas writes, that, for his contempt of riches and grandeur, he was furnamed the poor s. Libanius too extols his tender and paternal regard for the people, who were bleffed with so good a prince; and adds, No prince ever loved money less; no prince was ever more loved by his subjects b. Eusebius frequently commends the piety of Constantius; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he acknowledged only one God, the Supreme Being; that he had honoured him all his life, had confecrated to him his whole house, and condemned the many gods b adored by the impious. This is in a manner telling us, that he was a christian; and nevertheless, neither Eusebius, nor any other writer, affirms that, at least in express terms; nay, it appears from Eusebius, that he esteemed and countenanced, but never professed, the christian religion. When Dioclesian, in the year 303. at the instigation of Galerius, began to persecute the church, he sent his bloody edicts to Maximian and Constantius, injoining both to see them put in execution in their respective provinces. Maximian obeyed with great readiness and joy; and Constantius, that he might not feem to oppose his collegues, suffered some churches to be pulled down; but was fo far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preserved the christians in his provinces exempt from all the evils which they c fuffered in those of the others; insomuch that the church enjoyed under him a profound tranquillity, and intire liberty of worship k. Eusebius relates of him the following memorable action: While his collegues, fays he, were perfecuting the christians with fire and fword, he politically pretended to persecute them too; and declared to such officers of his houshold, and governors of provinces, as were christians, that he left it to their choice either to facrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain themselves in their employments, or to forseit their places, and his savour, by continuing steady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor discovered his real fentiments, reproached in most bitter terms those who had renounced their religion, highly extolled the virtue and constancy of such as had despised the d wealth and vanities of the world, difmissed with ignoming the former, saying, That those who had betrayed their God, would not scruple to betray their prince; and retaining the latter, trusted them with the guard of his person, and the whole management of public affairs, as persons on whose fidelity he could depend, and in whom he might repose an intire confidence. Thus he filled his palace, continues Eusebius, with the pious adorers of the true God, while the other princes exerted all their power to extirpate the christian name; nay, many ministers of God daily offered up prayers and vows for the happiness and preservation of so good a prince in his very palace, which seemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an emperor m. Tho' Constantius thus countenanced and honoured the christians, yet he never e embraced himself, which is altogether surprising, the true religion; at least we are no where told, that he did. By his first wife, Helena, he had but one child, viz. Constantine, surnamed the Great, of whom, as well as of his mother, we shall speak anon. He was obliged, in the year 292, to divorce her, and marry Elavia Maximiana Theodora, daughter to the wife of Maximian, by a former husband. He had by her three sons, Dalmatius or Dematius, Julius Constantius, and a third, named by fome Annibalianus, and by others Constantine; and as many daughters, viz. Constantia, Anastatia, and Eutropia n. Dalmatius, who was honoured with the censorship, died before Constantine, and left two sons, viz. Dalmatius the younger, who, after having been consul in 333. with Zenophilus, was created Cafar on the eighteenth or twenty- f fourth of September in 335. and Annibalianus, king of Pontus and Armenia. Julius Constantius was consul with Albinus in 335. and killed with one of his brothers soon after the death of Constantine the Great. He had by his first wife Galla, Gallus Cæsar, and another son, whose name is unknown; and by his second wife, Basilina, Julian, furnamed the apostate. Valesius, who calls the third son Constantine, takes him to

F EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13, 17. p. 309, 317. & vit. Conftan. l. i. c. 13. p. 414.

Suid. π. p. 466.

Liban. orat. 3. p. 104.

Luseb. vit. Conft. l. i. c. 13. & hift. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309.

EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13, 18. p. 309, 317. & Conft. vit. l. i. c. 13. p. 413.

OPTAT. mil. l. i. p. 44.

Lact. c. 15. p. 13.

EUSEB. vit. Conft. l. i. c. 15. p. 415.

m Idem ibid. c. 17. p. 416.

EUTROP. p. 586. Ammian. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. Goltz. p. 125.

a have been conful in 327. with Maximus, whose collegue is styled in the fasti Conftantine. As to Constantius's three daughters; Constantia, styled on the ancient coins Fl. Valeria Constantia, was married to Licinius in 513. Anastatia married Bassianus, who, at the instigation of Licinius, betrayed Constantine in 314. tho' he had then fome thoughts of creating him Casar. Eutropia was mother to Nepotianus, who usurped the empire in 350. and is supposed to have been married to Nepotianus, who was conful in 301.

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the reign of Constantius, it will be necesfary to give the reader a fuccinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities, of his fon Constantine, whose actions are inseparably interwoven with those b of his father. Constantine, styled in the ancient inscriptions, C. Flavius Valerius Aure- The birth, edulius Claudius Constantinus, was born on the twenty-seventh of February, about the cation, and extraordinary year 274. for at his death, which happened on the twenty-second of May in 337. qualities of his he was about sixty-four P. As for the place of his nativity, the anonymous writer jon Constanting of his life, published in 1636. by Henricus Valesius, and subjoined to the fifteen books timeof Ammianus Marcellinus, Stephanus the geographer 9, Julius Firmicus, who, according to the best-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of Constantine, and Cedrenus', tell us in express terms, that Constantine was born in the city of Naissus in Dardania, The birth-place called also Naisus and Nassus, and now known by the name of Nissa. It is certain, of Constantine. that the father and ancestors of Constantine were natives of Dardania; that Constanc tine himself frequently resided at Naissus, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever shewed himself partial to that city, inriching it with many privileges, and embellishing it with a great number of stately edifices; whence it is styled by Stephanus, the birth-place and work of the emperor Constantine's. However, most modern writers of all nations, not excepting such as are most jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowledge this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as Eusebius styles him, a native of Britain, some of them supposing him to have been born in the city of Colchester, where Coellus, the

father of Helena, reigned; others in York, where the Roman governors usually resided. We heartily wish, an opinion, which reflects so much glory on our island, were Whether bern d better grounded. But to speak our sentiments, unbiassed by any national prejudice in Britains or partiality, tho' we have had from abroad, and perused with great attention, the elaborate work, published at Antwerp in 1641. by the learned jesuit father Alford on this subject, under the title of Britannia Illustrata, yet we cannot say, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a passage in a panegyric pronounced before Constantine, wherein the orator, addressing the emperor, told him, that he had ennobled Britain, illic oriendo, which words equally import by being born there, and by being there made emperor. In the latter sense they are understood by Lipsius , and Livineius in his comments on those ancients panegyrists; but by father Alford and above seventy e other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former w; nay, both he and Baronius think the above-mentioned words can admit of no other fense. For Constantine, say they, was made Casar at Rome, and emperor at Treves: but that he was created Casar in Britain; that he was there first saluted Augustus; and con-

fequently, that the words of the panegyrist may, and perhaps ought to be under-stood in the sense of Lipsius and Livineius, will evidently appear in the sequel of this history from Libanius, Eusebius, the emperor Julian, Lastantius, and Eumenius, whom we shall quote hereafter. Aldhelmus, who stourished in the seventh century, was the first who wrote in express terms, that Constantine was born in Britain y: those who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by f which means that opinion universally prevailed. Aldhelmus probably held it upon the authority of some tradition, or was persuaded by the ambiguous passage of the above-mentioned panegyrist. Eusebius, who relates the most minute particulars of the life of Constantine, never once mentions, which is very surprising, the place of his nativity.

Constantius had Constantine by the celebrated Helena, so much extolled, and not undeservedly, by all the christian, especially the ecclesiastic writers. Most modern

GOLTZ. p. 126, 127. PBUCH. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 214. LACT. p. 411,412. Anonym. p. 471. STEPH. in Naifo. FJUL. FIR. mathef. l. i. c. ult. Cedren. hift. p. 221. STEPH. ibid. LIPS. de mag. Rom. l. iv. c. ult. W Vide Alford. Britan. illustrat. p. 140—155. BARON. 2d ann. 306. Bucher. de Belg. l. 6. c. 15. Aldhelm. de laude virg. c. 23. authors.

authors, whether natives of this island, or foreigners, suppose her to have been the a

Whether his was born in

Nicephorus's account.

False and

inconsistent with history

mother Helena daughter of Coellus, a British king, and to have married Constantius, who was charmed with her beauty, when he first came into Britain, in the reign of Aurelian. But this opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to the birth-place of Constantine, there being a profound filence among the ancients, if we except Nicephorus, with respect to the country of this pious, as Eusebius styles her, and venerable princess. As for Nicephorus, he gravely tells us, that Helena was the daughter of an inn-keeper of Drepanum near Nicomedia in Bithynia; that Constantius, being seized with a lustful desire, while he lodged in her father's house, as he passed through that place upon an embassy to the king of Persia, acquainted therewith his landlord, who, to oblige the Roman embassador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the b flower of her age, and of extraordinary beauty; that Constantius, terrified that night with a dream, in which he faw the fun rifing out of the western ocean, exhorted his landlord next morning to preserve his daughter from any further pollution, and earnestly recommended to him the child she should bring forth; that some time after, other Roman embassadors, who happened to lodge in the same house, chiding young Constantine, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly resenting that freedom, the mother informed them whose son he was, and at the same time shewed them a purple robe, the gift of Constantius. The embassadors, upon their return to Italy, acquainted Constantius with what had passed, who thereupon ordered Constantine and his mother to repair to Rome; but afterwards, not thinking them fafe there, on account c of the jealous temper of his lawful wife Theodora, he fent Constantine to Nicomedia, to be brought up in the court of Dioclesian, where he was instructed in the sciences, and the truths of the christian religion, which he embraced <sup>1</sup>. Such is the account Nicepborus gives us of the condition of Helena, of the birth and education of Constantine; an account which contains, we may fay, without exaggeration, as many notorious blunders as periods. But we shall for the present only take notice of two; and chronology, the one in point of chronology, the other of history; which, with every judicious reader, will be a sufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the narration of that historian, tho' highly applauded by Lipsius a, and adopted by some modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachronism d contained in that account, it is evident from all the ancients, that Constantine, at the time of his father's pretended embassy to the king of Persia, was twenty-nine, or at least twenty-seven years old. For Constantius was sent into Persia, according to Nicephorus, after Dioclesian had begun to persecute the christians; but his first edicts against them were published, as we read in Eusebius, who lived at that time, on the twenty-third of February, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according to all chronologers both ancient and modern, in the 303d of the christian æra. On the other hand, Eusebius d, Epiphanius c, St. Jerom f, Victor 8, Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus h, &c. agree, that Constantine died in 337. being then sixty-four, or, as fome will have it, fixty-two; fo that he must have been born in 274. or 272. and e consequently was, at the time of his father's supposed embassy, twenty-nine or twentyfeven years old. Besides, Constantine himself, in his oration annexed to the works of Eusebius, tells us, that he was with Dioclesian in the palace at Nicomedia, when the memorable fire broke out there, of which we have spoken above; and that accident happened, according to Eusebius, a few days after the publishing of the first edicts against the christians. 'Tis amazing that Lipsius should, with other chronologers, suppose Constantine to have been born about the year 272. and yet admit, as an unquestionable truth, the fable of Nicephorus, which utterly destroys that supposition. As to the Greek historian's mistake in point of his history, he tells us, that the Persians having made an irruption into the Roman dominions, and threat- f ening the empire with a destructive war, Constantius was sent with the character of embassador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a pension to be paid yearly to the Persian king, prevail upon him to desist from hostilities, and conclude a peace with the Roman emperors k. Now it is evident from Eutropius, Eusebius m, Ammianus Marcellinus n, Zonaras o, Aurelius Victor P, Festus 9, Lactantius r,

> <sup>2</sup> NICEPH l. vii. c. 17, 18. LIPS. de magnit. Rom. l. iv. c. 11. ft. l. viii. c. 7. EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 53. EPIPHAN. lit. m. l. iv. c. 11.
>
> EPIPHAN. lib. de menf.
>
> Euseb. l. viii. c. 7. p. 292.
>
> Niceph.
>
> Zonar. p. 144. hift. I. viii. c. 7. Luseb. vit. Conft. I. IV. c. 53.
>
> 8 Vict. in Conft. Niceph. Const. in chronol. c. 12. Luseb. I. viii. c. ibid. Lutrop. p. 586. Euseb. p. 170. Ammian. p. 109
>
> P Aur. Vict. p. 526. Festus, p. 954. Lactan. perf. c. 9. p. 9.

a &c. that the Persians had, at least fix years before the time of this pretended embassy, been utterly overthrown by Galerius, and had purchased a peace of Dioclesian, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above. This peace lasted, as the same writers assure us, for the space of forty years, that is, till the year 337. the last of Constantine's long reign. But after all, we must not imagine Nicepborus to have been the only writer who questioned the legitimacy of Constantine, the chafity of his mother Helena. For Zosimus writes, that she was not Constantius's lawful whether Helewife. The chronicle of Alexandria calls her fon Constantine, in plain terms, a bastard na was Conchild. St. Ambrose gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradi-fit nites's lawtion in his time; and that he himself did not disbelieve it ". The same thing is ful wife. b afferted in the Greek text of Eusebius's chronicle, published by Scaliger; and in that of St. Jerom, who has been followed by several eminent writers of a later date, namely, by Prosper, Cassiodorus, Aldbelmus, bishop of the West Saxons, and the venerable Bede, who, speaking of Helena, thyle her the concubine of Constantius. On the other hand, Eutropius w, and both the Victors x, tell us, that Constantius and Galerius were obliged, when created Cajars, to divorce their former wives. Constantius therefore had a lawful wife before he married Theodora; and we are no-where told, that he had any befides her and Helena. Scalger indeed pretends, that he was married to Minervina, the mother of Criffus, not appriled that Criffus was Constantine's fon, and not his brother; a pretty considerable mistake in a critic. The c anonymous author of Constantine's life, published by Valesius, writes in express terms, that Constantius divorced Helena to marry Theodora Y; and Eutropius, that Constantine was the fruit of an obscure, but lawful matrimony . At Naples is still extant an inscription, in which Helena is styled the wife of Constantius. In two others, to be seen in Gruter, the is diffinguished with the title of Augusta, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The ancient panegyrists supply us with presumptions, of equal strength with these authorities, in favour of Helena's marriage with Constantius. One of them b, in an oration which he pronounced before Constantine on occasion of his marriage, addresses him thus: "You, O Constantine, make it your " study to imitate the continence of your father; treading in his footsteps, you prefer d " in your early youth the ties of matrimony to an unrestrained liberty, that you " may not be tempted to abandon yourself to loose and unlawful amours." How preposterous and unseasonable would this address have seemed, had Constantine been the fruit of an unlawful amour? By supposing Helena to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of Constantius, we at once turn the panegyric into a satire. For what can it be called but a fatire, to cry up the continence of the father before a fon, whose very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the fon thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the continence of his father? Helena is styled, not only by the panegyrists, but historians, a most pious, venerable, religious, and virtuous woman; which epithets they would have hardly bestowed upon her, had she been e Conflantius's concubine, and not his wife: neither would Conflantine, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of Augusta, had she not been his lawful mother. The emperor Dioclesian ever distinguished Constantine with particular marks of honour and esteem, whereof Eusebius tells us, he himself was an eye-witness; for he saw young Constantine on the emperor's right-hand, as they passed together through Palestine, either going to or returning from Egypt. He caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whithersoever he went, and, in the year 305. when two new Cæsars were to be created, named him in the first place, no one, fays Eumenius, calling in question the right which he had to that dignity, as the fon of Constantius d. Eusebius, speaking of his father Constantius, says, that f at his death he left the empire to his fon Constantine, whose birth-right it was . Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and respected among

\*Zos. l. ii. p. 672. Chron. Al. p. 650. AMB. div. 3. p. 123. WEUTROP. p. 586.

\*AUR. Vict. p 524. Vict. epit. p. 542. Anonym. p. 471. EUTROP. p. 587. GRUTER,
p. 1 5 Panegyr. 5. p. 126. Euses vit. Conft. c. 15. p. 601. Panegyr. 9. p. 191, 192.

\*Euses vit. Conft. l. t. c. 19. p. 417. LACT. perf. c. 18. p. 16

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the Romans. Galerius is said to have alledged several reasons to divert Dioclesian from naming Constantine to the dignity of Casars; but among these we do not find the least mention made of his birth, which, had it been unlawful, would have surnished him with a stronger and far more plausible reason, than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that Dioclesian would have ever thought of preferring

Constantine, had he only been Constantius's natural son, to that prince's lawful chil- a dren by Theodora, for whom both he, and his collegue Maximian, had cogent motives to interest themselves. These arguments are of such weight with us, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain the least doubt of Constantine's legitimacy, unbiassed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with respect Helena's coun- either to him or his mother Helena. As for Helena's country and parentage, no writer try and paren- before the seventh century mentions either: those who slourished after that time commonly suppose her to have been a native of this island, and the daughter of a king, whom they call Coelus or Coellus. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monu- b ments which were erected throughout Britain to her honour.

His courage and valour.

His singular continence.

Severus and declared Cæ.

But to return to Constantine. When his father was created Casar in 292. and fent into Gaul, Dioclesian kept him as an hostage, caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, and raised him, long before the year 303, to the rank of a Constantine's tribune 8. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated. excellent qua- The loveliness of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majesty; the tallness of his person, extremely well shaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generofity, good-nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards perfons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and foldiery to fuch a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wish to see him one day emperor, and was not c ready to contribute, fo far as lay in his power, to his preferment. The anonymous writer of his life fays, that he had no great learning: and truly learning could not then be much in request, fince none of the four princes who governed were men of letters. However, both Eusebius k and Aurelius Victor affure us, that Constantine was well versed in most branches of literature; that he was a generous encourager of learning; that after he was raifed to the empire, he fpent much of his time in reading; that he composed, and pronounced in public, several orations; and, that the many laws which he published, were all drawn up by himself. One of his orations has reached us, and is subjoined to the ecclesiastic history of Eusebius m. But he chiefly fignalized himself in war, and served with great reputation under d Dioclesian and Galerius, in their wars with the Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, and Perfians ". He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand ", and gave fuch proofs of his valour as raifed some jealousy in the other princes P. All authors, pagans as well as christians, agree in extolling, with the highest encomiums, his sobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he shewed from his early youth to unlawful pleafures q. He never violated the laws of chaftity, fays an ancient panegyrift; but subjected himself, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not be tempted to fully himself with any kind of lewdness or impurity. He married to his first wife Minervina, of whose parentage and condition no mention is made by the ancients; and had by her Crispus, who must have been born about the year e 300. for, twenty years after, he fignalized himself in the wars against the Franks and Licinius. Dioclesian, before he refigned the empire, was for appointing Constantine, and Maxentius, the son of Maximian, Cafars. But their election was opposed by Galerius, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room Severus and Maximinus, who he knew would be intirely ruled by him, and blindly obey his orders. The former was a native of Illyricum, descended of an obscure family, abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every respect unequal to so great a charge. The latter was born in the same country, and no less meanly than the other; for tho' he was nephew to Galerius, being his fifter's fon, yet in his youth he had followed the mean calling of a shepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no less f vicious than his collegue. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and quite unacquainted with state affairs, when Galerius, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to Dioclesian for the dignity of Casars. The emperor, terrified with the menaces of Galerius, confented, much against his will, to the promotion both of Severus and Maximinus; and on the day

E Euseb. vit. Conft. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. Lact. perf. c. 18. p. 17. h Euseb. ibid. l. i. c. Panegyr. 5. p. 125. l Anonym. p. 471. k Euseb. ibid. p. 418. l Aur. Vim Orat. Const. ad fanctor. cœtum, p. 567. h Euseb. ibid. p. 589. l Theorh. p. 6. ibid. p. 418. l Euseb. ibid. Panegyr. 7. p. 175. & 5. p. 126. r Panegyr. 6. p. 137. perf. c. 18. p. 17. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Euseb. l, ix. c. 9. h Euses, ibid. l.i. c. 19. p. 417. AUR. VICT. P. P EUSIB.

a appointed for his relignation, after having declared in a great affembly, that he yielded the empire to Constantius and Galerius, who were more capable than he of bearing so great a weight, added, not without betraying some concern and reluctance, I am likewise to name two new Cæsars, and these are Severus and Maximinus. The whole affembly was greatly furprifed to hear these two names, and began to ask one another whether Constantine had changed his? Their surprize was doubled, when they heard Galerius command Constantine to descend from the throne on which he fat with Dioclesian; and faw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who stood behind it, ftep forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was firuck with amazement; every one asked, who Maximin was? whence he came? for what demerit Constantine had been excluded from a post, to which he b had so just a claim? but no one dared to oppose his promotion. This happened at Nicomedia; and on the fame day, that is, on the first of May of the year 305. Maximian refigned the empire at Milan to Constantius, and declared Severus Casar. Galerius excluded Constantine, with a view of becoming foon fole master of the empire; for he was well apprifed, that Constantius, who was subject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long; and besides, he hoped easily to get the ascendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded Constantine, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his address, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore refolved to keep him in a private c condition, and allow him no share in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vast designs ". As for the two new Cæsars, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and persons to be governed in every thing by him. Matters being thus fettled, the empire was divided between Constantius The empire and Galerius. To the share of the former fell Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Bri-divided betain; the latter had Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, Afia Minor, Egypt, frantius and Judea, Syria, and all the eastern provinces. Constantius yielded to Severus, Italy Galerius. and Africa, as did Galerius, Syria and Egypt, to his nephew Maximin w. Severus, who was created Cæ/ar, to govern under Constantius, is always named before Maximin, who governed under Galerius x. As Severus was indebted to Galerius alone for d his promotion, that prince expected he should obey him even against Constantius himself . However, it is certain, that notwithstanding the implacable hatred which Galerius had to the christians, the perfecution ceased both in Italy, and the other western provinces, soon after Constantius was declared emperor. In the mean time, Constantine continued at Nicomedia, in the heart of the provinces belonging to Galerius, who would not, tho' earnestly intreated by his father Constantius, during a dangerous malady, with which he was feized, fuffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hoftage a. Victor the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at Rome b; but it is certain, that Galerius never came to that city . As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great e umbrage, he only waited some opportunity of destroying him; but not daring, Galerius seeks through fear of the foldiery, by whom Constantine was greatly beloved, to make the destruction any open attempt, he had recourse to treachery, and exposed him, under various of Constantine. fpecious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whose church he was to deliver from the persecution with which it had been cruelly oppressed for the space of near three hundred years. Praxagoras, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the history of the first emperors, and wrote, according to Vossius, in the time of Constantine, or his children, tells us, that Galerius often encouraged him to enter the lifts with wild beafts, on which occasion he once killed a lion of extraordinary sterceness and size d. The f same thing is related by Zonaras, who adds, that Galerius, in the Sarmatian war, observing one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who surpassed all the others in stature, and the fierceness of his looks, ordered Constantine to engage him, which he did accordingly with great refolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's prefence, and laid him at his feet e. On another occasion, Galerius, who sought his destruction, having ordered him to crofs a marsh at the head of some troops, he entered it the first

Lact. perf. c. 19. p. 17, 18. Lact. c. 18. p. 17. W EUTROP. p. 5205 l. ii. p. 672. Vide Spon p. 192. Y Lact. perf. c. 18. 20 p. 17—tyr. Pawftin. Lact. perf. p. 406. Vict. p. 525. C Lact. perf. c. 67. p. 64. Voss. hift. Gr.c. l. ii. c. 17. C Znar. vit. Dioclef. p. 246. w EUTROP. p. 587. AUR. VICT. p. 525. Y LACT. perf. c. 18. 20 p. 17—19. 2 Eu VICT. p. 525. 4 LACT. perf. c. 27. p. 25. Eusen de mar-

on horse-back; and being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy a to the fword, and gained a complete victory f. This too happened in Galerius's war with the Sarmatians, which we must place in this, or in the beginning of the next year.

THE following year, Constantius and Galerius being both consuls the fixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain Constantine without openly breaking with his collegue, gave him at length leave to depart, and figned a warrant for the officers of the post to supply him with the necessary horses and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the same time ordered him not to make use of it till the next morning, when he defigned to give him his final instructions s. In the mean time, he dispatched an express to Severus, injoining him, by all means, b to stop Constantine, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the express might reach Italy before Constantine, he did not rise that day, contrary to his custom, till noon, when he sent for Constantine. But he had set out the night before, as foon as Galerius had withdrawn; and travelling with all possible fpeed, for several stages, hamstringed or killed the horses which he did not make use of, that no one might pursue or stop him while he crossed the provinces of Galerius, and Italy, where Severus ruled. This precaution faved him; for next morning, Galerius, being informed, that he had fet out the night before, flew into a violent passion, and ordered several messengers to make what haste they could after him; but he was told, that Constantine had disabled all the post-horses; which transported c

Constantine escapes from Galerius to his father.

Constantius Picts.

The death of Constantius.

He bequeaths the empire to Constantine.

him to fuch a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could scarce forbear burtling into tears h. Eusebius, Lastantius, and several historians, tell us, that Constantine, arriving in Britain, found his father at the point of death; but therein they must certainly be mistaken, since Eumenius, in the panegyric which he pronounced before Constantine a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a design to pass over into Britain. With him agrees the anonymous writer, published by Valesius, who says, that Constantine found his father at Gesso-Passes over riacum, or Boulogne k. He attended him into Britain, where he was going to make Britain, where war, says Eumenius, upon the Caledonians and Pists. The latter people, now first mentioned in history, inhabited Scotland; but were thought, says Bede, to have come d overcomes the from Scythia, that is, according to the learned Usher, from Scandinavia, or some other northern country m. Constantius, in the last days of his life, overcame the Pills, as the anonymous author quoted above informs us ", being affifted in this war, as we read in Aurelius Victor o, by Eroc, or, as others style him, Crocus, king of the Alemans. Not long after this victory over the PiAs, he died at York on the twenty-fifth of July in 306. the fourth year of the persecution of Dioclesian, according to St. Jerom P; and the fixteenth, or rather fifteenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæsar, that is, from the year 292, for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months 9. He died in his palace, surrounded by his children, and his body was e with the utmost pomp and magnificence interred by his son Constantine. Some pretend, that he was buried at a place called Cair Segeint, and by some Cair Custeint, that is, the city of Constantius or Constantiner. In 1283. a body was found at a small distance from that place, which Edward I. who reigned then, caused to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of Constantius. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as some persons were digging in a place at York, where Constantius was supposed to have been buried, they discovered a lamp that was still burning'. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, as appears from several ancient coins, and among the rest from one of his brother-inlaw Maxentius. Constantius bequeathed the empire to his son Constantine , who f declared he would not accept it without the confent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and last will of his father. But the foldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed

f Ammian. Anonym. p. 471.

8 Lact. c. 24. p. 22. Euseb. Conft. vit. l. i. c. 20.

h Euseb. p. 418. Ammian. Anonym. p. 471. Lact. p. 21. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. Aur. Vict. p. 525.

h Panegyr. g. p. 194.

k Ammian. Anonym. p. 472.

Panegyr. g. p. 194.

p. 581, 578, 579.

n Anonym. p. 471.

O Vict. epit. p. 943.

P Hier. chron.

q Aur. Vict. p. 124.

Euseb. chron.

Goltz. p. 124. Eutop. p. 587. Panegyr. g. p. 194.

\*\* Usser. ecclef. Prit. antiq. p. 60.

Alford. ann. ad ann. 306.

Birag. p. 440.

\*\* Euseb. vit. Conft. l. i. c. 21. p. 418

Julian. Orat. 1. p. 13. Lact. perf. c. 24. p. 21.

Panegyr. 5. p. 127.

8 9. p. 194.

a him emperor the same day in which his father died, and, the first time he appeared in public, faluted him with the title of Augustus, and forced him to accept the purple, who is saluted knowing him, fays Zosimus, a writer no-ways biassed in his favour, to be truly Augustus by worthy of the empire, and promising themselves great things from his generosity a. the soldiery. Thus was Constantine first declared emperor in Britain, the same day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of July of the year 306. which, in an ancient calendar, is marked as the first day of his reign w. Lastantius tells us in express terms, that, uppn his father's death, he took the title of Augustus x; and Eusebius x, that he performed his father's obsequies clad in purple; which is a plain proof, that he took, in Britain at least, the title of Cæsar, which however those must deny, who b maintain him to have been born in Britain, as we have observed above. He afterwards fent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to custom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. Galerius was long in suspense whether or no he should receive it; nay, transported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the messenger who brought it, to the slames; but his friends remonstrating, that such an affront would give rise to a civil war, in which the soldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and fide with Constantine, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to fend him the purple, that he might at least feem to hold his authority of him 2. However, he gave him only the title of Cafar, and Galerius grants created Severus emperor, whose provinces, viz. Italy and Africa, he governed with him only the title of Casfar. c as absolute a sway as his own, oppressing them with endless taxes, and practising unheard-of cruelties upon such as were not in a condition to comply with his unjust demands. This occasioned great disturbances in all the cities of Italy, but especially in Rome; which Maxentius laying hold of, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor Maxentius by the diffatisfied foldiery and people. Maxentius was, or at least passed for, the son causes himself of Maximian; for some writers tell us, that he was a supposititious child, and that ed emperor. his mother, before her death, owned she had imposed him upon her husband to gain his affection. However that be, he was quite destitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-shaped, or rather deformed in his person, abandoned to all manner of vices, and univerfally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, d but by his father himself, and much more by Galerius, whose daughter he had married. He had highly complained of Galerius, for excluding him in the year 305. from the dignity of Casar; but when he heard that Constantine had been raised to that high station, and saw his image publicly exposed in Rome, transported with rage, he refolved at all events to do himself justice; and accordingly, having with large promises gained over the sew prætorian guards that were then in Rome, and some of their officers, namely, Lucianus, Marcellus, and Marcellinus, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eight of October of this year 306. and was acknowledged as such by the Roman people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themselves from the insupportable tyranny of Galerius. The news of his revolt no fooner reached the east, where Galerius then was, than he dispatched a messenger to Severus, injoining him to hasten with all his forces to Rome, to surprise and suppress at once this new usurper. On the other hand, Maxentius had recourse to his father Maximian, who, either with a view to refume the empire, which he had quitted much against his will, or to support his son, hastened to Rome, and thence wrote to Dioclefian, exhorting him to abandon his folitude, and remount the throne. Dioclefian, taken with the sweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the answer which we have related above. But Maximian, instead of following Maximian rehis example, fuffered himself to be declared emperor a second time by the senate and sumes the empeople of Rome; and receiving the purple at the hands of his fon, was universally pire. F acknowledged for his collegue in the empire 2. Aurelius Victor writes, that his lust of reigning, and defire of supporting his fon in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his folitude, and refume the authority which he had unwillingly abdi-

cated b. While these things passed at Rome, Constantine was busied in visiting the provinces under his care, viz. Britain, Spain, and Gaul, and defending them against the barbarians. His father Constantius had no sooner left Gaul, to make war upon the

Los. I. ii. p. 67. W Buch. cycl. p. 286. Lact. perf. c. 24, 25. p. 23. Y Euseb. Conft. vit. l. i. c. 22. p. 419. Lact. perf. c. 25. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. VICT. epit. p. 543. Lact. perf. c. 18.p. 16, 17. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. Eutrop. p. 587. Euseb. vit. Conft. p. 498. Panegyr. 5. VOL. VI. No. 7 Vol. VI. Nº 3. PiT: $O \circ \circ$ 

The Franks break into . Gaul, but are Constantine. His severity towards the captives.

Pitts in Britain, than the Franks, forgetful of their oaths, had invaded Gaul, and a committed there dreadful ravages. Against them therefore Constantine marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle; and having taken two of their kings prisoners, Ascaric and Gaisus, or Regaisus, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beafts in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited c. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist 4, to renew the severity of the ancient Romans towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, with the fear of punishment. a perfidious people, who made no account of the most facred ties that awed other Eutropius writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the Alemans, who, it seems, were in consederacy with the Franks, and fell into his hands in this war . After this victory, he passed the Rbine, and entering the country of the b Brutterians, when least expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise condemned to be devoured by the wild beafts f. He repaired all the forts on the Rbine, placed numerous garifons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means struck such terror into the Franks and other German nations, that none of them dared to approach that river 8. He even undertook to build a bridge over the Rhine, and accomplished, according to Baudrand, that great work; for he tells us, that it stood till the year 955. when it was broken down by bishop Berno's orders. But Valesius k writes, that it was never finished, supposing, we imagine, (for he alledges no proof in favour of his opinion) that fuch a memorable work would have been more famous in history, had it ever c been executed. Bucherius writes, that Constantine, to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the castle of Duitz on the Rhine, over-against Cologne. Be that as it will, Constantine, in memory of his victory over the Franks, appointed solemn sports, called from them ludi Francici, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of July to the twentieth m. Notwithstanding the severity he exerted towards the enemy, Lastan-The mildness of tius a and Eusebius affure us, that he governed his subjects with extraordinary his government mildness and moderation; that to all he shewed himself kind, affable, benevolent,

and good-natured; that he made it his chief study to render those happy who lived

under his administration, &c.

THE following year Severus and Maximinus were created consuls by Galerius, and d acknowledged as such in all the provinces of the empire, except those that obeyed Maxentius, where Maximian caused himself to be declared consult he ninth time. This is what we look upon as most probable; for the consusion which appears this year 307. in the consular tables, was the natural consequence of that which prevailed in the empire. Constantine was likewise consul this year, having, as we conjecture, been substituted in the room of Severus, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confusion occasioned by such a number of consuls, have chosen to date this with the consuls of the preceding year, whereof we have not yet had any instance, but shall have frequently in succeeding times. This year Severus, in com-pliance with the orders he had received from Galerius, lest Milan, and marched e towards Rome, to drive from thence the usurper Maxentius. He had with him a powerful army; but confisting of troops which two years before had belonged to Maximian, the father of Maxentius, they were easily gained over by the latter, with Anullinus, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence Severus no sooner approached Rome, with a design to besiege it, than they Hels abandon- abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon Severus, with a small body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himself to flight, bending his rout towards Milan; but being closely pursued by Maximian, who met him at the head of some troops which he had raifed in Campania, and was leading to Rome, he was obliged to that himself up in Ravenna; which Maximian immediately invested. The place was f well fortified, and supplied with great store of provisions; so that it might have easily held out till relieved by Galerius: but Severus, distrusting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promises and solemn oaths of Maximian, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been invested about a year and nine months before P. Maximian, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to Rome; and after having kept

Severus marches against Maxentius.

ed by his men, besieged in Ravenna, and taken.

EUTROP. p. 587. f Paneg. e Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163. d Idem, 5. p. 126. e Eutrop. p. 587. f Paneg. 3. p. 197. t Idem, p. 198. h Idem ibid. BAUDR. p. 192. k Valef. rer. Franc. p. 18. l Buom. hiff. Belg. l. viii. c. 2. m Eutrop. p. 587. h Lact. perf. c. 24. p. 23. Eutrop. p. 587. Lact. perf. c. 24. p. 23. Anonym. p. 471. Hier. chron. Lact. perf. c. 26. p. 24.

a him some time confined to a place on the Appian way, about thirty miles from the His death. city, called Tres Taberna, or the Three Inns, he caused him to be there put to death. The only favour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of Gallienus, about eight or nine miles from Rome 9. He left a son behind him, named Severianus, who was put to death by Licinius in 313. Maximian, well apprised, that Galerius would not suffer the death of Severus to pass unrevenged, resolved to strengthen himself with the alliance of Constantine, who, having conquered the Franks, enjoyed at that time a profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happiness and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified Rome with many new works, and put it in a condition of b fustaining a long siege, he left Italy, and went to confer with Constantine in Gaul, where Constantine he persuaded him to marry his daughter Fausta, and at the same time changed the marries Fausta title of Cosar, with which he had contented himself hitherto, as appears from several the daughter of medals, and from a panegyric pronounced on occasion of his nuptials, into that of is by him de-Augustus. Constantine is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the clared empethirty-first of March of this year 307. Fausta, whom he married, is styled in the ror. ancient inscriptions Flavia Maximiana Fausta ". Lastantius calls her Maximian's fecond daughter w. Perhaps he looked upon Theodora, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of Maximian. She was born and brought up in Rome . The emperor Julian commends her modesty, and blameless conduct r. Minervina, Constantine's first wife, by whom he had Crispus, must have been dead at this time; for he is not said to have divorced her. By Fausta His issue by he had, besides Constantius, who is the best known of all his children, Constantine his Fausta. eldest son, Constans his youngest, and two daughters, Constantia and Constantia, or rather Constantina, who was married, first to Annibalianus, and afterwards to Gallus Casar, her cousin-germans, and Helena, the wife of the emperor Julian 1. The wife of Gallus is styled on an ancient coin Flavia Julia Constantina Augusta 2. Galerius did not grant the title of Augustus to Constantine till about a year after, when he was obliged to bestow it on Maximin b. While Maximian was in Gaul with Constantine, Galerius entered Italy with a powerful army; but not fufficient, as he found by d experience, to beliege Rome: for, as he had never feen the great capital of the empire, he imagined it to be only somewhat larger than Antioch, and some other cities of the Galerius apeast. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and proaches Rome utterly to extirpate the senate; but when he approached that immense metropolis, besiege it. and viewed its fortifications, despairing to be able to carry it by assault, and not having with him a sufficient number of troops to invest it, he retired to Interanna, now Terni, and thence fent Licinius and Probus to exhort Maxentius, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not usurp it by force of arms s. But Maxentius, having found means to gain under-hand some of Galerius's legions, was so far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out against But is obliged e Galerius, if he, distrusting his troops, and dreading the fate of Severus, had not to retire with haftened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waste the country far precipitation. and wide, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard-of disorders and cruelties d. Maximian, who was still in Gaul, being informed of the precipitous retreat of Galerius, did all that lay in his power to perfuade Constantine to pursue him; but finding that prince no ways inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the Alps, and returned to Rome, where he reigned fome time jointly with his fon, but was less respected, and not so readily obeyed, as he. This piqued him to such a degree, that, divesting himself of all paternal affection, he resolved to deprive Maxentius of the empire, not doubting but the troops f that had abandoned Severus, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour Maximian atthis attempt. Having therefore endeavoured under-hand to estrange them from his tempts to defon, he affembled both the people and foldiery; and after a long descant upon the Pose his son: evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his fon, who fat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the fole author of the present calamities, and after many bitter and virulent invectives, stripped him of his purple robes,

\* Vict. epit. p. 542. Zos. l. ii. p. 673, &c. \* Lact. perf. Birag. p. 459. Byzant. fam. p. 15. Panegyr. 5. p. 127. c. 27. p. 25. × Idem ibid. \* Julian. orat. i. p. 9. E LACT. perf. c. 50. p. 45. SG. c. p. 127. B GOLTZ. p. 128. \* Goltz. p. 126. 28. w Lact. c. 27. p. 25. SPANH. p. 640. JULIAN. 0121. i. p. 9.

LACT perf. c. 32. p. 29. \* Vide Anonym. p. 3. & Byz. fam.
f Idem ibid. c. 27. p. 25. Pan. p. 46, 47. SPANH. p. 6. 6. P. 136. Anonym. p. 472. 4 LACT. Anonym. ibid.

and tore them in pieces. Maxentius, leaping from the throne, implored the protec- 2

But is obliged Gaul.

tion of the foldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promifes, received him in their arms, loaded Maximian with injuries, and threatened him with present death. Zonaras tells us, that Maximian, to appease the soldiery, told them, that he was not in earnest, but had made use of that artifice to try whether or no they were fincerely attached to his fon; but no one believing him, he thought it adviseable to leave Rome, and accordingly hastened back into Gaul, where he complained to Constantine, that his son had driven him from Rome. But Constantine, not feeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of November he repaired to Galerius, the declared enemy of his fon, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs, but in reality to watch an opportunity of dispatching b him, and feizing his provinces f. But no favourable occasion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpose. Galerius was not then at Carnutum in Gaul, now Chartres, as we read in Zosimus E, but at Carnuntum, or Carnus, on the Danube in Pannonia, with Dioclesian, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his presence the election of Licinius, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of Severus. On this occasion Maximian, in a private conference with his ancient collegue, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to refume the empire, and deliver the people of Rome from fo many tyrants . Victor the younger writes, that Galerius himself pressed Dioclesian to re-ascend the throne; which to us seems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, Dioclesian found such delights in a retired life, that he would c hearken to no proposals of that nature. Lastantius assures us, that the design of Maximian was to re-instate Dioclesian and himself in the empire, and destroy the rest one after another, his own fon not excepted k. Some writers, and Eutropius among the rest 1, seem to have believed, that Maximian only pretended to be at variance Licinius creat- with his fon, the better to deceive the other princes, and compass their ruin; but, instead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his presence the promotion of Lici-His extraction nius, whom Galerius created emperor in the room of Severus, on the eleventh of Noand character. vember of this year 307. Licinius was a native of New Dacia, which lay on the Roman fide of the Danube, and was, ever fince the reign of Aurelian, accounted one of the provinces of *Illyricum*. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor **d** Philip, but was in reality forung from a family quite mean and ignoble m. His education was fuitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the least knowledge of letters; nay, he was not ashamed to declare himself an open enemy to learning, calling the sciences the pest and bane of the state. He was naturally of a cruel, violent and haughty temper o, and addicted, even in his old age, to the most infamous debaucheries P. His infatiable avarice prompted him, when raifed to the empire, to fill his coffers by the most unjust, tyrannical and iniquitous methods q. However, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the foldiers to their duty. punished the least transgressions with the utmost severity, and by that means revived in the army the discipline of the ancient Romans r. In the year 323. he was, according to Victor the younger, about fixty. Eusebius speaks of him as one at that time worn out without age s; and Lastantius tells us, that Galerius did not create him Cesar in 305. because he was ashamed to call him his son, but chose to raise him to the empire at once, and style him his brother. However, in 313. he married Conflantia, the fifter of Conftantine, and had children by her ". Galerius and he had lived in great intimacy ever fince they first entered into the army; and the emperor, reposing an intire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of Cx/ar, fuffered himself to be wholly governed by his counsels. The memorable victory which Galerius gained over the Persians, was in great measure owing to the valour and conduct of Licinius w. Galerius seems at first to f have given him only the provinces of Pannonia and Rhatia; but at the same time he promised to put him in possession of those that were held by Maxentius, as soon as he had driven out that usurper x. Thus was the empire ruled at once by fix princes, viz. Maximian, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Constantine, and Maxentius.

> \* Panegyr. 6. p. 136. Eutrop. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. f Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. h Idem ibid. l Vict. epit. p. 542. h Lact. perf. c. 43. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 587. Vict. epit. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 543. Signature ibid. h Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 2 p. 687. p. 37. n Vict. ibid. Anonym. p. 474. perf. c. 32. p. 29. LACT. perf. p. 424.

THE following year Maximian was conful the tenth time, and Galerius the seventh; but at Rome the year was dated by the consuls who should be named, Maxentius, who reigned there, refusing to acknowledge the consulship either of Galerius or his father Maximian. This continued till the twentieth of April, when Maxentius caused him-Maxentius and felf to be declared conful, with his fon Romulus, styled on the ancient coins M. Aure- bis son Romulius Romulus v. Maxentius gave him the title of Cafar and emperor, created him Rome. consul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during his second consulship 2, being drowned, it seems, in the Tiber 2. While the disturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the west, *Maximin* enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the east, which he governed with the title only of  $C\alpha far$ . But when he understood, that *Licinius* had been declared emperor, he pressed Galerius to raise him too to the same rank. The emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant him his request, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and Constantine should, for the future, be styled Filii Augustorum, sons of emperors; which title is still to be seen on some of his and Constantine's coins h. Maximin pretended to be satisfied with this new mark of distinction, but in the mean time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his Maximin carearmy; and in the letter which he wrote on that occasion to Galerius, assured him, fes himself to be that the troops had, without his consent or co-operation, saluted him Augustus c. peror. This gave Galerius great uneafiness; but nevertheless, as he did not think it advisec able to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had usurped, he confirmed it, and at the same time granted it to Constantine, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through all the provinces of the empire d. This year Constantine Maximian, thinking himself neglected by Galerius, left Illyricum, and privately with- acknowledged drew to Constantine in Gaul, with a design to lay hold of the first opportunity that emperor by Gaoffered to dispatch him, and cause himself to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the second time, declaring, that, in imitation of Dioclesian, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himself with public affairs. Constantine received him with the greatest marks of honour and efteem, affigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his subd jects to pay the same obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the realless and turbulent spirit of Maximian did not suffer him long to enjoy so happy a situation. Constantine was then busied in building a bridge over the Rhine; which great undertaking struck the neighbouring nations with such terror, that they sent embassadors to sue for peace, offering to deliver up some of their chiefs as hostages and pledges of their fincerity. However, some Franks still continued in arms; and against these Maximian advised Constantine to march with a small body of forces, and leave the rest at Arelatum, now Arles. His design was to make himself master of Con- Maximian arftantine's forces, and seize his provinces, if any misfortune should befal him, as there tempts to dewas room to believe there might, feeing he was attended only by a small army. Con-tine. e stantine, not suspecting the least treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to Arles, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a fudden refumed the purple the third time, made himfelf master of the palace, seized on the treasures there, distributed great part of them among the foldiers who were present, and wrote to those who were absent letters filled with most bitter invectives against Constantine, inviting them, with mighty promises, to follow the example of the troops at Arles c. Constantine was no sooner informed of what had passed, than he led back his army by land from the Rbine to Challon, where he imbarqued his forces on the Sone; and landing them unexpectedly at Arles, furprised Maximian, before he was in a condition to oppose him. The soldiers who had declared for Maximian, awed with the presence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a small number excepted, who being seduced by the presents and promises of the usurper, fled with him to Marseilles, and shut themselves up in that city. Constantine pursued them close, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by affault, had not his scaling ladders unluckily proved too short. This obliged him to found the retreat; but, in the mean time, some of the inhabitants

\* Buch. cycl. p. 238. Idat. Birag. p. 450, 452. \* Vide Noris. de Dioclef. num. \* Paneg. 6. p. 146. \* Birag. p. 446. Lact. p. 23. Euseb. p. 310. \* Lact. perf. p. 433. \* Idem ibid. c. 43. p. 36. c. 44. p. 38. \* Lact. p. 26. Panegyr. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Vales. rer. Franc. p. 21.

Vol. VI. No 3. \* Pp p having He is taken prijoner; but wed with great clemency by Contlantine.

Alexander fire in Africa.

having opened one of the gates to Constantine's men, they entered the city, seized on a the uturper while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives against the emperor, and carried him to Constantine; who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but fuffered him, through an excess of clemency and good-nature, to continue with him in the same palace. While these things passed in Gaul, the troops in Africa revolting from Maxentius, who was acknowledged there, declared Alexander, who ulurps the em- commanded them in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the ulual ceremonies gave him the purple at Carthage's. He was descended of an ignoble and mean family in Phrygia , or, as Aurelius Victor will have it, in Pannonia. All authors paint him as one in every respect unequal to so great a charge, being stricken in b years, and quite destitute of vigour, prudence, and courage. Besides, his troops confifted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military discipline, and for the most part without arms. However, as he had a Maxentius for his rival, he maintained his usurped authority for the space of three years at least, some of his Greek coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign k. One Nigrinianus, who is represented on some ancient medals with rays round his head, and the title of divus or deified, is by most antiquaries thought to have been the fon of Alexander 1. THE following year 309. Maxentius took upon him his fecond confulship at Rome,

having his fon Romalus for his collegue m. There were, it feems, no other confuls c in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly distinguished by the confuls of the preceding year thus, the year after the tenth and feventh confulflip, viz. of Maximian and Galerius. Some however are of opinion, that Licinius was this year

conful for the first time; and it is past all doubt, that he was conful before the death Eumenius pro- of Galerius. This year Eum. nius, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panenotinces his pa- gyric on Constantine, in a city which stood on a great river that falls into the Rhine negyricon Con- above Cologne; that is, according to most interpreters, in Treves, which stood then, as it still does, on the Movelle, the river plainty pointed at in the above-mentioned description. The panegyrist tells us, that Constantine was then busied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a d large fquare, bufilies, and a magnificent palace for the administration of justice. He exicls the generofity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had paffed; and therefore he intreats him to visit the city of Autun, where the orator himself was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the close of his speech, he recommends to the emperor his five children,

and all his disciples, some of whom already enjoyed the first employments in the flate o. The following year Andronius and Probus were named confuls by Galerius; but were not acknowledged as fuch at Rome, where Maxentius took upon him that dignity the third time without a collegue. In the confular tables this year is dated as the preceding, thus; the second year after the tenth and seventh confulship P. This e year Maximian, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, resolved at all events to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well apprifed, that all

Miximian at his efforts would prove unfuccefsful, fo long as Constantine lived, he determined, in rempts to mur the first place, to murder him; and in order to compass his wicked purpose, had der Constanrecourse to his daughter Fausta, the wife of Constantine, using his utmost endeavours, and all manner of careffes and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her hufband, and leave the door of the bed chamber open; which she promised to do, but imme-

diately revealed the whole to Constantine, who, unwilling to condemn his father-inlaw without some undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. Maximian did not fail to lay hold of the f opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out as he retired, Constantine is dead; I am emperor. But Constantine, appearing that He is discovered instant, attended by a numerous guard, stopped him, and shewed him the body of the murdered eunuch. It is easier to conceive than express the terror and dismay that

and jeized.

imaginable, without being able either to excuse or deny it. As he had been chiefly cyci. p. 238. Onuph. in fast. p. 263. p. 238. & 249. IDAT. PROSP. &c.

feized him, when he found himself thus convicted of the most detest ble treachery

prompted

a prompted to this excess of wickedness by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and still promised himself, from Constantine, that prince thought himself obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of fuch an ambitious, implacable and treacherous enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he chose of all deaths the most infamous and disgraceful, which was hanging q. Such was the unhappy, but deserved end of Maximian, after having His death. reigned with great glory at least twenty years, and lived, according to Villor the younger, about fixty (F). Constantine caused all his statues to be pulled down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inscriptions erased, not sparing even such as were common to him with Dioclesian. The same year Galerius was seized with a most seized with a b dreadful distemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts. Lastantius and Euse-dreadful distenses. bius: describe at length the miserable condition to which he was reduced, and tell temper. us, that besides the inexpressible torments with which he was racked night and day, without the least respite, such an insusterable stench issued out of his body, as insected not only the palace, but the whole city. The distemper increased daily, in spite of all the art and skill of the best physicians and surgeons: his thighs putrified by degrees, his belly was confumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole mass of his blood corrupted. Notwithstanding all the care that could be used, he was devoured alive with infinite fwarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear fuch unrelenting c torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himself, and caused some of his physicians to be put to death, because their remedies proved ineffectual. He had recourse to Apollo, to Esculapius, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which Apollo, or rather some impostor in his name, prescribed to him, served only to aggravate his raging diftemper. He languished in this painful, and, beyond expression, miserable condition, a whole year, and upwards, suffering every minute all the agonies of death ". The pagan as well as christian writers take notice of this unaccountable malady of Galerius w. The latter afcribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author of the persecution and unheard-of cruelties suffered by the christians. This year Constantine waged war with the Alemans, the Brusterians, d Cheruscans, Chamovians, and several other German nations; who, after having attacked the Romans in separate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army x. Constantine, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in difguise into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy fent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they designed to separate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he affured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no fooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and without loss of time marched with all their forces against the enemy. Constantine received them at the head of his army, put them to the rout at the first onset, and made a dreadful Constantine e flaughter of them in their flight y. It was perhaps on account of this victory that he overcomes fetook the title of Maximus, which we find on some of his medals struck this year 310. veral German nations. the fifth of his reign 2. Eusebius tells us, that after he had driven out of Gaul, or intirely subdued, the barbarians bordering on the Rhine and the ocean, he passed over into Britain, and there reduced such of the inhabitants as had not yet submitted to him 2. But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyrists.

THE next consuls were Galerius the eighth time, and Maximinus the second; but Maxentius refuling to acknowledge them, Rome was without confuls till the month of

<sup>9</sup> LACT. pers. C. 30. p. 27. EUTROP. p. 587. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. VICT. epit. p. 542. 
<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>8</sup> LACT. pers. C. 33. p. 30. 
<sup>1</sup> EUSEB. l. viii. C. 16. p. 314, 315. 
<sup>8</sup> Idem ibid. LACT. C. 33. 

<sup>8</sup> AUR. VICT. epit. p. 525. Zos. p. 674. Anonym. p. 472. 
<sup>8</sup> Panegyr. 7. p. 163—165. 
<sup>9</sup> Idem, p. 164. 
<sup>2</sup> BIRAG. p. 462. 
<sup>8</sup> EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.

(E) Some authors write, that Maximian died at Marfeilies, confounding perhaps his death with what happened to him there in 308, as Zosimus confounds it with that of Maximin II. in telling us, that he died a natural death at Tarfus (46). In an ancient chronicle, quoted by Du Chefne (47), we are told, that about the year 1054 his body was discovered at Marfeilles in a leaden costin, inclosed in a tomb of white marble, so well embalmed, that it was still

intire, and appeared fresh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of those who had seen the body; and adds, that Raimbaud, archbishop of Arles, perfuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcase of such an unmercitul persecutor of the church into the sea, with the cossin, tomb, and whatever else was found with it. St. Ambrose had written long before, that Maximian was buried in a most beautiful tomb of marble (48).

Galerius puts

a stop to the
persecution.

His death.

Licinius and Maximin divide his provinces.

Valeria enormously abused by Maximin.

September, when Rufinus and Eusebius Volusianus were honoured with that dignity b. a As the distemper of Galerius grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length to afcribe it to the just vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent christians, and immediately published an edict, ordering a stop to be put to the persecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, viz. Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius. Maxentius was looked upon by Galerius as an enemy, and had never been acknowledged by him; and as for Maximin, he either would not agree with the rest to put a stop to the persecution, or his name has been, through a mistake of the transcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of Licinius has been lest out in most editions of Eusebius, and even in the Latin translation by Rusinus. The edict was dated the twentieth year of the reign of Galerius, and confequently must have been b drawn up after the first of March of this year 311. It was publicly set up at Nicomedia on the thirtieth of April, and the following month his death was known there; for he died, according to the most probable opinion, at Sardica, the metropolis of New Dacia, now known by the name of Sofia, or, as the inhabitants flyle it, Triadizza c. Galerius had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been created Cujar, nineteen years, two months, and some days. He had been emperor six years, and a few days; for we find some of his coins dated the seventh year of his reign d. Before he expired, he earnestly recommended to Licinius his wife Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, and Candidianus his natural son e; which shews, that Licinius was present when he died. He was buried in the fame city where he was born, and afterwards c deified with the usual ceremonies f. Maximin was no sooner informed of the death of Galerius, than he hastened from the east, where he then was, with a design to seize on his provinces, and entering Bithynia, made himself master of all the countries beyond the Propontis. On the other hand, Licinius, having drawn together his forces, marched to oppose him; and the two armies encamped over-against each other, the one on the coast of Asia, and the other of Europe. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview which they had in the streights of Chalcedan, they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, which they confirmed with the most solemn oaths 8. Maximin remained master of Bithynia, and Licinius of Thrace, the streights of Chalcedon being the common boundary between d the two empires h. Valeria, the widow of Galerius, though earnestly recommended by him at the point of death to Licinius, chose to withdraw into the dominions of Maximin, with her mother Prisca, the wife of Dioclesian, Candidianus the natural son of Galerius, and Severianus the fon of Severus, put to death by Maximian in 307. Maximin treated Valeria for some time with the utmost respect, honouring her with the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent passion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. Valeria, not a little surprised at this unexpected proposal, answered him with great freedom, That the state and habit she was in, the time of her mourning for the death of her husband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it seemed very strange he should e put away a wife, who had not given him the least occasion of complaint; that such a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in short, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented in a person of her rank to entertain the least thought of a fecond marriage. Maximin was provoked to such a degree with this frank and generous answer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately banished both her and her mother, seized on all her effects, confined her domestics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon false accusations, sentenced to death feveral illustrious ladies who attended her, and among the rest two senators wives, and one, whose daughter was a vestal at Rome. They were publicly executed at Nicea, upon the deposition of a Jew, who falfly accused them of adultery, hoping f to escape the punishment due to his crimes, by impeaching them. The people loudly complained of such a bare-faced piece of injustice, and, transported with rage, would have torn in pieces Eratineus the governor of that province, while he sat on his tribunal to condemn them, and fee his fentence put in execution, had he not been furrounded by a numerous body of foldiers, who with much-ado protected him against the insults of the incensed populace. The Jew, their accuser, being after-

b Lact, perf. c. 35. p. 31. Buch. cycl. p. 238. C Lact. perf. c. 33. p. 30. Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. Pagi, p. 311. Lact. c. 35, 50. p. 32, 44. Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. F Vict. epit. p. 543. Birag. p. 444. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. Lact. c. 45. p. 39. Euseb. Lact. ibid.

a wards condemned to be crucified, acknowledged on the crofs their innocence, and his own guilt, in suffering himself to be suborned to accuse them i. Valeria, tho' confined in the deferts of Syria, found means to acquaint her father Dioclesian with the miserable state she was in, who, moved with tenderness and compassion, sent several persons, and among the rest a kinsman of his own, an officer of great distinction in the army, to intreat Maximin, by all the obligations he owed him, to release his beloved daughter from her confinment, and allow him the fatisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; which is faid to have hastened the death of the old emperor k

Constantine in the mean time was busied in visiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the fixth of his reign, at Autun; and finding the b inhabitants overloaded with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the Conflantine's exchequer ever fince his accession to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of generofity to all imposts. In acknowledgment of this favour, the city of Autun, looking upon the city of Autun, the generous and good-natured emperor as their founder, took the name of Flavia, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his refidence, probably Treves, they fent Eumenius to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindness to them; which the orator did in a speech that is still extant. In the mean time Maxentius, who reigned at Rome, undertook the reduction of Africa, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308. and declared Alexander emc peror. Against him Maxentius dispatched Rusus, or Rusius Volusianus, probably the conful of this year, and one Zenus, a celebrated commander, who, in the first battle that was fought, put the troops of Alexander to the rout, took him prisoner, and caused him immediately to be strangled m. Thus ended the war in Africa; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for Maxentius caused such of the Africans Maxentius reas were confiderable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, duces and ruins and feized their estates, pretending they had favoured the usurper; nay, he commanded the city of Cartbage, at that time one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities in the world, to be laid in ashes. Thus was the province of Africa utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the d tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take shelter in the provinces of the other princes ". Maxentius triumphed at Rome for the defeat of Alexander, or rather for the destruction of Carthage, and the ruin of Africa. But Rome and Italy were no less Rome and grievously afflicted by the lewd, inhuman and avaricious tyrant, than Carthage and Italy grievously Africa. The unexpressible calamities under which they grouned, are described at affilied by him. length by Zosimus o, Eusebius P, Aurelius Victor 9, and the panegyrists who flourished in those times. His lust spared not the most illustrious ladies of Rome, nor his avarice the chief men in the fenate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure defires; and condemned the latter, under various pretences, to death or banishment, in order to seize their estates. Eusebius' and Rusie nus tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name Sophronia, she, who professed the christian religion, and consequently thought death a less evil than the defiling herself with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her best attire; which being granted, she withdrew into her closet, and there, after a short prayer, buried a dagger in her breast, and died on The resolution the spot. This action is mightily commended by Eusebius and Rufinus; and Palla- and intrepidity dius feems to approve it ". It shews a courage in Sophronia above her sex, and a love achristian lady. of purity worthy of the religion which she professed; but nevertheless cannot, in the opinion of St. Austin w, be commended, or even excused, unless done by a particular and extraordinary impulse from heaven, such as he supposes Razias to have had, of f whom mention is made in the books of the Maccabees. Maxentius allowed his foldiers the same unrestrained liberty, or rather licentiousness, which he took himself, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the most innocent persons. By this means Rome was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable condition; the fenators were stripped of their estates, and either banished upon false accusations, or

1 Lact. perf. c. 39, 40, p. 35, 36. k Idem, c. 41. p. 30 Vict. p. 526. Zos. l. ii. p. 675. Lactan. perf. c. 43. p. 37. Zos. ibid. 2 Zos. l. ii. p. 675. P Euseb. l. viii. p. 310. 7. p. 137, 158. Euseb. hist. l. viii. c. 14. p. 313. Lausiaca, c. 150. p. 105. w August. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 26. k Idem, c. 41. p. 36. <sup>1</sup> Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c. n Paneg. 6, 7. p. 145, 173. Aur. Vict. 9 Aur. Vict. p. 526. t Rufin. c. 17. p. 141. " PALLAD, hift.

publicly executed; and the people fo loaded with taxes, that they had not where-

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Qqq

withal

The cruelty of

withal to purchase the common necessaries, and great numbers of them died daily for a want. He was greatly addicted to the study of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women. and innocent children x. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of Fortune, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguish it, a foldier uttered some words of raillery against the unfortunate goddes; which one of the populace hearing, killed the foldier on the spot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell sword in hand upon the people; which occasioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of persons lost their lives y. Zosimus writes, that Maxentius immediately restrained the fury of his foldiers; but though he excuses him on this occasion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more infufferable, and that the Roman people impa- b tiently wished for a deliverer z. Prudentius gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under so cruel a tyrant, who was not ashamed to fill the public prisons with the most venerable and illustrious persons in the senate. Being elated with his success against Alexander tyrant of Africa, he began to entertain thoughts of destroying the other princes, one after the other; for he was often heard to fay, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at Rome an undiffurbed peace and tranquillity. He refolved to begin with Constantine, under the plausible pretence of revenging the death of his father Maximian, though we are affured, that he was not in the c least affected with it b. He had then under his command an hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse, most of whom had served under his father, and consequently were enured to military toils and dangers. He had amassed by his extortions vast sums to defray the charges of a war, and great store of provifions, having for that purpose drained Africa, and the adjacent islands. He no

Constantine.

Constantine begins his

fooner began to affemble his troops, than Constantine, well apprised of his design, wrote to him, and by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. Nazarius tells us, that Constantine, pitying the miserable condition to which he saw, with the utmost concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a defire of redeeming it from the d tyranny under which it groaned; but not thinking that could justify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to fatisfy him as to the death of his father. But Maxentius, who wanted only a pretence for stripping Constantine of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonstrances, caused his statues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father. Hereupon Constantine, leaving a strong body of troops to guard the banks of the Rhine, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into Gaul during his absence, set out on his march to Italy, at the head of an army, confisting, according to those who magnify their number the most, of ninety thoumarch to Italy. fand foot, and eight thousand horse. Of these only twenty-five thousand were Romans, and the rest auxiliaries. A panegyrist, in an oration pronounced before him, fays, that he engaged in this war with a smaller number of troops than Alexander had with him, when he went to attack the king of Persia d; that is, not quite forty thousand men. He endeavoured to gain over Licinius, by promising him his sister Constantia in marriage; which gave such jealousy to Maximin, that he sent deputies to court the friendship of Maxentius, and entered into an alliance with him; which however was kept secret; for Constantine was not apprised of it till he became master of Rome, and faw there the statue of Maximin placed close to that of Maxentius. We are not told, that Maximin fent any fuccours to Maxentius, or Licinius to Conflantine. In this war providence had something in view infinitely more important, than the rescuing of Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius; nothing less than the f delivering of the church from the cruel persecution under which it had groaned for the space of near three hundred years. Constantine had inherited of his father some love and esteem for the christians; for the first use he made of his authority was to put a ftop to the perfecution in the provinces subject to him f. However, he had not yet shewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 675. <sup>c</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 676. \* PRUD. in d Pan. 6.

a esteemed; but in the war with Maxentius, apprehending that he stood in need of an extraordinary affiftance from heaven, he began ferioufly to confider with himfelf, He deliberates what deity he should implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind with himself the fallacious answers given by the oracles to other princes, and the success that had what god he attended his father Constantius in all his wars, who despised the many gods worshipped by the Romans, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the same time he observed, that such of his predecessors as had persecuted the christians, the adorers of this God, had miscarried in most of their undertakings, and perished by an unfortunate and untimely end; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had in all his wars been attended with uncommon fuccess, and ended his life in the b arms of his children. Upon these considerations, he resolved to have recourse to the God of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him therefore he addressed himself with great humility and fervour, beseeching Him to make himself known to him, and to affift him in his present expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to fome, Eusebius assures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who solemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops A miraculous in the open fields, there suddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after apparition. mid-day, a pillar of light above the fun, in the form of a cross, with this inscription, In this conquer. The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful c vision, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing to him, with the same fign that he had feen in the heavens, commanded him to cause such another to be framed, and to make use of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning Constantine imparted to his friends what he had seen; and sending for the ablest artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a cross of gold, and precious stones, according to the directions which he gave them. This cross is minutely described by Eusebius, who faw it s. Baronius, who has caused it to be engraved in his annals b, places the images of Constantine and his children on the standard that was fastened to the crosspart of it, though Eusebius feems to place them below the standard. In a crown of gold at the top of the cross was a figure, consisting of the two first letters of the name d of Christ, according to the Greek orthography. This figure, on some medals, is formed thus R, and in others thus R. This cypher was probably shewn to Constantine with the cross; for we are no-where told, that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which the cross is plainly represented, was the only thing Constantine added to the ancient standard. This the pious emperor caused to be carried before him in all his wars, as an enfign of fafety and victory k. Socrates feems to infinuate, that in his time, about the year 430. it was lodged in the imperial palace at Constantinople 1; and Theophanes tells us, that it was still to be seen in the ninth century ". Constantine caused several other crosses to be made after the The cross befame manner, and to be constantly carried at the head of his armies, instead of the comes the chief e figures of Mars, Jupiter, Romulus, &c. The name of Christ was not always at the standard. top of the crofs, but sometimes on the standard n. When the troops in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor caused the standard with the cross to be conveyed thither; and his faith, fays Eufebiuso, was rewarded with victory, which began on that fide where the greatest danger was apprehended. He chose fifty of the most courageous, robust and religious men among his guards to attend this standard, and carry it in their turns. Eusebius affures us, that none of those who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the person who held it, finding himself aimed at on all fides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the danger by flight, was shot through with a dart f the minute he parted with it; whereas the other escaped unhurt amidst the showers of arrows that slew round him. This Eusebius, as he assures us, learnt of Constantine himself P. In the year 416. Theodosius the younger bestowed great privileges on those who carried the labarum or laborum; for fo the standard consecrated, to use the expres- The labarum or lion of St. Ambrose 9, with the name of Christ, is styled by Gregory of Nazianzum, laborum. Prudentius, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in Du Cange, who is of

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* Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 27—31. p. 421—423. BARON. 20 200. 31. p. 423. Idem ibid. Socrat. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. Theoph. p. 11. Fuseb. D. 525. Euseb. ibid. l. ii. p. 447.
                                                                                                                       BARON. ad ann. 312.
                                                                                                                                                                             1 Eusen. ibid.
                                                                                                                                                                          n Nazar. orat.

P Idem ibida
C. 31. p. 423. * Idem ibid. 1 SOCRAT. l. i. c. iii. p. 75. SOZOM. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. Euseb. p. 535. p. 448. 9 Ambros. epift. xvii. p. 213.
                                                                                                                                                                                    opinion,
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opinion, that it was borrowed of the Germans. At the same time Constantine ordered a

the shields, helmets, and offensive as well as defensive weapons of the soldiers, to be marked with croffes, as appears from Eusebius', and various ancient monuments. Sozomen tells us, that the emperor caused the name of our Saviour to be put upon the labarum, that the foldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmost respect to the imperial standard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their false deities, and pay the same honours to Him, whose name they had constantly before their eyes . Constantine had the above-mentioned vision before he passed the Alps to make war upon Maxentius, and consequently in Gaul; but as to the precise place, we are quite at a loss. Some stand up for Besançon; others for Sinzic on the Rhine, at a small distance from Cologne; and some for Numegen, a village on the Moselle, about five b miles below Treves; which Ausonius calls the illustrious camp of Constantine : but their conjectures are altogether groundless. Balusius complains, and not without reason, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer w, who is pleased to style the whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the best attested fact in the history of Constantine, a pious fiction, which, in other terms, is calling Eusebius an impious impostor, and at the same time charging him with the greatest folly imaginable, in pretending to impose upon the world with such an enormous falshood, while many thousands of witnesses were still living, who would not have failed to disprove what he wrote, and give him the lye. To imagine a writer of Eusebius's character guilty of such folly, impudence and presumption, is, in our opinion, carrying scepticism c and incredulity to too great a height. Constantine being, after the miraculous vision, Constantine is immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, fent for feveral bishops, in order to be instructed by them in the mysteries of their religion, and in several particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the utmost respect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, cross, and death of our Saviour, reading with great attention the holy scriptures, and confulting in his doubts the bishops, whom for that purpose he kept constantly about him . Eusebius does not name them; but Zosimus tells us, that an Egyptian, coming from Spain to the place where Constantine was, prevailed upon him to abandon the religion of the Romans Y. This may be true, though no great stress is to be laid d upon what Zosimus writes touching the conversion of Constantine; for Osius, the celebrated bishop of Corduba in Spain, was by birth an Egyptian, and might, as he was a man of great piety and learning, have been fent for by the emperor. It is at least certain, that Constantine soon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occasions with the utmost respect, esteem, and veneration. The modern Greek writers pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name Euphrates, had great share in his conversion; but of him no mention is made by the ancients. We may well imagine what a great alteration the conversion of Constantine produced in the His example is church. The whole imperial family followed, it seems, his example; we are well followed by the affured, that his mother Helen did: for though Theodoret writes, that she inspired her e fon from his infancy with fentiments of piety 2, yet Eusebius tells us in express terms, that she knew not the true God, till she was induced by her son to embrace the truth, and adhere to it 2. The zeal which Constantia shewed for the doctrine of Arius, inclines us to believe, that she professed the christian religion. Eusebius tells us, that Eutropia, the widow of Maximian, and mother-in-law of Constantine, followed the example of the emperor; and Valefius maintains the same thing of her daughter Fausta; which does not at all seem improbable, though not positively afferted by any of the ancients. Johannes Damascenus writes, that Constantine caused not only the cross, but the image of our Saviour, to be represented on his coins; but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only f the labarum, and on some of his son Constantius the  $\mathcal{P}$ , with the A and  $\Omega$ , the emblem assumed by our Saviour in the Revelations b. The silence of the ancient panegyrists with respect to so public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the

imperial fa-

instructed in

the christian

religion, and embraces it.

cross, which occasioned the conversion of Constantine, would seem to us unaccountable, were we not well apprifed of the great and almost invincible power of prejudice in

r Cange dissert de inferior, zwi numismat, p. 18. & glossar, p. 190.

p. 535.
t Soz. l. i. c. 4. p. 405.
in thesaur, numis antiquor, p. 463.
p. 685.
Theodoret, l. i. c. 17.
p. 563.
Euseb, vit. Const. l. ii. c. 32.
p. 423, 424.
F Euseb, l. ii.
p. 685.
Vide

Du Cange Bryant, smil, p. 21-22. p. 685. THEODORET. I. i. c. 17
Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 31-33.

a matters of religion. The authors of those panegyrics could not, even in their speeches uttered before Constantine, forbear speaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had still been a pagan. However, some of them seem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators speaks much at length of an extraordinary affiftance, which, he fays, all Gaul believed to have been fent to Constantine from heaven c. Another says, that every one dreaded the war with Maxentius, on account of an evil omen d. This may be well understood of the cross, than which nothing was more infamous, or more detefted, among the Romans. But Constantine placed his chief confidence in it, and causing it to be carried at the head of his army, as the banner of victory, croffed the Alps the following year, when he Constantine b and Licinius were confuls the fecond time, without meeting with the least opposition, passes the Alps, till he arrived at Segusium, now Susa; which being fortified both by nature and art, bimleif master and defended by a numerous garison, refused to submit. Hereupon Constantine, of everal anes. having ordered a general assault, and at the same time caused fire to be set to the gates, carried the place by florm the same day; but would not give it up to be plundered, nor fusfer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes e, though Zosimus writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that prefumed to oppose him . From Segusium he marched to Augusta Taurinorum, now Turin, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whose cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expressed; but c Constantine ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were surrounded on all sides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off of their horses, and killed, without the loss of a single man on Constantine's side. The rest of the army was easily put to the rout, and pursued with great slaughter to the gates of Turin; which the citizens shut against them, but opened to Constantine, whom they received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the Po and the Alps followed the example of this, fending deputies with great store of provisions to the conqueror, and affisting him to the utmost of their power against Maxentius, whose cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear s. From Turin he marched to Milan, which city he entered without opposition; and having passed a few days there, he pursued his d march to Brescia, where he was met by a numerous body of horse, who being routed at the first onset, retired in great confusion to Verona, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of Maxentius dispersed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by Ruricius Pompeianus, an experienced officer, and captain of the guards to Maxentius, who not thinking it adviseable to venture a battle, shut himself up in Verona, with part of his troops. Constantine, having passed the Adige a great way above that city, invested it with his whole army. Verona be-Pompeianus made a vigorous fally; but being repulsed with great loss, he stole away sieged. in the night, and foon after returned with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. Constantine, receiving intelligence e of his approach, left part of his troops to pursue the siege, and marched with the rest to meet him. Hereupon an engagement enfued, which lasted almost the whole night; but in the end the troops of Pompeianus were utterly defeated, and the general himself Maxentius's killed. Constantine distinguished himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner, army descated. grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common foldier; infomuch that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes to moderate his courage for the future, and not expose to such dangers a life, on which depended the fafety and welfare of the state h. The city of Verona still held out for some time; but was in the end taken by storm, and utterly ruined. The garison surrendered at Verona taken, discretion, and Constantine, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; f but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he caused chains to be made of their swords, and confined them in two prisons '. During the siege of Verona, Constantine detached part of his troops to attack Aquileia, Mutina, and several other cities; which readily submitted. By this means And several he became master of all the places between the Alps and Rome, the deliverance of other cities. which city from the tyranny of Maxentius, was what he had most of all at heart k. He therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. Constantine His approach roused Maxentius, who had abandoned himself to ease, and wallowed approaches Rome.

in .

I Idem, 6.

His dream.

in all manner of pleasures and debaucheries, stissing the tidings that were daily brought a

to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progress of Constantine. He caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Tiber, a little above the Milvian bridge, now Ponte Molle, so contrived that it could be easily loosened, which he charged one of his engineers to do as foon as Constantine was entered upon it with his army. But the emperor chose to encamp in a spacious plain, over-against the Milvian bridge, hoping by that means to draw Maxentius out of Rome, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well apprifed, that if he kept within the city, which was supplied with great store of provisions, the besieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But Maxentius ordering his troops to encamp between the Milvian bridge, and the city, in order b to prevent Constantine from approaching the walls, did not so much as stir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inaufpicious omen, which obliged him to repair with his wife and fon to the house of one of his friends. Lastantius tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-seventh, or rather the twenty-eighth of October, Constantine was admonished in a dream to cause the shields of his soldiers to be marked with the P, and then give battle. The order was immediately executed, and not only on the shields, but likewise on the helmets, as appears from an ancient medal k, of all the foldiers were displayed the cross, and the name of our Saviour 1. The same day, the twenty-eighth of October, Maxentius, who then ended the fixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithstanding the danger that threatened c him, magnificent shews in the circus; and having caused the sibylline books to be confulted, had this answer, that the great enemy of Rome was doomed to perish that very day. This he understood of Constantine; and therefore, quitting the city without delay, he croffed the bridge, which he had caufed to be laid over the Tiber, and chose for the field of battle a place called Saxa rubra, or the red rocks, about nine miles from Rome, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river. Constantine, overjoyed to hear that Maxentius had marched out of the city, immediately advanced against him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the fignal to be given for the battle. At the first onset, the Romans and Italians in Maxentius's army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; d but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the ministers of his tyranny, stood their ground, and fought with great resolution and intrepidity; so that the victory remained doubtful, till Maxentius's cavalry being broken, the tyrant abandoned the field to fave himself across his bridge of boats, and return to the city m. Lactantius writes, that the bridge broke down of itself during the battle"; but Eusebius and Zosimus tell us, that the engines which fastened the boats together, giving way under the great weight of the multitude that fled with or before Maxentius, the boats parted, and he was pushed into the river by those who were flying with him o. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken in the snare which he had laid for Constantine; and that, falling into the Tiber with his horse and armour, he e was there drowned with many of his men, and some of his chief officers. His body being with much ado found the next day, buried in the mud, Constantine caused his head to be struck off, in order to shew it to the Roman people, who had not yet shewed any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a false report, spread on purpose to discover their inclination and real sentiments P. The same day, the twenty-ninth of October, Constantine, causing the head of Maxentius to be carried upon a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the fenate in a body, and by infinite crowds of people, who flocked from all parts to behold and welcome, with loud shouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In the shews which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diver- f fions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on Constantine, returning thanks to the tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whose humanity, prudence, and moderation, same had

Constantine enters Rome.

drowned in the

Tiber.

proclaimed fo many instances q.

The battle was no sooner over, says one of the panegyrists, than Constantine sheathed his sword, and not only pardoned, but received into sayour, even his most

His clemency after victory.

inveterate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 145. <sup>16</sup> Baron, ad ann. 312. <sup>1</sup> Lact. perf. c. 44. p. 37. <sup>m</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 145, 170. Lact. p. 38. <sup>n</sup> Lact. ibid. <sup>o</sup> Zos. p. 677. Euseb. vit. Contt. p. 427. <sup>p</sup> Zos. ibid. <sup>q</sup> Panegyr. 7. p. 146, 147. Lact. c. 44. p. 38. <sup>r</sup> Panegyr. 6. p. 148.

a inveterate enemies; nay, and preferred fuch of them as he found qualified for public employments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of some of the tyrant's chief ministers, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper . All the troops of Maxentius were immediately difarmed; but Conflantine reinstated them foon after in their former condition, and employed them against the barbarians on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. As for the prætorian guards, a corps fo famous ever fince the time of Augustus, and so powerful as to raise to the empire, and depose, whom they pleased, he either disbanded them, or reduced them to the The pratorian rank of common foldiers, caufing their camp, which had been begun by Sejanus, guarde offb in the reign of Tiberius, to be utterly demolished . Aurelius Victor seems to infinuate, variable. that he would not fuffer any troops to remain in Rome, thinking them more apt to foment than suppress tumults and seditions f. Zosimus writes, that Constantine punished fome, tho' very few, of those who had been most attached to the tyrants; and Nazarius, that he cut off his whole race h, that is, his fon, for he had no other iffue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, tho' he was alive when his father was drowned. Upon the death of Maxentius, incredible numbers of informers ftarted up to accuse such had adhered to him. But Constantine, treading in the footsteps of other good princes, put a stop to their accusations, and the evils that thence threatened the state, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all He enacte a c informers, and fuch as attempted to diffurb the peace and tranquillity of private ferere law perfors with unjust fuits, guilty of death. He restored the senate to its former ers. lustre and authority, filling it with persons of the greatest merit, chosen out of all the provinces subject to him. He recalled such as had been banished by Maxentius, fet those at liberty whom he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted to all without diffinction whatever punishment had been inflicted upon them by Maxentius k. Not fatisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exercifed his generofity and good-nature to all in fuch a manner, as to make full amends, in the space of two months, for the calamities they had suffered during the tyrant's fix years reign 1. As he was now master of all Italy, the people crouded d from every quarter to Rome, to see their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with such marks of kindness, and unseigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raifed in them m. The fenate, out Honeurs conof gratitude, decreed him the first place among the emperors, tho' claimed by Maxi-fired upon min, and a triumphal arch, which is still standing, and was raised, as we read in him by the the inscription, in honour of Constantine, for having, by divine instinct, and with senate. extraordinary courage, delivered, in one combat, the republic from the tyrant, and his whole faction. In the fame inscription, Constantine is styled the deliverer of Rome, and the author of the public tranquillity. This arch is thought not to have been e ended and dedicated before the folemnity of the tenth year of Constantine's reign, that is, before the year 315 n. Baronius observes, that it was adorned with several statues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of Al. Aurelius, and other princes, which far excelled in workmanship such as were done at this time o. The fenate confecrated likewife to Constantine several magnificent edifices, which had been raised at a vast charge by Maxentius. Baronius observes, that the panegyrists, in describing the triumphal entry of Constantine into Rome, tell us, that he went to the palace, and to the fenate, but take no notice of his vifiting the capitol, tho' that was one of the chief ceremonies of the folemnity P. Zosimus writes, that the court being, on occasion of a certain solemnity, obliged to go to the capitol, Conf flantine was so far from complying with the ancient custom, that he openly despited and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the Romans 9.

or strength, but to God alone, soon after his entry into Rome, he caused a statue to be erected to himself, holding a cross in the right hand, with an inscription, Page great reimporting, that under the influence of that victorious and falutary fign, he had deli- pech to the

d Panegyr. 6. p. 148.

\* Zos. l. 11. p. 077.

\* Cod. Theodof. 3. p. 430, 431. . . . k Panegyr.

\* I Cod. Theodof. 3. p. 430, 431. . . . k Panegyr.

\* I Idem, p. 173. ELIBAN, orat. 12, p. 262. d Panegyr. 6, p. 148. e Zos. l. ii. p. 677. f Idem ibid. B Zos. p. 677. h Paneg. 7, p. 157. i Cod. Theodof. 3, p. 430, 4 6, p. 137. & 7, p. 175. Euseb. l. i. c. 41, p. 409. l Panegyr. 7, p. 174. n Norts de Licin. num. c. 3, p. 49, 50. e Baron. ann. 312. Aur. Vict. p. 526. <sup>e</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Aur. Vict. p. 526. P BARON. 1bid. 9 Zos. l. ii. p. 686.

As he ascribed the late victory, and all his other successes, not to his own conduct

vered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and reftored the a

to be put to

senate and people of Rome to their ancient liberty and splendor. About the month of November of this year 312, an edict was iffued in his name, and in the name of Licinius, putting a stop to the great persecution which had been begun by Dioclesian, and had raged with incredible fury in most provinces of the empire for the space the perfecution. of ten years. This edict was fent by the two emperors to Maximin, the most implacable enemy the christians ever had, accompanied by a letter from Constantine, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous affistance he had received from heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant Maxentius. As Maximin yet pretended to live in friendship and amity with Constantine and Licinius, (for the letter was figned by both princes) notwithstanding his hatred b to the christians, he published in their favour the decree, which is related at length by Eulebius', and feems to have been enacted this year. That writer, in speaking of the conduct of Constantine at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmost respect the ministers of the true God, kept several of them constantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an entire deference to their counsels. He seems to have honoured above the rest Melchiades, bishop of Rome; for to him he appeals in speaking of the veneration he had for the catholic church, and his fincere desire of seeing unity reign in it without the least schism or division . Theophanes mentions some constitutions said to have been addressed by Constantine to that holy bishop, but thought by Theophanes to be spurious pieces forged by the Arians. c It is certain, that the emperor bestowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of Rome". We are not told what privileges these were; but most writers suppose the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the discharging of public offices not fuitable to their calling, and fuch-like burdens. Baronius pretends, that this year, 312. Constantine gave the Lateran palace to the bishop of Rome w. But Optatus Milevitanus writes, that in the year 31g. a council was held there in the apartment of the empress Faustax; whence some conclude, that it still belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the fee of Rome in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then flyled the bafilic of Constantine, we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was d a gift of Constantine to the bishops of Rome, and that the church was built by him, as we read in Anastatius?. As for the famous donation, by which Constantine declared the pope prince and fovereign of Rome, it is now looked upon by the Roman catholic, as well as the protestant writers, as a forgery of a later date. Baronius is ashamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impostor Builds a great Isidorus 2. Eusebius tells us, that Constantine built a great number of churches, fupplied them with vast riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings 2. There are several churches at Rome, and in other places, said to have been sounded by Constantine; but the authority of Anastatius, and such-like writers, is not of sufficient weight with us to ascribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of St. Peter on the Vatican, is confirmed by two verses, that were formerly to be feen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by Constantine b. In demolishing the ancient church, to build that which is at present looked upon as the most magnificent structure in the world, the name Constantine was discovered in several places. In some monuments, thought to be of the sixth century, we read, that Constantine built at Rome the basilic of the Sessorian palace, in which he placed the true cross, about the year 326, whence it was called the church of the boly cross c. In some ancient inscriptions, the church of St. Agnes is said to have been built by Constantine, at the request of his daughter Constantia, or rather f Constantina, who is supposed to have been buried there in 354 d. Theophanes writes, that Constantine no sooner saw himself master of Rome, than he caused the reliques of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered, and honourably interred . He received, continues Eusebius, in describing his conduct, all strangers with great demonstrations of kindness, and made them rich presents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the

number of churches.

Pays great respect to the

bishops and

clergy.

His generosity and good-nature to all.

EUSEB. l.ix. c. 9. p. 360. \* EUSEB. hift. l. x. p. 391. t Theoph. p. 14. \* Cod. Theodof. 16. t. 2. l. xiv. p. 40. w Baron. ann. 312. \* Optat. l. i. p. 44. f Anast. c. 34. p. 13. \* Vide P. Pagi, p. 324. \* Euseb. vit. Conft. l.i. c. 4. p. 429. b Baron. ann. 324. Anast. c. 34. p. 15. c Boll. 18. Feb. p. 69. d Idem, p. 70. Theoph. p. 11.

common beggars with money, he caused them to be maintained and cloathed at his

a own expence. To such as were come of noble, but decayed families, he was rather magnificent than liberal, bestowing upon some of them estates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, supporting them with great generofity, and establishing rich funds for their maintenance, He married to wealthy citizens, and persons of distinction, many young women, who were destitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the estates of their husbands. In short, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generofity and good-nature. No one ever implored his affistance in vain; no one ever departed diffatisfied from his prefence. He was often heard to fay, that whoever was allowed to approach his b prince, ought to receive some favour or other at his hands; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief study to content all who applied to him: hence to those, against whom justice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of causes, he usually gave large sums, or by some other means made good the losses they fuftained; so that his generosity was no less extolled and commended by those who lost their suit, than his justice was by such as carried it. Thus far Eusebius.

THE indictions, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, made use of in The indiction.

reckoning time, are supposed to have begun about the end of the present year 312. The origin of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occasioned great disputes among modern writers. The reader will find in Du Cange a list of the authors who c have written on this subject f. Constantine having reduced the time, which the Romans were obliged to ferve, to fifteen years, fays Baronius, he was confequently obliged every fifteen years, to impose, or indicere, according to the Latin expression, an extraordinary tax for the paying of those who were discharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the Latin word indicere, was styled indiction s. The opinion of Baronius, tho' in reality a bare conjecture, feems to Petavius more probable than any thing that has been faid by others on the fame subject is, for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of indictions, viz. the Casarean or imperial indictions, which begin on the twentyfourth of September, and were long made use of in France and Germany i; the Constand tinopolitan indictions, beginning with the year of the Greeks, on the first day of September; and the papal indictions, or indictions of the popes, who, some centuries fince, reckon from the first of January of the year 313. Petavius seems to think, that the Constantinopolitan indiction was generally used among the Greeks as early as the reign of the emperor Anastatius, and perhaps of Theodosius the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction originally began on the first of September k. And truly, from various passages of the history of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of Constantinople followed this style, and that it prevailed all over Syria, and even at Rome!. Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314. or from September of the year 313. but Petavius m, and cardinal Noris, shew, that we ought e to count them from the month of September of 312, tho' we have no certain proof that they first began then; for some pretend, that they were in use in the time of Julius Caefar, or Augustuso; which we can hardly believe, fince no mention is made of indictions by any author who flourished before the reign of Constantine. The first thing we find dated by them is the council of Antioch, held, as we read in Athanasius P. if that passage is genuine, which Petavius questions 4, in the year 341. and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that St. Ambrose mentions the indiction in a letter of the year 386. and observes, that it began in the month of November r. From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367, and in other monuments both of facred and profane history; f but the indictions, as cardinal Noris observes, are seldom marked right's. Onuphrius quotes a book on the indictions, by one Chyrius Fortunatianus, whom he takes to be the bishop of Aquileia of that name, so famous in the time of Constantine's children . But Petavius thinks there never was any fuch book; and likewise rejects, as quite groundless, the opinion of those who tell us, that the council of Nice com-

EUSEB. l.i. c. 43. p. 429, 430. & l.iv. c. 4. p. 528. Cangiana, Parif. ann. 1688. 8 BARON. ann. 312 f Vide Chron. Paschale, seu Alexandrin. ex edit. Cangiana, Parif. ann. 1688. 

8 BARON. ann. 312. 

h Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 265. 

Vide Johan. Forbes, institut. historico-theologic. l. v. c. 20. p. 268. & P. Pagi, ann. 312. 

h Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 265. 

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h Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 265. 

h Petav. d h Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40, p. 265. 268. & P. Pagi. ann. 212. R Petav.

manded all bishops to mark the indiction in their letters u. He even suspects the a council of Rome, said to have been held under pope Julius, and dated the fixth indiction w. The reader must observe, that the first year of this cycle is called the first indiction; the second year, the second indiction, and so of the rest, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the same manner.

Maximin perchristians.

His dominions afflicted with many dreadful

calamities.

During the war between Constantine and Maxentius in the west, Maximin, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the east ever fince his agreement with Licinius, began anew the persecution, which the edict of Galerius, in favour of the christians, had obliged him to interrupt for some time. In a rescript addressed to the inhabitants of Tyre, he had bragged of the happiness of his reign, which, he b faid, had never been interrupted or diffurbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and persecuting with fire and sword their enemies the christians x. But providence did not fail to humble his pride, and punish, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to those who deserved it the least. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine when no ways expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attended with naufeous fores, which breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived of sight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This Eusebius, with a great deal of reason, looks upon as c a punishment from heaven upon Maximin, who sparing, out of his great mercy, to use his expression, the lives of several christians, caused their right eyes to be put out, in order to diffinguish them by that mark of infamy from his other subjects y. To the famine and plague that ravaged the dominions of Maximin with a fury hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war. For the tyrant, attempting to oblige the Armenians, who had embraced the true religion, to offer victims to his false deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and, from ancient friends and allies, to become enemies of the Roman people and empire'. This must be understood of Armenia Major; for the people of Armenia Minor were not allies, but subjects of the empire. This is the first instance we find in history of a religious d war, or a war for the fake of religion. As to the iffue of it, we are only told, that, in the course of this war, Maximin, and his army, suffered much, our historian being wholly taken up in describing the inexpressible miseries that attended the plague, and the famine, in all the provinces subject to Maximin, and the charitable conduct of the christians towards their greatest enemies, during the time of their distress. Maximin was obliged, as we have related above, by the decree of Constantine and Licinius, to put a stop to the persecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppose them.

Constantine

THE next consuls were Constantine and Licinius, both for the third time. former did not, it feems, stay at Rome above two months, as appears from a law e which he published at Milan, dated the tenth of March b. He was met in that city by Licinius, and there he married to him his lifter Cinstantia, whom he had betrothed marries mis to him before his war with Maxentius. They both wrote to Dioclesian, inviting him tia to Licinius. to affift at that folemnity; but he begging to be excused on account of his age, they highly refented it, and fent him a fecond letter, filled with menaces, which haftened his death; for he died foon after, in the month of July of this year 313 d. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in tavour of the christians, which is related at length by Eusebius. Constantine was soon obliged to leave Milan, and hasten into Gaul to make head against the Franks, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were affembling their forces with f a design to invade the Roman dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to pass the Rhine; but finding they withdrew, awed by his presence, he gave out, that the Germans too were ready to break into Gaul; and leaving some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, retired with the rest. The Franks no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the Rhine; when the Romans, rifing unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before

<sup>\*</sup> Petav. p. 365. w Concil. tom. ii. p. 527. \* Euseb. l. ix. c. 7. p. 353, 354. 7 Idem ibid. 2 Idem, p. 355. 2 Euseb. ibid. p. 553—557. b Cod. Theodol. t. 5. p. 114. C Lact. perf. c. 45. p. 38. Vict. epit. p. 545. Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473. d Vict. epit. p. 542. \* Euseb. l. x. c. 5. p. 388.

a they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged Overcomes the the rest to repass the river in the utmost consusion. Constantine, not allowing them Franks. time to recover themselves from their consternation, entered their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts in the shews which he exhibited on account of his victory f. This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyrist; but whether it answers the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which all the writers of those times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at least, counteb nanced by the religion which he professed. For this victory he took the title of Francicus 8. Constantine was, as appears from the date of several laws h, in the months of November and December of this year, at Treves; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced, in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over Maxentius; and in the end of his speech addresses himself to the great and only true God; but at the same time plainly shews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the superstitious ceremonies of the gentiles. He observes, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a distant country, had submitted to Constantine; but as to this particular, there is a profound silence among historians. This year Constantine granted great privileges to catholic churches He bestows e in Africa, which province had submitted to him upon the news of the death of Max. great privientius. In a rescript addressed to Anulinus, whom he had appointed proconsul of less on the arrival has commanded him to example the along the had appointed proconsul of array and the Africa, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church church, there, of which Cacilianus, bishop of Carthage, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the facred functions of their office. Nothing, fays he in that rescript, speaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the state, than their applying themselves wholly to the worship of God k. This ordinance was notified by Anulinus to Cacilianus, as appears from his answer to Constantine, dated the fifteenth of April of this year 3131. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the Donatists, d attempted to diffurb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged Constantine to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-first of Oslober of this year. His exempting the clergy thus from the public offices in the cities, proved very burdenfome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themselves among them on purpose to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a stop to the increase of the clergy, ordaining, that none should be admitted among them but to supply the places of others deceased; and that those, who were admitted, should be persons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the first and most chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, several cities attempted to oblige such of the clergy as were qualified for those offices to dise charge them, tho' they had been ordained before it was enacted; which Constantine prohibited by a rescript, dated the eighteenth of July of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding persons of rank and estates to enter themselves among the clergy, in order to ease the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, some say by Constantine himself, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and persons of the highest rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their refigning to others, either their whole estates, or the greatest part of them; which was deemed suitable to that disinterestedness which the church requires in her ministers m. Some writers are of opinion, that Constantine at the same time exempted the church-lands from all taxes f and burdens whatfoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already established, in a law of the year 315.; but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and ascribe the above-mentioned exemption to Constantius, the son of Constantine . We have a letter written this year by Constantine to Cacilianus, bishop of Carthage, acquainting him, that he designed to put into the hands of the ministers Gives sums to of the catholic church a confiderable sum, to be distributed by them among the the clergy to indigent christians in Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania; and that with this design he among the inhad ordered Ursus, his receiver in Africa, to pay to him a certain sum, to be distri-digent christi-

h Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7. 1 Panegyr. 6. k Euseb. l. xx. c. 6. p. 392. Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 11.

buted according to the tickets which he should receive from Ofins: he adds, that a if the sum he mentions was not by him thought sufficient, he might recur to Heraclides, another of his receivers, whom he had injoined to supply him with what monies he wanted for fo pious an use o. Ofus, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great Osius, bishop of Corduba, to whose counsels Constantine ever paid the utmost regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the same letter he acquaints Cacilianus, that, by word of mouth, he had ordered Analinus, proconful of Africa, and Patricius, lieutenant in that province, to check and suppress those who disturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we suppose, the Donatists, who had formed a powerful party against Cacilianus himself. Not satisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the diffur- b bances raised by those obstinate schismatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he affembled, on the second of October of this year, a council at Rome; and another, far more famous, the year following, at Arles in Gaul P.

His zeal for the unity of the church.

War between Licinius and Maximin.

Licinius's aream or 71,1013.

He gains a complete victory over Ma-

ximin.

WHEN Constantine left Milan to oppose the Franks, threatening to invade Gaul, Licinius returned to Illyricum, where he was foon after attacked by Maximin, who, taking umbrage at his marrying the fifter of Constantine, and jealous of the good understanding that passed between those two princes, resolved to destroy them, and to begin with Licinius, whose ruin he hoped to compass, while the other was employed in Gaul against the Franks and Germans. With this view, he affembled in great haste his forces; and leaving Syria, marched in the depth of the winter into Bithr- c nia; and from thence passing into Thrace, laid siege to Byzantium, which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to submit. He attacked Heraclea next, which made a vigorous defence, but was in the end taken by storm. In the mean time, Licinius, having drawn together what forces he could, took the field, not with a defign to venture an engagement, (for he had with him only thirty thousand men, whereas Maximin's army was twice that number) but to stop the progress of his conquests. However, the two armies meeting between Heraclea and Adrianopolis, Licinius, if we may give credit to Lastantius 4, was admonished in a dream to give the enemy battle, and affured of victory, provided he implored the affiftance of the true God by a prayer which was fuggetted to him in his fleep. Licinius remembered d it when he awaked, dictated to his fecretary, and caused many copies of it to be distributed among his foldiers, whom he took care to acquaint with his dream; which inspired them with new courage, and an eager defire of engaging the enemy, over whom they promifed themselves certain victory, fince heaven had declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by Lastantius. Licinius defigned to give battle on the first of May, the day on which Maximin ended the eighth year of his reign. But Maximin having drawn up his army in battle-array on the last day of April, Licinius could no longer put off the engagement. When the two armies were in presence of one another, the officers and soldiers of Licinius, quitting their shields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three times e the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes had an interview; but Maximin hearkening to no terms, they parted, and ordered the fignal for battle to be given . Zosimus writes, that Licinius's men at first gave ground, and retired; but foon after returned to the charge, and carried the day . But Lastantius and Eusebius w tell us, that the army of Maximin was put to flight at the very first onset, and pursued with great slaughter by the conqueror. Most of his troops, especially the legions, were cut in pieces, and the rest, his guards not excepted, abandoning him, submitted to Licinius. Maximin himself, quitting his purple robes, fled in the difguile of a flave; and croffing the Bosporus, reached Nicomedia on the first of May about sun-set, having in the space of twenty-sour hours travelled an & hundred and fixty miles. He did not stop at Nicomedia; but taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into Cappadocia, where he halted, and refumed the purple, being met there by some troops that were marching from Syria to his affiftance x. Licinius entering Bithynia a few days after the battle, was received comes master of every-where with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, especially at Nicomedia, where he caused solemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the success with which he had bleffed his arms; and then ordered the edict, which had been

enacted

<sup>•</sup> Euseb. l. x. c. 6. p. 393. P Idem ibid. 9 LAC. Idem ibid. 1 Zos. l.ii. p. 677. LACT. p. 41. 9 LACT. perf c. 46. p. 39 I Idem ibid. p 40. Idem ibid. w Euses. l. ix. c. 10. p. 363. LACT. Zos. ibid.

a enacted by him and Constantine at Milan, in favour of the christians, to be published; which was done accordingly on the last day of June of this year, 313. that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave rife to this long and bloody persecution, had been first published in the same city, by Dioclesian and Galerius v. Licinius had no sooner put a stop to the persecution by this edict, than he lest Nicomedia, and pursuing Maximin, arrived at the streights of mount Taurus, where he had resolved to make a stand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to Tarfus, proposing to pass from thence into Egypt, and raise a new army there. But distrusting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they defigned to deliver him up to Licinius, he altered his mind, and refolved, fince he found no means of making his escape, to b put an end to his life with poison; which however had not the defired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful diftemper, whereof the unaccountable symptoms are The unaccounter described at length by Eusebius 2 and Lastantius 2, who ascribe it to divine venge-able distemper ance. He was tormented night and day with inexpressible pains; his eyes and of Maximin. tongue putrefied, a punishment justly inflicted upon him for the blasphemies he had uttered against heaven, and his causing the eyes of many christians to be put out; an invisible fire, to use the expression of Eusebius b, was kindled in his bowels, which, being attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a skeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leprofy, and devoured by fwarms c of vermin: he could not be prevailed upon to take any nourishment, but greedily swallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to asswage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermission c. Eusebius tells us, that reflecting in this condition on his unjust conduct towards the christians, and ascribing the agonies he suffered to his cruelty towards them, he caused an edict to be published, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by Conflantine and Licinius to enact the year before. But as his repentance, fays Eufebius, was not fincere, it obtained no ease to his torments, which at length put an end to his life at Tarsus in Cilicia, about the middle of August, after he had reigned nine His death. years with the title of Casar, and five years and fix months with that of Augustus d, d He left several children behind him, whom he had created Casars, as appears from feveral ancient coinse; but their names are not mentioned by historians. By his death, Licinius became master of all the eastern provinces; so that the whole empire was now divided between him and Constantine. Maximin was declared by the edicts of the two furviving princes a public enemy, and treated as fuch; for his statues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name razed out of all public infcriptions, and fuch monuments as had been erected to his honour overturned and levelled with the ground. His children and relations were fentenced to death, and publicly exe- All his friends, cutted; his wife was thrown into the Orontes at Antioch, and drowned; all his mini-relations, and fters and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the rest Culcianus, who to death by e had put a great number of christians to death in Egypt; Firmilianus, who had signa-Licinius. lized his hatred against them in Palestine; and Peuceces, whom the tyrant had favoured above the rest, and created three times consul. Licinius caused likewise a celebrated magician, by name Theotechnes, and all his affociates, to be publicly executed at Antiocb, after having obliged them to discover and own the impostures, with which they had led aftray the ignorant populace, and ftirred them up against the christians s. Candidianus, the son of Galerius, being introduced to Licinius at Nicomedia, was received by him with great demonstrations of kindness, and treated for some time in a manner suitable to his rank; but when he thought himself safe, he was, by the order of Licinius, murdered with Severianus, the fon of Severus, killed, as we f have related above, in the year 307. Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, and widow of Galerius, who had adopted Candidianus, was no sooner informed of his death, than the withdrew from Antiocb with her mother Prisca, and wandered about in disguise and undiscovered for the space of fifteen months; but being at last known at Theffalonica, she was seized there, and by Licinius's order publicly executed with her The death of mother, and both their bodies thrown into the sea 8. Thus were the families of these Valeria and

three cruel persecutors of the church, Dioclesian, Galerius, and Maximin, utterly Prilca.

\* LACT. perf. c. 49. p. 43. b EUSEB. iv. ver. 12. d Chron. Alex. p. 456. Y Lact. pers. c. 48. p. 41. 2 Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361. 2 Lact. pers. c. 49. p. 43. 5 Euseb. 365. 5 Euseb. ibid. Lact. p. 44. Hier. in Zachar. xiv. ver. 12. 5 Chron. Alex. p. 456. Noris de Licin. c. 2. p. 48. 5 Euseb. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 342. p. 365. C. EUSEB. IDId. 1 e Noris de Licin. c. 2. p. 48. Vol. VI. Nº 4.

cut off and exterminated. Zosimus tells us h, that the secular games ought to have a been celebrated at Rome this year, but were neglected by Constantine; which was noways pleafing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief supports of the empire, and a powerful preservative against plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, tho' the last, celebrated by Severus an hundred and ten years before

in the consulate of Chilo and Libo, had not, as we have seen, kept off these evils. THE next confuls were Rufius Volusianus the second time, and Annianus. Conflantine passed the first months of this year at Treves, as appears from the dates of feveral laws. By one, which was published at Rome on the twenty fourth of April, he declared all those free, who had been condemned to slavery by Maxentius, commanding, under the severest penalties, such as held them in captivity to restore them b forthwith to their ancient liberty k. From Treves the emperor passed to Arles, where he ordered a general council to meet of all the bishops of the west, in order to suppress the Donatists, who raised great disturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifest proof of his piety, of his respect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church. He was obliged to leave Gaul before the bishops met, a war breaking out this year between him and Licinius, of which historians give us but a confused account, some blaming Licinius as the author of it, and others Constantine. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on Licinius. According to him, Constantine had married his fister Anastasia to Bassianus, whom he defigned to create Casar, and appoint governor of c Italy; but not caring to take this step without the approbation of Licinius, he dispatched one Constantius to acquaint him with his design, and obtain his consent. But having discovered at the same time, that Licinius attempted to stir up Bassianus against him by means of Senecio, the brother of Bassianus, he wrote a letter to Licinius, upbraiding him with treachery, and infifting upon his delivering up to him Senecio, who had taken refuge in his court. Licinius was fo far from complying with his request, that, refenting the letter he had written to him, he caused his statues to be pulled down in Amona, a city of Upper Pannonia. Hereupon Constantine, having drawn together in great hafte a body of twenty thousand men, marched into Illyricum, hoping to surprise Licinius. But he found him already in the field, with d an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into Pantionia; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of Cibalæ, an engagement en sued, in which Licinius was utterly defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best

feated in Pan-troops. It appears from Zosimus, who relates the most minute particulars of this nonia,

War between Constantine

and Licinius.

their agreement.

to Sirmium, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treasures, into Dacia, where he raised to the dignity of Casar one of his officers, by name Valens. From Dacia, he passed into Thrace, and there assembled a second army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, Constantine made himself master of Cibalæ and Sirmium; and having caused the bridge over the Save to be repaired, which Licinius had ordered to be broken down, he pursued the enemy into e Thrace. Upon his arrival at Philippopolis, he was met by a deputation from Livinius, with proposals for an accommodation; but Constantine insisting upon his deposing Valens, and Licinius obstinately refusing to comply with that article, a second battle And in Thrace, was fought in the plains of Mardia in Thrace, which lasted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to Zosimus, without any considerable advantage on either side . Aurelius Vistor , and the anonymous author of Constantine's life P, write, that Constantine would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening faved Licinius's army from utter destruction. The next day Licinius sent one Mestrianus, who is styled comes or count, to Constantine, to negotiate a peace, The articles of which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That Valens should is be forthwith deposed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That Syria, Egypt, Libya, Asia, Thrace, Mesia, and the leffer Scythia, should remain in the possession of Licinius; but that Illyricum, Dardania, Macedon, Greece, and Masia, should be yieded to Constantine q. Mæsia is named in both divisions, there being then two

battle, that it was fought on the eighth of Ollober of this year, 314 m. Licinius fled

provinces of that name, the one, known at prefent by the name of Servia, belonging

h Zos. 1. ii, p. 671. 1 Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 8, 9. 1 Cod. Just. 7, t. 22. leg. 3, p. 665. 1 Concil. tom. i. p. 1431. 1 Anonym. p. 472. Zos. 1. i. p. 678. Eutrop. p. 588. Euseb. p. 21c. Vict. epit. p. 543. 1 Zos. p. 679. 2 Aur. Vict. p. 526. 1 Anonym. p. 474. 2 Idem ibid. Sozom. l. i. c. 2, p. 403. Zos. p. 779.

a to Illyricum, and the other, now Bulgaria, to Thrace. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315. on their fourth consulship. Constantine, as appears from the dates of several laws, passed the best part of this year in Illyricum and Greece, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty. By one of these laws, dated the first of August, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and several laws intirely abolishes that fort of punishment, tho' common among the Romans till his enacted by time, especially with respect to slaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon Constantine. by the fathers as an instance of his respect for the cross and passion of our Saviour. By another law, enacted at Naissus on the thirteenth of May, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive and educate at his expence fuch children as shall be brought b to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own labour and industry. He ordered this law to be engraved on brass, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of Italy. In the year 322, he extended it to Africa, injoining the proconfuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to supply with corn out of the public granaries such parents as they shall find incapable of maintaining their children. By a third law published this year at Sirmium, and dated the second of June, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either flaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground'. From Illyricum, Constantine went to Aquileia, and from thence to Rome, where he was, on the twenty-fifth of August, and the thirteenth of September, as appears from a law addressed to Probinus, c or rather Probianus, proconsul of Africa, and from an edict addressed to the people of Rome ". On the eighteenth of October, he was at Naissus in Dacia; for the law bears that date, which he published there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the Jews, and their patriarchs, to molest such as should abandon their sect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting severe punishments on those who should embrace the Jewish religion . Constantine passed almost the whole year ensuing, when Sabinus and Rufinus were consuls, in Gaul; for on the eleventh of January he was at Treves, on the fourteenth of May at Vienne in Dauphiny, and on the thirteenth of August at Arles, where his wife Fausta was delivered of a son, whom some Fausta delitake to be Constantine his eldest son, and others to be his youngest son Constans. vered of a son d This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of June, and addressed to at Arles. a bishop, by name Protogenes, probably the celebrated bishop of Sardica, by which he gave leave to all masters to infranchise their slaves in the presence of the christian people affembled with their bishops or pastors in the church, without recurring, as was prescribed by the Roman laws, to the prætors and consuls. Thus the manumitting of flaves, which before was attended with great difficulties, and no small expence, became easy and no-ways chargeable, the masters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and confuls at Rome, but only to their own bishops and clergy x. In the month of Ostober of this year, the emperor was at Milan, and there heard the complaints of the Donatists against Cacilianus bishop of Carthage y; e and on the fourth of December at Sardica, where he enacted a law, commanding persons even of the greatest distinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces, and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of Rome, or the emperor z. This feverity was judged necessary to check the insolence of the nobility, who began to oppress the people in a most tyrannical manner, especially in the remote provinces. The following year, 317. when Gallicanus and Bassus were consuls, Constantine and Licinius agreed to create three Cafars, viz. Crispus and Constantine, the sons of the Crispus, Conemperor Loustantine, and Licinius or Licinianus, the son of Licinius by Constantia, stantine, and the fifter of Constantine. This promotion was made, according to the best chrono created Calars. f logers, on the first of March, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and published in all the cities of the empire. The fon of Licinius is styled on the ancient coins Valerius Licinianus Licinius, and also Licinius the youngerb, and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raised to the dignity of Casarc. Crispus, Constantine's fon by his first wife, was born, according to some, in the year 300.

according to others in 296. fo that he was at this time in the seventeenth or twenty-

<sup>\*</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. i. p. 224, 225. 

Cod. Theodof. l. i. p. 224, 225. 

Cod. Theodof. l. i. c. g. p. 414. 

Cod. Theodof. l. xvi tit. 8. leg. 1. p. 214. 

Cod. Theodof. l. iv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 111. Sozom. l. i. c. g. p. 414. 

Cod. Theodof. l. iv. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. 

Cod. Theodof. l. iv. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. 

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Cod. Theodof. l. iv. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. 

Cod. Theodof. l. iv. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. \* Anonym. p. 474. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. Hier. chron. is de Licin. c. i. p. 39, 40. 

\* Vict. epit. p 543.

first year of his age d. Constantine had committed the care of his education to the a celebrated Lastantius, a person equally capable of instructing him in the sciences, and inspiring him with sentiments of piety. Eusebius styles him an excellent prince, a prince beloved of heaven, a son in no respect inserior to his father. He is called in the ancient inscriptions Flavius Valerius Julius Crispus. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the seventh, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth of August

in Illyricum, and according to some in the city of Sirmium, Constantius, Constantine's

fecond fon, by Fausta, the fister of Maxentius 8. Constantine passed the following year, when Licinius was conful the fifth time with Crispus, partly in Illyricum, and partly in the neighbourhood of Rome, and revived the ancient Roman law against parricides, which had been abrogated by Pompey the Great, comprehending under the name of parricide b the murder, not only of a father and mother, but likewise of a son h. The next confuls were, Constantine the fifth time, and Licinius Cafar. Constantine passed this and the three following years in Illyricum; and by several laws enacted there, and addressed to the governors of Rome, and to the Roman people, endeavoured to reform the many abuses which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of these laws, published at Rome on the first of February, he gives the pagans leave

to confult the aruspices, that is, those who pretended to foretel events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruspices, as well as the other pagan priests, to enter the houses of private persons, tho' their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: fuch as received them were by this law to forfeit their estates, c and be banished for life; the informers were not to be punished in this, as in other cases, but amply rewarded for their zeal. The end of this law was to prevent all private facrifices and confultations. By another law, dated the feventeenth of December, he commands those, who shall consult the aruspices, or other diviners, to send their answers to him k. The emperor continued this year at Sirmium till the twentyfecond of June, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at Naissus on the fifteenth of July, at Milan on the seventh of September, at Aquileia on the twelfth of October, at Sardica on the twenty-fixth of November, and again at Sirmium on the first of December 1. The following year Constantine entered upon his sixth consulship, having his son Constantine for his collegue. This year he abrogated the Papian, and all d

other laws against celibacy; but suffered those who had children to enjoy the privi-

leges granted them by those laws m. He annulled another law, impowering the

creditors to seize on the estates and effects of their debtors; and at the same time

declared, that such as had forfeited their estates by that law, might redeem them

by paying the fums they owed n. By a law dated the first of February, he forbids the officers of the revenue to punish with rods, or confine to the public prisons, such as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be secured in places where every one might fee and visit them o. This law must have been unknown to Zosimus, who tells us, that rods, and all forts of torments, were used by the officers of Constantine in exacting what was due to the exchequer P. Two other e laws were enacted by Constantine this year, the one forbidding married men to keep

in open and wholfome places, and not to confine them, at least in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares such as shall by ill usage extort money from their prisoners, guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magistrates who shall wink at fuch diforders. This year Crifpus gained a victory over the Franks, the particulars of which are not mentioned in history: Nazarius in his panegyric only

Constantius born.

Laws against

Conflantine revokes the Papian and other laws against celibacy.

Laws in favour concubines 7, and the other commanding all judges to dispatch the causes of crimiof prijoners, nals, and the gaolers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them

tells us, that he overcame the Franks, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father '. THE following year, when Crispus and Constantine, the emperors two sons, were manner of work on fundays. Sozomen writes, that out of respect to the cross, he

And for keep consuls, Constantine published an edict on the seventh of March, forbidding all ing holy fundays. likewise ordered fridays to be kept holy ". But of this edict no mention is made

d Zos. p. 679. Panegyr. 7. p. 177. Euseb. l. x. c. 9. p. 298. Goltz. p. 129. Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 13. Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 47. h Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113. l Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1, 2. p. 114, 115. k Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. l Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 16—27. m Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. Euseb. vit. Conft. l. iv. c. 26. Cod. Theodof. p. 643, 644. n Idem, p. 251, 252. l Idem, p. 68, 69. p. Zos. l. ii. p. 691. l Cod. Theodof. p. 70, 71. l Idem, p. 33. l Panegyr. 7. p. 177. l Euseb. vit. Conft. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Just. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250. l Sozom l. i. c. 8. p. 412.

the arupices.

either

a either by Eulebius, or any other historian. However, the authority of Sozomen, who

lived at Constantinople, was by profession a pleader, and shews himself every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us. The following year 322. Petronius Probianus and Anicius Julianus being consuls, Constantine gained a Constantine great victory over the Sarmatians w. Optatianus writes, that they were overcome in defeats the Sar-feveral battles with the Carpi and the Geta, that is, the Goths x. These battles were matians. fought, according to that writer, at Campona, Marga, and Bononia, all three cities of Illyricum on the Danube, the first in Pannonia or Valeria, near the present city of Buda, and the other two in Upper Mafia y. Rausimodes, king of the Sarmatians, had, as we read in Zosimus 2, besieged a city, which he does not name; but Constantine, b haftening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged those who had made their escape to repass the Danube, pursued them cross that river, defeated them a fecond time with great flaughter, their king being killed among the rest, and returned with an incredible number of captives. Eusebius does not speak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the gospel. The Sarmatian games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of November, probably took their rife from this victory b. The next consuls were Severus and Rusinus. Constantine, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to Theffalonica; but while he was busied there in making c a port, the Goths, notwithstanding their late deseat, entered Thrace and Massia, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Constantine marched against them with incredible expedition; and having gained a complete victory over them, purfued And the Goths them with great flaughter into the dominions of Licinius; which that prince highly refenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties subsisting between them. Constantine endeavoured to appeare him; but as Licinius, distatisfied with the late partition of the empire, waited only a plaufible pretence to break with Constantine, after several embassies and unsuccessful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for War between war. Constantine dispatched expresses into all the provinces, ordering his troops to Constantine hasten into Illyricum, and join him c. Zosimus writes, that his army was an hundred and Licinius. d and thirty thousand men strong, and that he assembled at the port of Athens a sleet confishing of two thousand two hundred vessels of different rates and sizes; whereas Licinius had with him but an hundred and fifteen thousand men, and three hundred and fifty galleys d. Constantine was still at Sirmium on the twenty-fifth of May e, and a few days after at The falonica, whence he marched into Thrace, and found Licinius encamped there on the banks of the Hebrus, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. The two armies continued fome days encamped over-against each other, being parted by the river. Constantine was for laying a bridge cross the Hebrus; but in the mean time having discovered a ford at some distance, he passed it at first with twelve horsemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the e whole army crossed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the ensuing engagement, which was likely to prove decisive. Eusebius writes, that the author of the war, that is, Licinius, gave the fignal for the onset, and that Constantine, having first with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole God our Saviour, ordered the cross, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his foldiers, to be displayed at the head of his army. His confidence, says the same writer, was not ill grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared f. Constantine's men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, escaped f only with a slight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thousand were killed upon the spot, and the rest, though advantageously posted upon a rifing ground, obliged to betake themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight. Licinius in-Licinius escaped in the night, with what forces he could rally, to Byzantium; and the tirely defeated next morning fuch of his men as had remained in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, at Adrianople, fubmitted to Constantine, who, transported with joy for so signal a victory, granted a discharge to many of his veterans 8. This memorable battle was fought on the

w Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 680. \* OPTAT. C. 23.
Conference D. 421. Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 22. y BAUD. l. ii. p. 680. EUSEB. vit. Constant. p. 431.

d Zos. l. ii. p. 681. Cod. Theod. p. 23. 6 Anonym. p. 474. f Euses. vit. Conft. l, ii. c. 3. & 6. p. 445, 447. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zos. l. ii. p. 681. Vol. VI. Nº 4. Uuu third third of July of this year 323. Eusebius tells us, that Licinius, before the battle, 2

retired to a neighbouring wood to facrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was over, told those who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom both his and their ancestors had ever adored, but the enemy had forsaken, to embrace a religion unknown to the Romans, whose standards he dishonoured with the ignominious fign of a cross. He added, that as Constantine, transported with a blind zeal for his new religion, had declared himself an enemy rather to his gods than to him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the world might conclude from the fuccess of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the gods of the Roman empire, how weak the unknown God adored by Constantine. "If we are overcome, continued he, we must despise those deities whom we now b " adore, and adore that deity whom we now despise. But if our gods bless our " endeavours with success, as I am confident they will, we must with an eternal " war pursue their enemies, and utterly extirpate the christian name." Eusebius tells us, that he learnt this speech, soon after the battle, of those who were with Licinius when he made it h. Sozomen likewise writes, that Licinius had resolved, if his gods had granted him the victory, to purfue with fire and fword their enemies the christians; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring instance to prove, that the christians were, in a special manner, savoured by heaven, and that their religion was not a human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty 1. As Licinius had fled to Byzantium, Constantine pursued him thither without loss of time, c ordering his fleet, commanded by his Ion Crisques, to repair to the same place. Crispus immediately put to sea, and failing along the coasts of Macedon and Thrace, entered the streights of Gallipoli, where the enemy's fleet, confisting of two hundred vessels, under the command of Abantus, or, as others call him, Amandus, waited for him. As the place was very narro , Crispus thought it adviseable to engage him only with eighty of his best ships. Victory was long doubtful, both sleets fighting with great obstinacy and resolution; but in the end the enemy being encumbered by the great number of their ships running foul of one another in so narrow a place, were utterly defeated, with the loss of five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty ships. Amandus, the enemy's admiral, with the utmost difficulty faved himself d the streights of ashore k. Zosimus, who describes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for Constantine, in order to render the victory of the son by sea no less glorious than that of the father had been by land 1. Crisqus himself hastened to his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by him received with the most tender expressions of paternal affection and esteem. Conflantine had already laid fiege to Byzantium, after having gained fome new advantages over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, Licinius made his escape by sea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treasures, passed the streights, and thut himself up in Chalcedon, with a design to raise a new army in Asia. In that city he preferred to the dignity of Cafar one M. Martinianus, the chief officer of his e houshold, and dispatched him with a considerable force to Lampsacus, to make head against Constantine, in case he attempted to enter the Hellespont m. But Constantine, leaving Byzantium, embarqued his troops, and croffing over into Asia, landed in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon; and finding Licinius encamped on a rifing ground not far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a fecond engagement. But in the mean time deputies arriving from Licinius, with proposals for an accommodation, Constan-An agreement tine hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they proposed, which were, fays Eufebius n, no less advantageous to Licinius, than to the whole stantine, which empire. But this agreement was short-lived; for Constantine being soon after informed, f is broken by the that Licinius was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the barbarians to join him, advanced to Chalcedon, with a defign to invest the place, and oblige Licinius to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached Chryofolis, the port of Chalcedon, he was there, to his great surprize, met by Licinius at the head of a very numerous army. Zosimus writes, that he had with him above

Gallipoli.

And his fleet

by Crifpus in

Licinius creates M. Martinianus Cæfar.

an hundred and thirty thousand men, counting the troops commanded by Martinianus, whom he had ordered to leave Lampfacus, and join him . Constantine drew up

h Euseb. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 5. p. 445, 446.

B2. Anonym. p. 475.

Idem ibid. k Zos. l. ii. p. 681, I Sozom. l. i. c. 7. p. 409. 682. Anonym. p. 475. Idein 16. Zos. l. ii. p. 683. m Zos. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475. n Eusen. ibid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 451.

a his men in battle-array; but, scrupling to break the treaty, waited till the signal was given by the enemy; which was no fooner done, than he fell upon them with fuch resolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withstand him, they immediately Licinius uttergave way, and fied in the utmost confusion. In this battle Licinius lost, according to by defeated. the anonymous writer of Constantine's life, twenty-five thousand men P; but, according to Zosimus, above an hundred thousand 9. It was fought on the eighteenth of September; and a few days after the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon opened their gates to the conqueror. Licinius fled, with what forces he could rally, to Nicomedia, whither Constantine pursued him, and immediately invested the place; but, on the second day of the siege, his sister Constantia intreating him with many tears, by b the tenderness he had ever shewn to her, to forgive her husband, and grant him at leaft his life, he was prevailed upon to comply with her requeft; and the next day Licinius, finding no means of making his escape, presented himself before the conqueror, and throwing himself at his reet, yielded to him the purple, and the other He submits to enfigns of fovereignty. Constantine received him with great demonstrations of kind- Constantine. nefs, entertained him at his table, and afterwards fent him to Theffulonica, affuring him, that he should live unmolested, so long as he raised no new disturbances . However, he was foon after strangled by Conflantine's orders, who, on that account, He is by his oris highly blamed by Zosimus and durelius Vistor. St. Jerom has copied the very death. words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often c quoted, tells us, that the foldiers, having demanded the death of Licinius, Constantine complied with their request, fearing he might, in imitation of Maximian, one day refume the empire. Zonaras writes, that upon the complaints brought against Licinius by the foldiery, Constantine referred the whole affair to the senate, who sentenced him to death. Socrates fays in express terms, that Licinius began privately to make new preparations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his affiltance; which Constantine no sooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war . Constantine caused all his statues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the fixteenth of May 324. the other the twelfth of February 325, annulled all his acts, and repealed the laws which had been published d by him, or his officers in his name ". As for Martinianus, Zosimus writes, that Constantine abandoned him to the fury of the foldiery x, as foon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and Victor the younger affure us, that Constantine at first granted him his life, but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the defigns of Licinius x. All those who had prompted him to persecute the christians, underwent the same fate y, and among the rest his son Licinius, who was this year degraded from the dignity of Cæsar, and two years after, that is, in 325. according to St. Jerom, sentenced to death. Licinius had been created emperor on the eleventh of November 307, and consequently had reigned near fixteen years. We have not thought it necessary to take notice of the miracles, which Zonaras and Nice. phorus have inferted in their account of the defeat of Licinius, as things not vouched by any ancient writer. For this victory Constantine, and after him his fon, and several

time his third fon, and fix years old, to the dignity of Cafar. Constantine, now master of all the eastern provinces, made it his chief study to establish there the worship of the true God, as he had already done in the west, and to abolish all remains of idolatry, which had been no less countenanced by Licinius, than the christian religion persecuted and oppressed. He began with two edicts, whereof both Greek and Latin copies were fent into all the provinces of the empire, f figned with the emperor's own hand, and addressed, the one To the churches of God, the other, To the people of each province. By these edicts he reinstates in their former Constantine condition all, who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the ever had been mines, or any other punishment; orders their goods and estates to be forthwith taken from the restored to them, or to their heirs; gives leave to such as had been deprived of their churches, &c. military employments to resume them, if they pleased; and commands the officers of to be restored to the revenue, as well as private persons, of what rank or condition soever, to deliver up

of his successors, assumed the title of Victorious, which we find still prefixed to some of his letters z. Not long after the defeat of Licinius, he preferred Conflans, at that

P Anonym. p. 475. ¶ Zos. l. ii. p. 683. it. Const. p 4. 

Socrat. l. i. c. 4. p. 8. 

Cod. Zos. p. 685. 

Anonym. p. 475. Vict. epit. p. 543. oid.

Euseb. ibid. p. 452. Optat. p. 284. \* Idem, p. 684. Vict. epit. p. 543. \* Zonar.

\* Cod. Theodof. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 1. p. 404, 405.

t. p. 543. \* Euseb. vit. Const. p. 452. Anonym. wit. Conft. p 4. w Zos, p. 685.

ral edicte against the worshipping of

Orders the temples to be Chies.

Assembles #

to the churches, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the sentence of the a magistrates, what houses, tenements, gardens, orchards, &c. had ever belonged to them, but more especially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation such as shall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he fays, comprises those too who may have purchased such lands, houses, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a present, or by way of reward for These however he encourages to depend upon his generosity; their past services. but requires of them, as well as of the rest, an immediate compliance with his edict y. He enalls seve- These ordinances were followed by others, forbidding the offering of sacrifices to idols, the confecrating of any new idol, and the confulting, either in public or in private, the aruspices, soothsayers, oracles, &c. He had no sooner caused these b laws to be published, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled down during the persecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furnish the necessary sums for that purpose; and those whom he appointed to oversee such buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true God. He wrote upon the same subject to all the metropolitan bishops, styling them his beloved brethren, and among the rest to Eulebius of Casarea, who relates his letter at length, and tells us, it was the first he had received from him 2. Not long after, he published an edict drawn up by himself, and addressed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to c renounce their ancient superstition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the universe, and to place all their hopes in Jesus Christ. This edict is related at length by Eusebius, who translated it out of the original Latin into Greek 2. Constantine, not thinking it yet adviseable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be thut up in all the places where that might be done without tumults and bloodshed; to be stripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houses and revenues belonging to them to be applied to pious uses. In virtue of this ordinance, the Pythian and Smynthian Apollo, the tripod of Delphos, the muses of Helicon, the famous Pan, whom all the cities of Greece had confecrated after the Persian war, and whatever missed antiquity had for many ages revered and adored, d were publicly dragged through the streets, and either dashed in pieces, or made use of as master-pieces of art to adorn the squares, villa's, palaces, public galleries,  $\mathcal{C}_c$  b: From the several laws enacted this and the following year 324. when the emperor's two fons, Crispus and Constantine, were consuls, it appears, that Constantine continued in the east, residing for the most part at Nicomedia. The next year, Paulinus and Julianus being consuls, the emperor, to put a stop to the disturbances and divisions that rent the church, affembled the famous council of Nice, at which he affifted in person, and afterwards condemned to banishment the refractory heresiarch Arius, with Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and several others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of July of this e year, the emperor folemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occasion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the bishops of the council, treated them with the utmost respect, made them several presents, and caused large sums to be distributed among the poor, dispatching at the same time orders to all the governors of provinces to fupply yearly the facred virgins, widows, and ecclefiaftics in each city of their respective districts with a certain quantity of corn c. Constantine passed this year partly at Nice, partly at Nicomedia, as appears from the dates of feveral laws. By one published at Nicomedia on the seventeenth of October, and addressed to all the subjects of the empire, he encourages such as had been, or should be oppressed, or any ways f all his subjects injured, by his ministers, counsellors, governors of provinces or cities, &c. to apply to recur to him. to him for redrefs, affuring them, that they should be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, fince he had employed none but such as he believed to be men of integrity. But the best princes, adds he, are liable to be deceived and imposed upon by wicked ministers; if therefore those in whom I reposed an intire confidence, have deceived me by a false appearance of integrity, and injured the meanest of my subjects, let the person thus injured lay his complaints before me, and

F Euseb. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 19—28. p. 453, 458. 

Idem ibid. c. 44. id. c. 47, 48. p. 465, 466. 

Idem > 7 10, 511. Sozom. p. 449. ibid. c. 47, 48. p.465, 466. p. 438.

accuse

a accuse me as the author of the injuries he has suffered, if I do not revenge them 4. In the beginning of November he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, instead of being obliged to fight in the arena, should, for the future, be condemned to work in the mines. The following year Constantine entered upon his seventh consulship, having his third son Constant for his collegue. The emperor passed the winter in Thrace and Illyricum; for he was on the third of February at Heraclea, and on the fifteenth of March at Sirmium. From thence he went to Milan, and from Milan to Rome, where he was on the eighth of July; but he did not stay long there, being, as appears from the dates of several laws, in the beginning of Ostober at Spoletum, on the twenty-b third of the same month at Milan, and on the last day of December at Sirmium s.

Zosimus, a declared enemy to Constantine, writes, that the whole Roman people He is insulted loaded him with injuries and curses, for having abandoned the religion of his ancesttors, and promoted with great zeal the worship of an unknown God; and adds, that the difrespect and aversion which the Romans shewed him, prompted him to transfer the feat of the empire to Byzantium 8. Libanius tells us, that he bore with great patience the fatires and lampoons that were daily published against him during his stay at Rome. He left the city, highly dissatisfied with the disrespectful behaviour of the Roman people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it h. But the most remarkable event of this year was the death of Crispus, Constantine's eldest son.

e The empress Fausta, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to fee him preferred to her own children, falfly accused him of having solicited her to incest. Some say, that she charged him with aspiring at the sovereignty. Be that as it will, Constantine, hearkening to the accusation, and not only forgetting on this occasion his usual elemency, but acting contrary to all laws of justice and equity, without examining an accusation of such importance, without giving the accused prince room to clear himself, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he He puts his son was dispatched with poison; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was struck Crispus to He was, according to the most probable opinion, executed at Pola in Istria, on death; the first of March, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the

d twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had fignalized himself in a very eminent manner against the Franks, and in the war with Licinius, and was universally beloved by the people and soldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to persons of all ranks, his generosity, and other princely qualities. He had in all likelihood embraced the christian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to Baronius; but the authority of Nicepborus, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us. The death of Crispus was followed Addikewise by that of young Licinius, Constantine's nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his nephew Lihis age . St. Jerom styles these executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty k. Fausta wife Fausta. did not long out-live her fon-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having e accused him falsly, and moreover of having prostituted her honour to persons of the meanest rank, Constantine caused her to be suffocated with the steam of a hot bath 1.

With Fausta many persons of distinction, supposed to have been accessory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately dispatched with poison, or publicly executed m. Evagrius, to excuse Constantine, denies all these sacts "; but they are too well attested, both by the Greek and Latin historians, to be denied, or even called in question. Eusebius, in his ecclesiatic history, which he published before the death of Crispus, bestows the highest encomiums upon that prince, and tells us, that he had great share in the victory gained over Licinius o; but, in the life of Constantine, he suppresses those encomiums, and though he describes at length that memorable I victory, yet he does not so much as mention the name of Crispus. This filence is, in our opinion, a strong argument against Evagrius, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been seigned by the enemies of Constantine, because he does not find them in Eusebius; but as they are sufficiently attested by several other credible writers,

<sup>d</sup> Col. Theod. chronol. p. 25. Col. Theodof. tit. 5. p. 397. f. Col. Theodof. chronol. p. 28. Zos. l. ii. p. 686. Liban. orat. xv. p. 412. Zos. l. ii. p. 685. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 29. Eutrop. p. 588. Hier. chron. Zos. p. 685. Vict. epit. Philostorg. hift. ecclef. 470. Ammian. p. 56. Hier. chron. Eutrop. p. 588. Evag. l. iii. c. 41. p. 371. Euseb. l. x c. 9. p. 398, 399.

we ought rather to infer from the silence of Eusebius, that he was well apprised nothing could be alledged to excuse Constantine, and therefore took no notice of those execu-

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by heaven.

Makes Drepanum a ciry.

The empress

Helena dies.

tions, chusing rather to incur the censure of having transgressed the known laws of a history, than to take upon him the justifying of facts, which all the world but too His cruelty and justly condemned. This inexcuseable cruelty and injustice in Constantine drew down injuffice puished upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite ministers, were, soon after his death, all massacred by Constantius, his second son by Fausta, whom he loved and cherished above the rest. Constantine his eldest son was killed by Constans the youngest, Constans by Magnentius, Gallus their cousin by Constantius, and Constantius by Julian, the brother of Gallus. Julian perished in a most miserable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of Constantine, which, every one expected, would have furnished the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four fons, feveral fifters and daughters, and nine b nephews P. Constantine seems to have passed the following year 327, when Constantius and Maximus were cousuls, in Illyricum and Thrace; for on the twenty-seventh of February he was at Thessalonica, on the eighteenth of May at Sardica, and at Heraclea on the fifth of August. He probably passed the following winter at Nicomedia; for he was in that city on the first of March q. This year Constantine granted the privileges of a city to the village of Drepanum in Bithynia, styling it, from the name of his mother, Helenopolis. This honour he bestowed upon the place out of respect to the holy martyr Lucianus, who had fuffered under Maximin in the year 312. and was interred there r. About this time the empress Helena is said to have discovered the sepulchre and cross of our Saviour, which induced Constantine to build at Jerusalem c the famous church of the refurrestion, which was confectated in the year 335. The pious princess died soon after in the arms of her son, who caused her body to be conveyed with great pomp to Rome, and to be interred in the burying-place of the emperors. To honour her memory, he gave the name of Helenopolis to a city of Palestine a, and that of Helenopontus to a part of the Euxine sea w, and caused a statue to be erected to her honour at Daphne near Antioch. From this statue the street in which it flood took the name of Augustalx. The following year, Januarius and Justus being confuls, Constantine was, as we have hinted above, on the first of March at Nicomedia, and on the thirteenth of July at a place in Masia called Oiscos and Escos y; whence some conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in d those parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of Alexandria, that this year the emperor passed the Danube several times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river. Both the Villors mention this bridge amongst his other great works; and on several ancient coins of this and the following years, notice is taken of a bridge, of his passing the Danube, and his defeating the Goths 2. According to the chronicle of Alexandria b, he began this year the city of Constantinople; but, according to others, on the twenty-fixth of September of the following year 329. Notwithstanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from banishment the two bishops

The emperor recals from banifiment two Arian bifhops.

> tember, at Sardica; and on the twenty-fifth of Oslober at Heraclea. THE following year 330. when Gallicanus and Symmachus were confuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of Constantinople, the greatest of all Constantine's works. Authors are divided in their opinions with respect to the motives that prompted Constantine to undertake the building of that city. Zosimus writes, that he f did it out of hatred to the Romans, feeing himself scorned and insulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion d. He had, according to Eutropius e, nothing else in view but to display his power, and shew, that, in a sew years, he could build a city equal to Rome, which, for so many ages, had been not undefer-

Eusebius and Theognis, great sticklers for the doctrine of Arius, and suffered them to

consulship, having his eldest son, the fourth time consul, for his collegue. He passed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the Danube; for on the nineteenth of June he was at Sardica in Dacia; on the twenty-second of July at Sirmium in Pannonia; on the twenty-fifth of the same month at Naissus in Dardania; on the third of August at Heraclea in Thrace; on the eighteenth of the fame month, and twenty-ninth of Sep-

gain a great ascendant over him. The next year Constantine took upon him his eighth e

Constantine undertakes the building of a new city.

F Julian. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. 9 Cod. Theod. p. 29. 18. p. 49. 5 Philostory. hist. eccles. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474. T HIER. chron. p. 662. Socrat. l. i. C. 18. p. 49.

S PHILOSTORG. hift. ecclef. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474.

Euseb. vit. Conft. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

Sozom. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443.

P. 448.

Cod. Theodo. p. 30.

Chron. Alexand. p. 662.

Birag. p. 467.

Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 30, 31. & l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237. THEODRET. l. i. c. 17. p. 564.

V Cod. Just. p. 235. \* Suid. w Cod. Just. p. 235. b Chron. d Zos. l. ii. p. 686.

a vedly looked upon as the wonder of the universe. Others only tell us, that Conftantine, difliking Rome for motives unknown to them, refolved to build a city elfewhere, and reside there. That he disliked Rome, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been master of that metropolis near twenty years, yet he had never made any long stay in it, but passed most of his time in Gaul, and, after his victory over Licinius, in Thrace. Sozomen writes, that Constantine, seeing himself absolute master of the whole empire, and not being disturbed by any domestic tumults, or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and resolved, as he did not care to reside at Rome, to settle the imperial feat there. The first place he chose for executing his design was between b Troas and ancient Ilium, on the coast of Asia; but afterwards changing his mind upon a vision which he had, or imagined to have had, he resolved to inlarge the ancient city of Byzantium, and make it the second, or, if he could, the first of the empire. This pretended vision is much spoken of by the modern Greek and Latin writers s; and Constantine himself, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of heaven h. He began with extending the he inlarges the walls of the ancient city from sea to sea; and while some of the workmen were busied tium. in rearing them, others were employed in railing within them a great number of stately buildings, and among the rest a palace no-ways inferior in magnificence and c extent to that of Rome. As he defigned to fix his own court there, and was defirous, that the fucceeding emperors should follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary residence, he spared no cost or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient. With this view he built a capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus Adorns it with maximus, feveral forums, portico's, and public baths, and divided the whole city many new into fourteen regions, fecuring the inhabitants with many wholfome laws, and grant-buildings. ing them great privileges and immunities. By this means Byzantium became in a short time one of the most flourishing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, especially from Pontus, Thrace, and Asia, Conflantine having appointed by a law enacted this year, that such as had lands in those d countries, should not be able to dispose of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unless they had a house in his new city. The common people were enticed thither from the different and most distant provinces, and even from Rome itself, by the emperor's largesses, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily distributed among them i. But however desirous the emperor was to see his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it should be inhabited by any but christians; and therefore caused all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be confecrated to the true God. He built besides an incredible number of churches, and caused crosses to be erected in all the squares and public places. When most of the buildings were finished, the emperor, on the eleventh of May of e the year 330. the twenty-fifth of his reign, caused his new city, by a very solemn And solemnly dedication, to be confecrated, according to Cedrenus, to the virgin Mary k; but, confecrates it, according to Eusebius 1, to the God of martyrs. Some modern Greek writers tell us, and equal that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of Nice, that the folemnity lasted forty days, and that Constantine, during the whole time, caused an immense quantity of all forts of provisions to be daily distributed among the populace ". It was on this occasion that Constantine styled the new city from his own name Constantinople, or the city of Constantine, and likewise Second, or, as others will have it, New Rome". At the same time he equalled it to ancient Rome, granting it the fame rights, immunities and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis o. He estaf blished a senate, and other magistrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the Roman senate P, and declared New Rome the metropolis of the east, as Old Rome was of the west. Constantine, having accomplished this great work, according to some in five, according to others in two years, fixed his residence in the new city, and never more returned to Rome. The removal of the imperial seat from Rome to

Constantinople, happened in the year of the christian zera 330. the twenty-fifth of

EUTROP. p. 488. f Soz. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. l. ip. 23, &c. h Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64. l. Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. k Vide Du Cange de Constantinop. l. i. p. 27. l. Euses. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 48. p. 507. m Vide George cod. in antiq. Constantinop. p. 25. n Socrat. p. 45. Sozom. l, ii. c. 3. p. 444. p. 90. Vide Du Cange de Constantinop. 1.1.

m Vide Georg. cod. in antiq. Constantinop. p. 25.

P Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 120, 223.

Constantine's reign, and 1078. after the foundation of Rome. By this removal the Roman empire received a fatal stroke, and shrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the sequel of this history.

## C H A P. XXVI.

The Roman history, from the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, to the death of the emperor Julian.

Constantine

plete victory over the Goths,

And the Sar-

The emperor's generofity during a famine.

Embassadors fent to him from the most distant nations.

TONSTANTINE having fixed his court at Constantinople, continued there, h as appears from the dates of several laws 9, great part of the ensuing year 331. when Bassus and Ablavius were consuls, being chiefly employed in building new churches, and adorning with other stately monuments the city he desired might be honoured with the residence of the succeeding emperors. The next year, Pacatianus and Hilarius being consuls, the Sarmatians having implored the affiltance of Conflantine against the Goths, who had made an irruption into their country, and committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, the emperor, either in person, or, as some write, by his fon Constantine, gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of April. Near an hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; insomuch that the barbarians were c obliged to fue for peace, and deliver up hostages to the emperor, among whom was the fon of their king, Ariaric or Araric r. Sozomen and Socrates write, that the Goths acknowledging the power of the God adored by Constantine, who had miraculously affisted him in this war, great numbers of them embraced the christian religion, which had been first preached among them about seventy years before. The Sarmatians, unmindful of the affistance they had received from Constantine, as soon as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of Mæsia and Thrace; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and forced the rest to submit to what terms he was pleased to impose upon them . The next consuls were Dalmatius, either the d brother or nephew of Constantine, and Xenophilus, or Zenophylus. This year Constantine created Constans, his youngest son, Ca/ar, who was born in 320. and is styled in all the ancient inscriptions Flavius Julius Constans ". The same year Syria, Cilicia, and Thrace, were grievously afflicted with a pestilence and famine, which swept off incredible numbers of people. Theophanes tells us, that at Antioch the wheat was fold at four hundred pieces of filver the bushel w. During this calamity, Constantine sent to the bishop of Antioch thirty thousand bushels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all forts of provisions, to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, ecclesiastics, &c x. Towards the close of this year embassadors arrived at Constantinople from the Blemyes, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and Persians, e with rich presents for the emperor, whose friendship they courted, acknowledging him, fays Eufebius y, for their fovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing fo much as to live in peace and amity with fo great a prince, fo renowned a warrior. The Persian embassadors, in the name of Sapor their king, renewed the ancient treaties between the two empires. Constantine received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed that the christians were very numerous in Persia, he was transported with joy; and looking upon himself as their general protector, he

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Theod. p. 353, & feq. г Амміан. p. 476. Jul. orat. i. p. 16. Euseb. vit. Constant. iv. p. 529 год р 48. Socrat. p. 411. г Апопут. р. 476. и Euseb. ibid. p. 533. Тиворн р 23. х Idem ibid. г Еизев. ibid. l. i. c. 8 p. 479, 410. ]. iv. p. 529 w Тивори p 23.

a wrote a letter in their behalf to Sapor, which is related at length by Eulebius , and The letters from Constantine to the bishops, begging their prayers, and those both from him and his children to the great Antony for the same purpose, which we read in Eusebius b, Athanasius c, Sozomen d, and Prosper c, are supposed to have been written this year. The following year, when Optatus and Anicius Paulinus Junior were consuls, the Goths, under the command of Geberic their king, who had fucceeded Araric, made new irruptions into the country of the Sarmalians, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the Marifus, in which their king, by name Wisimar, and most of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The Sarmatians in this extremity armed their flaves, and by their means gained a complete victory over the Goths; but the victorious flaves, fensible of their strength, threw b off the yoke, and turning their arms against their masters, for whose desence they had been intrusted with them, drove them out of the country, and seized their houses, lands and effects for themselves. St. Jerom f and Ammianus Marcellinus & call these slaves Limigantes; and the former tells us, that, in his time, the free-born among the Sarmatians were styled Arcaragantes. The Sarmatians, thus driven from their habitations, fled for refuge to Constantine, who received them, to the number of three hundred thousand, incorporated in his legions such of them as were fit for service, and gave settlements to the rest in Thrace, Scythia, Macedon, and Italy h. Another He allots the party of the fugitive Sarmatians had recourse to certain barbarians, called by Ammia-Sarmatians fere nus Vistobales, and supposed to be the same people with the Quadi Ultramontani. dominions of These were re established in their ancient possessions by the Romans in the year 358. Rome. after they had driven out the Limigantes. This year Eusebius, bishop of Casarea, pronounced before Constantine his speech on the boly sepulchre; and returning afterwards to his diocese, wrote and inscribed to Constantine a book on the feast of Easter; for which the emperor returned him thanks by a very kind and respectful letter, desiring him at the same time to cause fifty copies of the holy scriptures to be transcribed, and sent him for the use of the churches of Constantinople. Eusebius immediately complied with his request, and, in his answer to him, acquainted him with the conversion of Maiuma, the port of Gaza in Palestine, of the city of Constantina in d Phanicia, and of several others; which gave Constantine an inexpressible pleasure k. The learned cardinal Noris takes Constantina to be the city and island of Aradus; for a bishop of that place, by name Atticus, styled himself bishop of Aradia Constantia; which the above-mentioned writer supposes to have been, through mistake, put instead of Aradus Constantina 1. Constantine was this year, on the seventeenth of June, at Constantinople, on the fifth of July at Singidunum in Mæsia, and on the twenty fifth of August at Naissus in Daciam. The next consuls were Flavius Julius Constantius, the emperor's brother, and Rufius Albinus. As Constantine, on the twenty-fifth of July of this year 335. entered the thirtieth year of his reign, which had happened to no emperor ever fince the time of Augustus, he celebrated that day at Constantinople with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; and foon after affembled two councils, The councils of the one at Tyre, hoping by that means to appeale the disturbances raised in the church Tyreand Jeby the followers of Arius; the other a few weeks after at Jerusalem, to consecrate the rusalem. magnificent church which he had built there. But the council of Tyre condemned, for leveral pretended crimes, and deposed, the great Albanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and that of ferusalem admitted Arius and his followers to the communion of the church. The emperor, milled by the Arians, especially by Eusebius bishop of Constantine Nicomedia, and by a priest, whom his fister Constantia, the widow of Licinius, had ear-favours the nestly recommended to him on her death-bed, conformed to the decisions of both Arians. councils; and though the crimes laid to the charge of Athanasius were evidently false, f yet he was so far prepossessed against him, that instead of examining the accusations, when he appealed to his tribunal, he banished him into Gaul, and at the same time deposed and sent into exile three other bishops, viz. Eustathius of Antioch, Asclepas of Gaza, and Lucas of Adrianople, for zealously opposing the wicked and impious tenets of drius. The emperor, not fatisfied with having created his three fons, Conftan-

tine, Constantius, and Constans, Casars, raised this year, on the eighteenth or twenty-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. c. 9—13. p. 350—535.

<sup>3</sup> Theod. l. i. c. 24. p. 573—575.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. ibid. l. iv. c. 14. p. 533.

<sup>5</sup> Athan. vit. Anton. p. 497.

<sup>6</sup> Soz. p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Prosp. chion.

<sup>7</sup> Hier. chron.

<sup>8</sup> Ammian. l. xvii. p. 107.

<sup>8</sup> Euseb. p. 529.

<sup>8</sup> Ammian. p. 478.

<sup>9</sup> Jornand. rer. Goth. p. 641.

<sup>9</sup> Ammian. l. vii. p. 106. & l. xvii. p. 105—111.

<sup>9</sup> Euseb. ibid. p. 542—545.

<sup>1</sup> Noris cpoch. p. 363.

Concil. tom. 4. p. 921.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. chronol p. 34.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. ibid. p. 545-8510. Vol. VI. Nº 4. Yyy

Divides the his children and nephews.

Arius diec.

tius.

fourth of September, to the same dignity his nephew Dalmatius, son to his brother of a the same name, and appointed Annibalianus, brother to young Dalmatius, king of Pontus o. Soon after their promotion, the emperor, to prevent any misunderstanding, jealoufy or quarrels between his nephews and children, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: Constantine, the eldest, had Gaul, empire amongst Spain, and Britain; Constantius, the second son, all the Orient; that is, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans, the youngest, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. To his nephew Dalmatius he gave Thrace, and part of Illyricum; that is, Macedon and Achaia; and to king Annibalianus, his other nephew, Armenia Minor, and the neighbouring provinces; that is, Pontus and Cappadocia, with the city of Cafarea, which he defired might be the capital of his kingdom P. About this time one Calocerus, a man of b great interest and authority in the island of Cyprus, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there, and made himself master of the whole island. But Dalmatius, who was fent with an army against him, defeated the rebel, took him prisoner, and carrying him to Tarsus in Cilicia, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city 4. On an ancient medal quoted by Spanbenius, mention is made of one Tiberius, who usurped the sovereignty in the time of Constantine; but of him we find nothing in history. As for one Azotus, who was overcome by Constantine, as we read in Suidas and Codinus, it appears from several epigrams in the anthology, that both he and that Constantine by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. Athanajius was accused of having supplied with money a rebel, by name Philumenes; but of c him not the least mention is made in history. The emperor was this year at Constantinople on the thirtieth of March, at Viminacum in Masia on the twelfth of August, and again at Constantinople on the twenty-second of October'. The following year, Nepotianus and Facundus being confuls, died the famous herefiarch Arius, and foon after him Alexander bishop of Constantinople, whom Constantine had solicited in vain to re-admit the anathematized heretic to the communion of the church. The holy bishop Paul was raised to the fee of Constantinople in the room of Alexander; but the emperor was persuaded by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, to banish him into Pontus ". Towards the close of this year Constantine married his second son Constantius to the daughter of Julius Conmarried to the frantius and Galla. Julius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla d daughter of Ju. fifter to Rusinus and Gerealis, of whom hereafter. He had by Galla, Gallus Cæsar, lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla de lius Constantius was brother to the emperor was brother to the empero born in Hetruria in the year 325 or 326. another fon, who was killed in 337. and one daughter, married this year to Constantius, whose name has not been transmitted to The emperor Julian, speaking of this and other marriages between the nephews and nieces of Constantine, fays, that a strange confusion reigned in the imperial family; that marriages were celebrated which were no marriages; and that the laws, both human and divine, were profaned and troden under foot w. But there were yet no laws forbidding marriages between cousin-germans. On occasion of this marriage, Conftantine caused large sums, and great quantities of provisions, to be distributed among the people in all the cities and provinces of the empire x. He had long before married his eldest fon Constantine; but to whom, we are no-where told. The year ensuing, when Felicianus and Titianus were consuls, the Persians, after having lived in peace with the Romans for the space of forty years; that is, ever since the year 297.

The Persians awed by the terror of Canstantine's arms which seeming very reasonable to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both

> O EUTROP. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zos. l. ii. p. 692. P Eusen. orat. in tricennal. Const. p. 609. Vict. epit. p. 544. Anonym. p. 476.
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> p. 296. \* Spanh. l. vi. p. 601. \* Athan. 2pol. 2. p. 779. \* Cod. Theod. \* Euseb. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 49. p. 551. \* Julian. orat. vii. p. 425. \* Euseb. ibid. p. 554, 555. \* Fest. p. 57. Liban. orat. iii. p. 120. Eutrop. p. 117. 9 THEOPH. P. 23. AUR. VICT. Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 35. \* Euses. ibid. p. 551.

> began to commit hostilities in Mesopotamia, because the emperor refused to restore to them the five provinces which they had been obliged to yield to Galerius. Hereupon Constantine, having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other necessary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a design

> to invade the Persian dominions. But in the mean time the enemy, terrified at his

approach, dispatched embassadors to him, with proposals of an accommodation;

armies withdrew. Thus Eusebius v. But Festus, and most other historians, tell us, f that Constantine, desirous of triumphing over the Persians, would not grant them a peace upon any terms, and that by death alone he was prevented from invading their dominions z. Be that as it will, Constantine, having celebrated this year with extraordinary solemnity the feast of Easter, which fell on the third of April, was soon after

a taken ill, being then in the fixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourse to the warm Constantine baths of Constantinople; but his distemper increasing, he removed, for change of air, taken ill. to Helenopolis in Bithynia, and from thence to a castle at a small distance from Nicomedia, called Achyrona, or Aguyrona. Being there apprised, that his end approached, he declared in a speech, which he made to the bishops who attended him, his eager desire of being baptized, adding, that he designed to have received that seal of sal- He is baptized. vation in the waters of the fordan; but fince God, in his infinite wisdom, had otherwise disposed of him, he acquiesced to his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards so much as touch or see his purple robes, passing most of his time in pious meditations, and edifying discourses with the bishops b of the immortality of the foul, and the rewards and punishments of another life. Some of the officers of the army, who were admitted into his room, expressing with a flood of tears their concern for the loss of so good a prince, he told them, That they ought rather to rejoice than mourn, fince he was going to exchange a short and miserable, for an eternal life, happy beyond conception or expression 2. St. Jerom writes, that he was baptized by Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia; and that, by receiving baptism at his hands, he fell into the heresy of Arius b. But Athanasius, and all other ecclefiastic writers, Lucifer alone excepted, assure us, that he held always inviolate the faith of the council of Nice, though, deceived and missed by the Arians, he persecuted those who defended it against the tenets of that heresiarch. As for Eusebius, c though he held, yet he did not openly profess, the doctrine of Arius; nor was he cut off from the communion of the church. As he was therefore bishop of the place, Constantine could not decline being baptized by him, without openly affronting him, and likewise transgressing the laws of the church. Before he died, he ordered the great Athanasius to be recalled from banishment, notwithstanding the warm remon- He orders strances of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who did all that lay in his power to prevent the Athanasius to be recalled return of that zealous champion of the true faith . He probably ordered at the same from banish. time the other catholic bishops to be recalled; for Athanasius tells us, that they were ment. all restored with him to their respective sees by the children of Constantine d. By his last will he bequeathed some revenues to the city of Rome, and others to that of Cond stantinople. He likewise confirmed the above-mentioned division of the empire among his three fons and two nephews . The emperor Julian writes, that he committed to Constantius his second son the care of all things, appointing him in a manner his executor, either because he loved him above the rest, or because Constantius, who was nearer, arrived before the rest, at least before Constantine the eldest, who was then in Gaul . But it is certain, that the emperor died before any of his children arrived, He dies, and is though he had dispatched expresses to them all as soon as he found himself past reco-universally lavery. Not long therefore before he expired, he privately put his will into the hands of an ecclefiastic, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of Arius, and obliged him to promise upon oath not to deliver it to any but e Constantius. This commission proved very prejudicial to the church, on account of the credit which it procured to the ecclefiaftic and his feet with the new emperor s. Constantine, having fettled matters in the manner he judged best both for the church and state, after various pious ejaculations, expired about noon on the twenty-second of May, that year 337. Whitfunday, after having lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days. His death was bewailed by perfons of all ranks, as the greatest misfortune that could befal the empire. The soldiers no fooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell proftrate on the ground, and gave other public testimonies of their deep concern, calling him their deliverer, their f beloved leader, their common parent. The people of Constantinople, overwhelmed with forrow, and drowned in tears, for the loss of their great benefactor, of their magnificent and generous founder, expressed their grief in a manner suitable to so general a calamity h. Messengers were immediately dispatched with the dismal tidings to his children, and in the mean time the body of the deceased prince, with the purple Honours done and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to Constantinople, being him after his attended by all the troops quartered in that neighbourhood, who had affembled upon death.

\* Euseb. c. 62. p. 557, 558. Socrat. l. i. c. 29. p. 75. b H:er. chron. Sozom.l. iii. c. 2. p. 498. Athan. apol. 2. p. 806. d Athan. folit. p. 814. l. ii. c. 34 p. 495. f Julian. orat. i. ii. p. 83. & 175. Socrat. p. 75. Zos. p. 496. Theodor. p. 585. Rufin. p. 167. b Euseb. c. 65. p. 559.

the first notice of his death. It was exposed to public view in the chief hall of the a palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candleftics. All the great officers, both civil and military, the senate, and other persons of distinction, came to pay their devoirs to the corpse, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been still alive. Court was kept in the same manner as when he was living, and those who attended his person, came at the usual hours, as if he had still wanted their attendance. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceafed emperors, as appears from Herodian and other writers, seems to have been long before laid aside, and to have been revived now in honour of Constantine. His children were daily expected to pay him the last duty; but Constantius alone came, the other two being probably at a great distance; and, soon after his arrival, caused the corpse to be b conveyed with the utmost pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the Apostles, which the emperor had built close to the palace, desiring to be interred in it, that he might, after his death, fays  $Eu/ebius^k$ , partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy apostles. That magnificent structure was built in the form of a cross, and covered, not with tiles, but gilt brass. Constantine and the fucceeding emperors were buried, not in the church itself, but in the porch, where mausoleums were erected for them, and a burying-place allotted for the bishops of the city; the priesthood, says Sozemen , claiming equal honour and respect with the imperial dignity, especially in holy places, where it holds the first rank. This church had been finished and consecrated a little before Constantine's death. Constan- c tius attended the body to the church, but withdrew with the foldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the ministers of the church began the holy ceremonies m. As foon as they were over, the body was deposited in the porch, where Constantius caused a magnificent mausoleum to be raised over it ". Not many years after, that is, in 358 or 359, the porch being ready to fall, the body of the emperor was conveyed from thence to the church of St. Aacius, a native of Constantinople, and martyr, built likewise by Constantine ; but it was afterwards carried back to the church of the Apostles P, where it was to be seen, with the bodies of other princes of the same family, many ages after. Though Constantine had never made any considerable stay at Rome, and had in the end intirely abandoned that metropolis, yet the people d expressed an uncommon concern for his death; for they no sooner heard of it, than they shut up their shops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of sports and diversions, as was usual in time of some great and general calamity. They all demanded with one voice, that his body might be brought to Rome; and expressed the greatest concern imaginable, when they understood, that it was, by his will, to remain at Constantinople 4. It appears from some ancient coins, that the senate of Rome conferred divine honours upon him r. He was by most churches, especially He is honoured in the east, honoured as a faint, as he is still by the christians in Egypt, and the Greek church, which folemnizes his festival on the twenty-first of May with a very folemn office. The Muscovites celebrate his anniversary on the same day, tho' they e can give no reason for their preferring that day to the twenty-second of the same month, on which he died, as is agreed on by all writers, both ancient and modern. About the middle of the fifth century, extraordinary honours were paid to his tomb, and to his statue, which was set up upon a column of porphyry'. The modern Encomiums be- Greeks equal him to the apostles, as one to whom we all owe our being christians: him by the modern Greeks. prevailed over paganism, till it was countenanced and established by the great Constantine; which in reality is preferring the emperor to all the apostles. But of these high flights, intirely fuitable to the temper of the Greeks, we leave our readers to judge. All authors allow him to have been a prince endowed with extraordinary f accomplishments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a great encourager of learning, and himself much addicted to read, write and meditate. But, as to his character in general, there is a great difagreement among authors, some of the heathen writers painting him as a perfect tyrant, and the christians extolling him as the best prince that ever swayed a sceptre. The emperor Julian fpeaks of him as a prince extremely ambitious of military glory, and one who had

His obsequies.

by the eastern

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Authors disagree as to his oharacter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sozom l. ii. c. 34. p. 469. <sup>6</sup> Socrat l. ii. c. 38. p. 145. 561. F Goltz. p. 128. k Euseb. p. 555, 556. m Eusen. c. 71. p. 561. ibid. & Julian. orat. i.p. 29. P CHRYSOST. 2 Cor. VICT. p. 527. EUSEB. C. 69 p. 561. C. 34. p. 66. \* THEODORET. vit. Constant. l. i.

a nothing fo much at heart as the aggrandizing of himself and his family; and adds; that the bad example he fet therein to his children, armed them against each other ". He is charged by some with having inriched the imperial robes with pearls not used Several before his time, and with constantly wearing the diadem. But this charge is quite groundless is being certain, that Disclosion was the first who added poorly to the diarges groundless, it being certain, that Dioclesian was the first who added pearls to the brought imperial robes, and Constantius Chlorus the first who wore constantly the diadem, even against him by when he was only Cafar, as we read in Aurelius Victor w and Eutropius and is evi-the pagan wrident from his medals y. The emperor Julian and Zosimus a represent him as a volu-ters. ptuous prince, intirely abandoned to all manner of diversions and pleasures, to banquets and revellings, to public shews, &c. insomuch that he could spare notime from sports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the state. On the other hand, Victor b, Eusebius c, and Libanius d, tell us, that he was constantly employed in reading, writing, meditating, composing speeches, (some of which, of an extraordinary length, have reached our times) hearing embassies, giving audience to his ministers and subjects; in short, that he was never idle, but ever busied either in forming or executing some great design or other for the good of the empire. Most of his laws were dictated by himfelf; he never continued long in any place, but was, as we have often observed, continually moving from one city or province to another; so that we cannot help thinking this charge as groundless as the former. Julian and Zosimus, zealous sticklers for idolatry, were evidently prejudiced against a prince, who had e enacted so many severe laws against all manner of idolatrous worship. We are told, that he kept with him for the space of thirty years one Samacus, who, pretending to be a fool, diverted the emperor when tired out with business. This was not a diverfion worthy of so great a prince. It proves however, that Constantine applied himself feriously to business. Victor the younger, after having told us that he was addicted to raillery, gives us the following idea of his reign: Constantine, says he, reigned thirty years, and behaved the ten first like an excellent prince, the ten following like a robber, and the ten last like a prodigal. The same charge is brought against him by Zosimus, who writes, that, when he became master of the whole empire, he abandoned himself without controll to his rapacious temper, loading the people with d heavy taxes, and at the fame time fquandering away the money thus raifed upon undeserving favourites, or useless buildings f. Amongst the other imposts with which that virulent writer pretends that Constantine oppressed the people, he mentions one called the chryfargyrum, and will have Constantine to have been the first who exacted it. But this Evagrius maintains to be a mere calumny, owing to the implacable hatred which that pagan bore to the deliverer of the church 8. And truly long before Constantine's time a tax was laid upon the public prostitutes, which most writers take to be meant by the chryfargyrum. Constantine, to fave charges in raising it, ordered it to be paid only every fourth year. Zosimus ascribes to him another tax called follis, which was levied upon all persons of quality, and occasioned, according to that writer, the ruin of all the cities of the empire h. But he is the only author who says, that it was introduced by Constantine. Aurelius Victor writes in express terms, that it was first raised by Maxentius i. In our opinion, it is not at all probable, that Constantine laid any new burdens upon the people, feeing he generously remitted to all his subjects the fourth part of the land-tax, and discharged several cities of contributions, which they had paid for the space of an hundred and fifty years; among the rest Tripolis in Libya, and Nice in Bithynia . From an ancient inscription we learn, that one year he remitted all taxes throughout the empire 1. Zosimus writes, that, during his reign, rods, prisons, and all kinds of severe treatment, were made use of by him in levying the common taxes "; whereas the laws he enacted, forbidding thefe violences under the feverest penalties, are still extant, as we have observed above. Whence we leave the reader to judge what credit that implacable enemy to Constantine and the christian religion deserves. Zosimus and Julian are rather accusers than historians; and an accuser is not to be believed, unless witnesses can be produced to vouch what he fays. Hence the accusations brought against Constantine by these two writers, are of no weight with us, unless confirmed by the authority of other historians. Aurelius

<sup>#</sup> Jul. orat. vii. p. 423, 424. w Aur. v. a Jul. C. as. p. 23, 42, 52. a Zoi. l. ii. p. d Liban. orat. iii. p. 107. e Vict. epit. p. 3 b. 370. a Zos. p. 691. Aur. Vic w Aur. Vict. p. 523. \* Eutrop. p. 502.

\* Zos. l. ii. p. 687. b Vict. epit. p. 543. C Euseb. p. 752.

Vict. epit. p. 543. f Zos. l. ii. p. 685. Evagr. l. iii. c. 40.

\* Euseb. p. 528. Aur. Vict. p. 527. e Vict. epit. p. 543. f. Aur. Vict. p. 526.

Victor", Ammianus Marcellinus, and even his panegyrist Eusebius P, complain of his a employing in the administration of affairs, persons altogether unworthy of the confidence he reposed in them, and suffering them to inrich themselves at the expence of the people committed to their care. This fault, altogether inexcusable in a prince, Eusebius ascribes to his excessive goodness, which induced him to pardon, or only to inflict flight punishments on, such of his ministers as were found guilty of the most enormous extortions. He could not, says Eusebius, prevail upon himself to condemn those whom he had once judged worthy of his favour; and hence his ministers, prefuming upon his indulgence and good-nature, often committed great diforders in the provinces, and oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner. His thus neglecting to punish the crimes of his ministers, rendered him, without all doubt, no less b guilty than if he had committed them himself.

Several regulations introduced by Constantine.

The præfccti empire into four prefectures.

We shall now proceed to several regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been first introduced by Constantine. Before his time there were, according to Zosimus, two captains of the guards, known by the name of præfetti prætorio, who had an equal authority over all the troops dispersed in the feveral provinces of the empire. But Constantine, jealous of their too great power, prætorio, and lessened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number division of the of provinces. By this means the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the Orient, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, governed by the four prafetti pratorio, each of whom had feveral dioceses or districts under his jurisdiction. To the pra- c festus pratorio orientis were subjected the five following dioceses; viz. Thrace, Asia, Pontus, Egypt, and the Orient. Each of these dioceses comprised several provinces, as is manifest from the Theodosian code, and the acts of several ancient councils. The diocese of Thrace, whereof Heraclea, and afterwards Constantinople, was the metropolis, consisted of five provinces, viz. Europe, Thrace, Hemimuntum, Rhodope, Massia Secunda, or Lower Masia, and Scythia. The diocese of Asia, which had Ephesus for its metropolis, comprised ten provinces, viz. Pamphylia, the Hellespont, Lydia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Lycia, Caria, and the islands of Rhodes, Lesbos, and the Cyclades. In the diocese of Pontus, the metropolis of which was Cafarea in Cappadocia, were eleven provinces, viz. Pathlagonia, Galatia, d Bithynia, Honoriades, Cappadocia Prima, Cappadocia Secunda, Pontus Polemonaicus, Helenopontus, Armenia Prima, Armenia Secunda, Galatia Salutaris. The diocese of Egypt, which had Alexandria for its metropolis, confifted of fix provinces, viz. Upper Libya, or Libya Pentapolitana, Lower Libya, Thebais, Egypt, Arcadia, and Augustamnica. The Orient comprised fifteen provinces, the metropolis of which was Antioch: the provinces were, Palæstina Prima, Palæstina Secunda, Phanicia Prima, Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Arabia, Isauria, Palastina Salutaris, Phanicia Libanensis or Phanicia Secunda, Euphratensis, Syria Salutaris, Osrboene, Mesopotamia, Cilicia Secunda. The præsectus prætorio Illyrici had but two dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. Macedon and Dacia; of which the former confifted of fix provinces, viz. Achaia, Macedon, e the island of Crete, Thessaly, New and Old Epirus, and part of Macedonia Salutaris: the metropolis of this diocese was Thessalonica. The diocese of Dacia comprised five provinces, viz. Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, Massa Prima, Dardania Prævalitana, and part of Macedonia Salutaris. The præfestus prætorio Galliarum had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. Gaul, Spain, and Britain. In the diocese of Gaul were seventeen provinces, viz. Viennensis, Lugdunensis Prima, Germania Prima, Germania Secunda, Belgica Prima, Belgica Secunda, Alpes Maritimæ, Alpes Penninæ, Maxima Sequana, Aquitania Prima, Aquitania Secunda, Novempopulana, Narbonensis Prima, Narbonensis Secunda, Lugdunensis Secunda, Lugdunensis Turonica, Lugdunensis Senonica. In the diocese of Spain were seven provinces, viz. Bætica, Lusitania, Ga-f licia, Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, Tingitana, and the Balearic islands. The diocese of Britain consisted of five provinces, viz. Maxima Casariensis, Valentia, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Casariensis. The prasectus pratorio of Italy had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. Italy, Illyricum Occidentale, and Africa. Illyricum consisted of six provinces, viz. Pannonia Secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Pannonia Prima National Secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Pannonia Secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Dalmatia nia Prima, Noricum Mediterraneum, Noricum Ripense: Sirmium was the metropolis of this diocese. Africa comprised five provinces, viz. Africa Carthaginiensis, Byzacene, Mauritania Sitifiensis, Mauritania Casariensis, and Trisolitana. Italy was divided into

a seventeen provinces, which were Venetia, Æmilia, Liguria, Flaminia and Picenum Italy divided Annonarium, Hetruria, and Umbria, Picenum Suburbicarium, Campania, Sicilia, Afulia into seventeen and Calabria, Lucania and Brutium, Alpes Cotiæ, Rhætia Prima, Rhætia Secunda, provinces. Samnium, Valeria, Sardinia and Corfica. The prefects were the first officers of the empire, and generally looked upon, to use the expression of Ammianus Marcellinus, as emperors of an inferior rank. They had feveral other officers under them, viz. The feveral proconsuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, correctors, and presidents. In the east were two officers under proconfuls; one in Achaia, and another in Asia, and sometimes, but very seldom, a the practical third in Palestine: in the west there was but one, viz. the proconsul of Assica. The vicars represented the præsects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the ancient b inscriptions, they are styled pro-præsection vice-præsects. There were vicars in the provinces of Asia, Pontus, Thrace, the Orient, Macedon, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, and two in Italy, viz. the vicar of the city of Rome, and the vicar of Italy: under the former were the ten following provinces, Campania, Hetruria, Umbria, Picenum Suburbicarium, Sicilia, Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, Brutium, Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, and Valeria: under the vicar of Italy were five provinces, Liguria, Æmilia, Flaminia, Picenum Annonarium, and Venetia; to which were afterwards added Istria, the Alpes Cotiæ, and both the Rhætia's. The provinces under the vicar of Rome were called provincia suburbicaria; and those under the vicar of Italy, provinces of Italy. The vicar of Italy relided at Milan, which by that means became the metropolis of all the Italian provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the rectors, who governed whole provinces under the præfect or his vicars, as did likewife the consulars, the correctors, and the presidents: Phanicia was governed by a consular, who resided sometimes at Tyre, sometimes at Berytus, and sometimes at Damascus: several provinces of Italy had likewise a consular for their governor, viz. Æmilia, Liguria, Venetia, Picenum, Sicilia, Flaminia, and Campania: Hetruria, Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Brutium, were governed by correctors; and Samnium, Valeria, the Alpes Cotiae, both Rhatia's, Sardinia, and Corfica, by prefidents. We find feveral laws in the Theodosian code addressed to the presects, proconsuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, and correctors, but very few to the presidents. The presects under Cond stantine and his son Constantius had only the title of clarissimi, which was common to all senators, but were soon after distinguished with that of illustres. Most writers, upon the authority of Zosimus, ascribe the institution of these four presects to Constantine; but that author was perhaps therein mistaken, it being certain, that the empire was by Dioclesian divided into four parts, and governed by two emperors, and two Cæsars, each of whom had an army, and a præsectus prætorio; nay, even before Dioclesian's time, we find one Glarus styled presect of Illyricum and Gault. The prefects were originally military; but after this division of the empire, became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two magistri The magistri militiæ, the institution of which office is likewise ascribed by Zosimus to Constantine'. militiæ. e In Dioclestan's time, each province had its peculiar general, flyled dux or duke; but Constantine in their room created the two above-mentioned magistri militiæ, one for the foot, and another for the horse, with a full power of making what regulations in the army they thought proper; of punishing the soldiers when guilty of breach of duty, or any other crime; of discharging and admitting into the army whom

patricis or patricians were superior in rank both to the magistri militiæ, and the pre- The patricians.

F Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193.

17. ronol. p. 48.

Notit. c. 5, 8, 34, 38. t Cod. Theo of l. xi. tit, 1. leg. 1. p. 6. & Zos. p. 688. chronol. p. 48. w Z.os. p. 692. Cod. Theodof. p. 74,75.

fects. This was a new dignity instituted by Constantine, but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, tho' raised above all the other subjects of the empire, were nevertheless obliged to give the precedency to the confuls w. Conftantine conferred this dignity on Julius Conftantius, his

they pleased, &c. Sometimes both commands were vetted in one person; for in a law, dated the seventeenth of June, 315. mention is made of one Eusebius, commander in chief both of the horse and foot; and one Sylvanus, in two laws addressed to him in 349. is styled magister utriusque militiæt. But their number was soon increased; for in the time of Theodosius I. they were at least five, viz. one for the f court, called præsentalis; one for Ibrace, one for the Orient, one for Illyricum, and one for Gaul. These magistri militiæ were afterwards distinguished with the title of comites or counts, and raised to the rank of the first officers of the empire. The

brother.

The comites or counts.

brother, and Optatus, his brother in-law x. The patricians are feldom mentioned a by the writers of the fourth century, but frequently by those of the fifth. title of comes or count feems likewise to owe its origin to Constantine. Before Confanting's time, those who attended the emperors out of Rome in quality of counfellors, flyled themselves comites; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In Constantine's time, the name of the prince was omitted, and those who accompanied him were styled simply comites, companions, and in the modern languages counts: one Dionysius is the first to whom we find that title to have been given: afterwards it became a title of honour, and was bestowed upon all officers of any rank, tho' they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. These comites or counts were divided, according to their employments, b into three orders or ranks; and hence the expressions which we frequently meet with in the writers who flourished under Constantine and his successors, comes domesticus primi ordinis, secundi ordinis, &c v. We find no mention made of the title of nobilissimus, or most noble, before Constantine's time, who gave it to two of his brothers, viz. Julius Constantius and Annibalianus 2. It was, under the succeeding princes, bestowed upon their sons before they were raised to the dignity of Casar. writers who flourished under Constantine, we shall speak in our note (F).

THE

\* Idem ibid.

7 Vide Du CANGE gloff. p. 1074.

2 Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

(F) We shall begin with those who have written the history of Constantine. Eusebius of Casarea published his life in four books, but declares in the beginning of his work, that he defigns to infert in his hillory fuch accounts only as ferve to flew his piety and religion, and may prove editying to his readers. However, he relates great part of his wars; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes relating thereunto, fince the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendship, and informed him himself of many transactions. He composed this work soon after the emperor's death; for he tells us, that he began it when Constantine's children reigned; and on the other hand it is certain, that he did not survive the emperor two full years. Besides the life of Constantine, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince, one in 325. which has been long fince loft; and another, of an extraordinary length, in 335. which has reached our times, but gives us no great inlight into the transactions of those times (1). Several other panegyrics on Conflantine, composed in the beginning of his reign, are still extant, and have been of great use to us, as the reader must have observed, in writing the history of his life. Among these there are two, the authors of which are not known; one of them was pronounced in the year 308. on occasion of the marriage of Constantine and Fausta; and the other in 313. after the defeat of Maxentius (2). Two other panegyrics were composed by Eumenius, of whom we have spoken in the text, the one about the year 309. and the other in 311. to return thanks to the emperor for the favours and privileges granted to the city of Autun: that written by Nazarius was pronounced on the first of March, 321. Eumenius was professor of eloquence in the city of Autun, and esteemed one of the best orators of his time. St. Ferom speaks of Nazarius as a celebrated orator in 324. and adds, that he had a daughter no less esteemed for her eloquence than himself. Vinctus, in his comments upon Aufonius, calls her Eunomia; and syles her, upon what authority we know not, a christian virgin (3). Praxagoras, by birth an Atherican nian, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of Athens; and, three years after, two others, comprising the life of Constantine. At the age of thirty-one, he published the life of Alexander the Great in fix books (4). An abridgment

of his life of Constantine is to be found in Photius (5). His style is clear, but unequal. He was a pagan, but bestows great encomiums on Constantine. He is supposed to have flourished under Constantius, and to have been contemporary with the fophist Bemar-chus, who was a native of Casarea in Cappadocia, wrote several declamations and speeches, and published the life of Constantine in ten books (6). But none of his works have reached our times. Libanius mentions one Bemarchus, a pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by Constantius (7). Eunapius likewise wrote the history of Constantine, but comprised without all doubt in the general history, which he published of all the emperors from the death of Alexander Severus (8). We may well rank Constantine himself amongst the writers and men of learning who flourished in his time; for many monuments of his application and study have reached our times, and are to be found in Eusebius, who has transmitted them to us. Of these, the chief, or at least the most diffule and extensive, is his oration ad fanctorum cotum, or his discourse addressed to the assembly of saints. Eusebius assures us, that this speech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all composed by himfelf. His speech, and several letters he wrote in Latin, and caused them to be afterwards translated into Greek, tho' he must have been well acquainted with the Greek tongue too, having passed most of his time in the east. Of his letters or edicts the sollowing are still extant in Eusebius: the edict of Milan in 313. in favour of the christians; his letters to Anulinus, proconsul of Africa, for the ecclesiastic inimunity, and ordering whatever had been taken from the churches to be restored; his letter to Cecilianus, bishop of Carthage, concerning the alms, which were by his orders to be distributed among the indigent christians in Africa; his letter to Melchiades, bishop of Rome, in 313. touching the council of that city against the Donatists; that which he wrote in 314. to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, concerning the council of Arles; his edict addressed to the inhabitants of Palestine, and the people of the east, in 323. for the re-establishing of the consessor; his letter to Eusebins the historian, concerning the building of churches; his edict to the people of the east, exhorting them to embrace the christian religion; his letter to Alexander and Arius, touching their disputes in point of religion; his letter to the churches, con-

(1) Euseb. or. habit. in tricennal. Constantin. p. 605. (2) Panegyr. 5. p. 124. & 7. p. 152. (3) Vint. in Auson. p. 158. (4) Phot. c. 62. p. 64. (5) Idem, p. 64. (6) Voss. hist. Grac. l. ii. c. 17. Suidas, p. 551. (7) Liban. vit. p. 15. (8) Eunap. p. 40. Voss. ibid. c. 18.

cerning

THE news of Constantine's death no sooner reached the armies, than they all The armies agreed to acknowledge no other emperors but the sons of Constantine, whom they acknowledge Constantine's accord-three children;

cerning what had been decided in the council of Nice in 325. with respect to the celebration of Easter; the letter he wrote to Macarius for the building of the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, and that to the bishops of Palestine for the building of another at Mambre; three touching the promotion of Eulebius to the see of Antioch about the year 331. part of the edict which he addressed to the heretics; his letter to Sapor, king of Persia, in behalf of the christians; two to Eulebius, the one touching his treatife on Easter, the other requiring him to fend him fifty copies of the scripture; his letter to the bishops of the council of Tyre in 335. for the quieting of the troubles in the church. Besides these ing of the troubles in the church. letters or edicts in Eusebius (9), others have been transmitted to us by different authors, viz. five touching the Donatists, written about the year 314 (10); one to Arius and his disciples about the year 324. complaining of their obstinacy (11); one to the church of Alexandria, upon the condemnation of Arius by the council of Nice; one to the whole church, commanding his books, and those of his followers, to be burnt (12); one to the church of Nicomedia, on the banishment of the two Arian bishops, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice (13); another, on the same subject, to Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea (14); one to Arius, inviting him to court (15); some lines of that which he wrote to Athanasius, injoining him to admit Arius to the communion of the faithful(16); one to the church of Alexandria, wherein he commends the conduct of Athanasius (17); one to Athanasius himfelf, condemning those who had flindered him (18); one to Johannes Melecianus, congratulating him upon his being reconciled to the church 19); one to the Eusebians of the council of Tyre, inviting them to Constantinople (20). To these we may add the letter which he wrote to the poet Optatianus, thanking him for a poem which he had published in his commendation; and affuring him, that he had nothing more at heart than the encouraging of learned men. Belides the authors of the Augustine history, of whom we have spoken already, several other authors flourished under Constantine. St. Ferom extols among the rest, the orator Attius Patera or Paterius, a native of Bayeux, and iprung, according to Aufonius (21), from the ancient Druids. He taught rhetoric at Rome with great applaule, about the end of Conflantine's reign, and afterwards at Bourdeaux (22). lince Aufonius ranks him among the proteffors of that city. He was the father of the orator Delphidins(23), of whom hereafter; and Hedinias, to whom Sr. Ferom wrote his hundred and fittieth letter, was defeended from him. He was a pagan, as St. Ferom tells us in express terms (24) The reader will find in Ausonius (25) several things relating to him, which ir would be rooted out to infert here. Suidas aferibes fiveral rhotorical pieces to one Onajimus, a native of Cybrus or Sparta, who live i in the time of Condantive, and is flyled by Suidas both an historian and fophist (26). At the same time structured Palladius, a native of Methone in Pelopounefus, who published a treatife on the feaths of the Romans, and fome other

philological pieces (27). And this is all we know of these two writers, whom Vossius ranks among the Greek historians (28). The reader will find in Photius (29) feveral grammatical observations copied by him from four books written in Iambic verse by one Helladius, a native of Antinopolis or Bisantinopolis, as he styled it, in Egypt. This work was
intitled Chrestomathia: he published several other
pieces, was a pagan, and lived under Licinius and
Galerius (30). Photius speaks elsewhere of one Helladius, author of a very copious lexicon(31). In the time of Constantine flourished the celebrated Platonic philosopher Iamblithus: he was a native of Chalcis in Lower Syria, sprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the pagans, as appears from Eunapius, who wrote his life (32). He studied philosophy first under one Anatolus or Anatolius, and afterwards under the celebrated Porplayrius. He had an incredible number of disciples, taken with his probity, fays Eunapius, and not with his eloquence; for he both spoke and wrote very improperly. From what Eunapius says of him, it is manifest, that he studied magic with no less ap-plication than philosophy (33). He died at Alexandria before the year 331. some time after he had put the last hand to the life of a philosopher of that place, named Alypius, who was his contemporary.
This work has not reached our times, nor ought we to regret the loss of it; for Eunapius speaks of it as a very mean performance (34). Several works of a philosopher, named Iamblichus, are still extant, and highly effeemed by the best judges, but commonly ascribed, not to the disciple of Porphyrius, but to another Iamblichus, who lived at Apamea in Syria, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor Julian's chief favourites, as appears from the feveral letters he wro e to him (35). These two philosophers bore the same name, lived in the same country, and had each of them a disciple named Sopater; no wonder, therefore, that most writers have contounded them. A third philosopher, of the same name, lived under the emperor M. Aurelius. Several works have reached our times, under the name of Lamblichus; but which of these three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine: the works are, the history of the life and fift of Pythagoras, with an exhortation to the study of philosophy, containing an explication of the proverbs and maxims of that philotopher (36); an explication of the arithmetic of Nicomachus; a treatife on mathematics in general; an antiwer to the letter of Perphyrius to Ancho, on the mysteries of the Egyptisms; a collect on of the tenets of the Pythagoreaus; and a fhort treatife on the fun. The first of these works was translated into Latin, and published in 1598 by one Johannes Arcerius, a native of Frifia; but he is thought not to have taken the true meaning of the author in feveral pallings, and, befiles, his flyle is both obscure and improper. Samuel Tomatius published in 1668. Iamblichus's expircation of the arithmetic of Nicomachus, promiling at the fime time to publish soon after his treatise on mithema-

(9) Enfeb. hift. I. x. c. 5, 7. & vit. Corft. I. ii. c. 24, 25, 46, 43, 64. I. iii. c. 17, 20, 30, 32, 52. 60, 64.
I. iv. c. 9, 13, 35, 42. (10) Cacil. Optat. p. 280, 283, 285, 287. (11) Vide Baron. ad ann. 319.
(12) Socrat. I. i. c. 9 p. 30, 32. (13) Gelaf. Gyzicen. acta Nic. concil p. 217. (14) Idem, p. 224.
(15) Socrat. I. i. c. 25, p. 61. (16) Ath. apol. p. 778, 779. (17) Idem, p. 785. (18) Idem, p. 767.
(19) Idem. p. 803. (20) Vide Baron. ann. 325. (21) Aufon. de profess. Burdigal. car. 4. p. 145.
(12) Idem. car. 6. p. 150. Hier. epift. 150. p. 410. (23) Aufon. ilid. p. 145. (24) Ilier. p. 140.
(25) Aufon. ilid. p. 149. (26) Suid. c, v. p. 311. (27) Idem, π. p. 405. (28) Voss. hist. Grac. I.iv.
(2.18. p. 486. (29) Phot. c. 279. (30) Idem, p. 1592. (31) Idem, c. 145. p. 317. (32) Eurap.
(2.2. p. 23. (33) Idem ibid. (34) Idem, c. 3. p. 28. (35) Julian. epift. 40. & p. 180. &c.;
(36) Iam. vit. Pyth. p. 25.
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accordingly proclaimed emperors, as did, soon after, the senate of Rome, without taking a the least notice of their two cousins, Dalmatius Casar, and Annibalianus king of Pontus,

tics; but whether or no he was as good as his word, we cannot tell, not having ever heard of that work's being published. Ismblichus, in his answer to the letter of Porphyrius, endeavours, under the name of Abammon, to confute his arguments against the power of magic. Holstenius designed to publish all the works of Iamblichus, together with observations; but he was prevented by death from executing his design. Iamblichus's life of Pythagoras was in great part copied from that of the same philosopher, written by Porphyrius (37). St. Jerom tells us, that the philosopher Iamblichus wrote copious comments on the precepts of Pythagoras, commonly called the golden maxims (38). The emperor Julian equals lamblichus of Chalcis to Plato himself. Gothofredus is of opinion, that Gregorius and Hermogenes, or rather Hermogenianus, the authors of the two different, but like codes, flourished under Constantine and his children. They both begin with the laws of Adrian, and seem to end with those of Dioclesian, not caring, as is conjectured, to meddle with the laws of Constantine, by reason of the many changes that prince had introduced into the Roman jurisprudence (39). The they were both pagans, yet they might have inserted such laws of Constantine as no-ways related to religion. In compiling their respective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards observed in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. The codes of Gregorius and Hermogenianus are thought to be the most ancient of all; and were both abridged by those who abridged the Theodosian code (40). Only fome fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of jurisprudence. Gregorius is commonly believed to have been the most ancient of the two. The style of Hermogenianus is very uncouth, and often obscure. Publius Optatianus Porphyrius flourished under Constantine, and is thought to have published the poem, which has reached us, about the middle of the year 326. on occasion of the solemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two Casars, Crispus and Constantine, his children. He had before that time inscribed another poem to Constantine; which being well received by the prince, Optatianus returned him thanks by a letter, which is still extant, for the kind reception he had given it; adding to the letter a second poem, addressed likewise to Constantine. These two poems have been long fince lost; but the letter, which the emperor wrote to him, thanking him for one of them, has reached our times. Constantine calls him in his letter his dearly beloved, and Optatianus Styles Constantine emperor of the whole earth; whence we may conclude it to have been written after the year 323. Not long after, Opsa-tianus was, upon several charges brought against him, banished. He owns some of them to have been true; but pretends not to have been guilty of the crime for which chiefly he was fent into exile. He wrote the poem, which is still extant, to beg of Constantine, that he would recal him from banishment, and allow him to fee again his fon and family. The poem is a panegyric on Constantine, filled with acrostics, and other trifling conceits of that nature, which betray want of judgment and true taste in the writer (41). St. Jerom assures us, that the emperor, pleased with this poem, recalled the author

(42). Several epigrams in the anthology are afcribed to the same author; and Fulgenius, the grammarian, quotes some of his verses (43): Robanus Maurus, and venerable Bede, speak of his poem as an elegant performance (44); but the modern critics, with a great deal of reason, despise all compositions, and difficiles nugas, as Martial styles them, of that nature, agreeing therein with the ancient Latin poets, whose writings ought to be our standard. Some authors are of opinion, that several of the pieces which pass under the name of Petronius Arbiter, were written by Optatianus. Sopater, the disciple of Iamblichus, flourished under Constantine, and, after the death of that philosopher, became the head of the Platonic sect that followed Plotinus. He was a native of Apamea in Syria, and both spoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was styled a sophist, as well as a philosopher (45). After the death of Iamblichus, not deigning to converse with other philosophers, says Eunapius his admirer, he repaired to the court of Constantine, to try whether he could prevent the downfal and utter ruin of the ancient religion of the Romans. He gained, adds the same writer, a great ascendant over the emperor, who frequently conferred with him, and yielded to him in public the most honourable place. But this we can hardly believe, upon the bare word of his panegyrist Eunapius; for no other writer takes the least notice of Sopater's great credit with Constantine. Sozomen tells us, that Constantine had recourse to him to know in what manner he might atone for the death of his fon Crifpus; and that both the philosopher, and the pagan pontiffs, an-fwered, that, in the religion of the Greeks, there was no atonement for so heinous a crime (46). Hereupon he began to hearken to the christians, says Zosimus (47), who assured him, that the virtue of their baptism was capable of washing off any wickedness, however enormous. We can scarce believe, that the pagans owned there was no atonement in their religion for an emperor. Besides, it is certain, that Constantine had hearkened to the christians, and embraced their religion, before the death of Crifpus. While Sopater was with the emperor at Conflantinople, there being great scarcity of provisions in that city, by reason the vessels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people assembled in the theatre broke one day on a fudden into bitter invectives against Sopater, as a magician, who stopt the favourable winds, and prevented the arrival of the so long-expected vessels. Hereupon Constantine abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who being underhand stirred up by the prescet Ablavius, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Thus is his death related by Eunapius (48); and from him Zosimus copied what he wrote on this subject (49). It is surprising, that Constantine should have treated in this manner, without the least provocation, so great a favourite as Eunapius, and after him Zosimus, pretend Sopsier to have been. Suidas writes, that Constantine put him to death, to give the world a fignal instance of his hatred and aversion to paganism (50). Sopater left a treatise on providence, and on those who had been undeservedly happy or miserable (51). Vossius seems to confound Sopater of Apamea with another philo-

(37) fonf. l. iii. c. 16. p. 293, 294. (38) Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 10. p. 246. (39) Cod Theod. chronol. p. 185. (40) Idem, p. 184. (41) P. Opt. prol. c. 11. apud Velf. (42) Hier. ann. 329. (43) fonf. l. iii. c. 15. p. 290. (44) Optat. prol. p. 2. (45) Eunap. p. 23. Sozom. l. i. c. 5. p. 406. Suid. p. 781. (46) Sozom. l. i. c. 5. p. 406. (47) Zof. l. ii. p. 685. (48) Eunap. c. 4. p. 34, 37. (49) Zof. l. ii. p. 692. (50) Suid. s. p. 782. (51) Idem ibid. fopher

a Pontus, the two fons of their uncle Constantius Dalmatius, tho' Constantine had, in the above-mentioned division of the empire, allotted to each of them their share. However, the three brothers did not, for what reason we are no-where told, take upon them the title of Augusti till the ninth of September of this year 337, that is, near four months after the decease of their father 2. Soon after the foldiery, under colour of preventing disturbances in the empire, slew to arms, and cut in pieces Julius Constantius, the deceased emperor's brother, Dalmatius Casar, Annibalianus king of Pontus, But put Dalthe patrician Optatus, who had, as is commonly supposed, married Anastatia, the matius and late emperor's fifter, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldelt fon of Julius Annibalianus

Constantius, the presect Ablavius, and most of the great Constantine's ministers, sup-b posing them attached to the interest of his nephews b. Thus was the numerous family of Constantine reduced at once to his three sons, and two nephews Gallus and Julian, the fons of Julius Constantius; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at most but seven years old. Gregory of Nazianzus writes, that Julian was privately conveyed away, and concealed by one Marcus of Arethusa, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death d. All authors agree, that neither young Constantine, nor Constans, had any hand in the massacre of the imperial family: as for Constantius, Eutropius and Socrates write, that he rather permitted than commanded it. Julian 8, St. Jerom, and Zosimus, tell us in plain terms, that he was the author of that cruel massacre; and St. Athanasius openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and cousins k. The three brothers met in Pannonia in the beginning of the ensuing year 338. when Ursus and Polemius were consuls, to divide Their dominiamong them the dominions of the two deceased princes Dalmatius and Annibalianus; ons divided but all we know of this division is, that Constantine had Thrace (for he is faid to three brothers; have reigned at Constantinople) ; and Constans, Greece and Macedon; for Corinth and fome places in Macedon are said to have belonged to him m. Each of them kept the dominions allotted to them by Constantine in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his last will, viz. Constantine, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantine seems d to have yielded this very year Thrace to Constantius, and Constans Africa to Constantine. While Constantius was absent in Pannonia, the Persians, finding the frontiers The Persians

unguarded, entered Mesopotamia, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the invade the same time the Armenians revolted, drove out their king, who was a friend to the Roman domi-Romans, and joined the Persians, who being thus strengthened, laid siege to Nisibis;

\* Euseb. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 68. p. 560. b Euseb. ibid. p. 541. Zos. l. 2. p. 692. Julian. epist. l Atheniens. p. 497, 498. c Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. Ammian. p. 298. d Nazian. orat. 3. 90. Eutrop. p. 558. f Socrat. p. 115. s Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. h Hier. chron. Zos. p. 692. k Athan. folit. p. 856. l Chron. Alex. p. 670. m Liban. orat. 9. p. 212. ad Athenienf. p. 497, 498. SOCRAT
p. 90. EUTROP. p. 558. SOCRAT
Zos. p. 692. ATHAN. folit. p. 856.

sopher of the same name, who was a native of Alexandria, and abridged the works of several historians and other authors. These abridgments are greatly esteemed by *Photius*, tho interwoven with several sables. They were divided into twelve books (52). Julian speaks of one Sopater of Apamea, who lived in his time (53), and confequently must be distinguished from the disciple of Iamblichus. To the other writers, who flourished under Constantine, we may add the two christian poets Commodianus and Juveneus. The former wrote, according to Rigault, who published his work with those of St. Cyrian in 1666, in the time of Sylvester, bishop of Rome; was a native of Gaza, or at least bore the name of Gazeus; he was descended of pagan parents, but in reading the holy scripture, discovered and embraced the truth. He wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verse, commonly styled instructions, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into feveral articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may bestow upon it that name, he impugns the errors of the pagans, but seems not to have been yet well in-

structed himself in the truths of the christian religion (54). Juvencus, frequently mentioned by St. Jerom, flourished under Constantine: he was by birth a Spaniard, sprung from an illustrious family, and not only a christian, but in holy orders. However, he applied himself to the study of poetry, and wrote a poem, comprising the four gospels in as many books. He keeps close to the text, chusing rather to preserve the truth of the history, than to display his genius. This poem was composed when Con-flantine had settled both the church and empire in peace (55), that is, after the defeat of Licinius. Some of his verses are quoted by the venerable Bede (56). The council of Rome held in the time of Gelasius. bishop of that city, approved of this work, styling it a laborious and excellent performance (57). He wrote another poem on the order of the facraments, of which the abbot Tritenham (8) affures us he had feen and peruied two books; but they have not reached our times. Crinitus afcribes to him some hymns (59), of which no mention is made by any other writer.

86. (54) Comm. p. 23.c.33. (56) Vide Labb. de script. ecclesast. (9) Bib. pat. s. viii. p. 657. but (52) Phot. c. 161. p. 344. (53) Julian. epift. 40, 53. p. 185, 186. Gennad. c. 15. (55) Juvenc. l. iv. p. 657. ver. 1, 2. (57) Concil. tom. iv. p. 1264. (58) Trit. de script. eccles. p. 14.

Raise the suge but after having continued before it sixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that a

of Nilibis, and enterprize, and retire. The preservation of that important place is ascribed by Theodoret to the prayers of the holy bishop James, during whose life and residence there, all the attempts of the enemy against it proved ineffectual n. Constantius, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left Pannonia, and returned into the east, where he affembled all his forces, with a design to relieve Nisibis; but finding the Persians had retired of their own accord, he turned his arms against the Armenians, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had driven out, and drew over to his party the robbers of Arabia, no doubt the Saracens, who, by frequent inroads into the Persian dominions, made a powerful diversion, and greatly annoyed the enemy . The war, however, continued during the whole time of his reign: many battles b were fought, some gained by the Romans, and some by the Persians: the cities of Mesopotamia were often taken and retaken; and that of Nisibis three times besieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. Ammianus Marcellinus observes, that the Romans gained great advantages when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants, but were conftantly defeated when headed by the emperor in person P. The following year, 339. when Constantius was consul the second time, with his brother Constans, several laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and among the rest one forbidding, under no less a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which had been allowed by a decree of the senate, issued in favour of the marriage of Claudius, and the celebrated Agrippina. Notwithstanding c this decree, such marriages were ever looked upon by the Romans as incessuous, but frequently practifed by other nations, especially the Phanicians, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-first of March of this year, is addressed 9. The next confuls were Acyndinus and Proculus. This year Constantine, diffatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having folicited in vain his brother Constans to yield to him Italy, or at least part of that country, raised a considerable army, and, under pretence of marching to the affiftance of Constantius, who was at war with the Persians, left Gaul, and, entering the dominions of Constants, made himself master of several places. Hereupon Constans, who was then in Dacia, Constans, and detached part of his forces against him, who having drawn him into an ambuscade d near Aquileia, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river Ansa, at a small distance from Aquileia; but being afterwards discovered, it was fent to Constantinople, and interred there near the tomb of his father r. Such was the end of the great Constantine's eldest son. He was born at Arles, as is commonly believed, on the seventh of August, 316. created Casar the first of March, 317. and saluted Augustus on the ninth of September, 337. so that he did not injoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyrist paints him as a prince endowed with great accomplishments both of body and mind; and adds, that he studied the scriptures, and, to the utmost of his power, practised what they required '. But his invading his brother's dominions, without the least provocation, can by no means e be justified. He received and treated with great kindness the great Athanasius, when he was banished by his father into Gaul; which province he then governed '. By his death, Constant remained sole master of the western provinces, Constantius voluntarily yielding to him the whole share of the deceased prince ". Constant, foon after the death of his brother, arrived at Aquileia, where he was on the ninth of April, and on the twenty-fifth of June at Milan w. All we find of Constantius this year is, that on the fifth of August he was at Bessus in Thrace, and on the ninth of September at Antioch x. The next year, when Marcellinus and Probinus were confuls, many cities in the east were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake 1; and the Franks in the west, having crossed the Rhine, made an irruption into Gaul, committing every-where great ravages. Constans marched against them, gave them battle; but as he gained no great advantage over them, the war was not ended till the ensuing year. On occasion of this war, Libanius speaks much at length of the turbulent and restless temper of the Franks. This year a law was enacted in the

The Franks invade Gaul;

Constantine invades the

is killed.

n Theodor, in vit. patrum, с. т. р. 770. 

LIBAN. p. 122. JULIAN. orat. г. р. 37. 

P Ammian. l. xx. p. 177. 

Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294. 

Eutrop. p. 588. 

Monodia, feu orat. in Conftantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14. 

Mordia, feu orat. in Conftantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14. 

LIBAN. orat. 2. p. 175. 

W Cod. Theodol. p. 97. chronol. p. 41. 

X Cod. Theodol. chronol. p. 42. 

Y Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. 

Theophan. p. 30. 

Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. 

LIBAN. orat. 3. p. 138.

a name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of idolatrous worship b. Firmicus Maternus writes, that Constans ordered several temples to be demolished, and likewise the celebrated altar of Vistory in the senate at Rome's. Constantius built this year, and fortified, the city of Amida upon the Tigris in Mesopotamia. Stephanus the geographer takes no notice of this city: however, it is certain, that it sustained a long siege in the latter end of the present reign, and became afterwards the metropolis of Mejopotamia, properly so called, as Edessa was the metropolis of that part, which was known by the name of Ofrhoene. The Arabians, the present inhabitants, call it Hemit or Ameth, and the Turks Caramit 4. The following

year, Constantius entered upon his third, and Constans upon his second consulship.

b The latter either conquered or appealed the Franks, to use the expression of Idatius; But are quieted and that warlike people submitted to the princes of their own nation, whom he was by Constans. pleased to appoint over them . Constans being thus disengaged, passed over into Britain the following year 343. when Placidus and Romulus were consuls, to oppose the Scots, who made frequent inroads into the Roman dominions; but the filence of Libanius with respect to this expedition, is a manisest proof, that he performed no great exploits against that brave and gallant nation. He was at Boulogne on the twenty-fifth of January on his way to Britain, and returned to Treves on the thirtieth of June 1. As for Constantius, he was, on the fifth of April, and the eleventh of May of the preceding year, at Antioch s; and this year, on the eighteenth of Februc ary, at Antioch, and on the twenty seventh of June, and sourth of July, at Hierapolis

in Euphratesianah. By a law enacted this year on the twenty-seventh of August, and commonly ascribed to him, the ecclesiastics and their domestics are exempted from all new impositions, and an intire immunity from all customs granted to such of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading. When the church acquired sufficient wealth to support her ministers, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandise, or follow any trade. Theophanes tells us, that Constantius triumphed this year over the Persians; for, as we observed above, he was at war with them during the whole time of his reign k; but he often triumphed, when he had been overcome, to conceal the shame of his defeat. The following

d year, when Leontius and Salustius were consuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which intirely ruined the city of Neocasarea in Pontus, no one edifice having Neocasarea withstood the violence of the shock, except the church, and the habitation of the rained by an bishop, who was saved, with the clergy, and some other pious persons, while the earthquake. other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins m. Theophanes speaks of a battle this year between the Romans and Persians, in which the latter were defeated with great loss ". The year ensuing, when Amentius and Albinus were consuls, the city of Duras on the coast of Greece was swallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in Campania overturned. The above-mentioned confuls were fucceeded by Constantius the fourth time, and Constans the third time, consuls. The e latter was at Cesena in Italy on the twenty-third of May, at Milan on the twentyfirst of June, from whence he passed into Macedon, and was at Thessalonica on the sixth of December; from Macedon he seems to have returned to Gaul; for he sent from thence Athanasius and Osius to the council of Sardica, held the following year 347°. As for Constantius, he was, on the seventh and twenty-fixth of May, and

the twenty-third of August, at Constantinople P. The law dated the twenty-sixth of May, and addressed to the bishops, confirms to them, and the inserior clergy, to year Constantius caused an harbour to be made at Seleucia, at an immense charge, The port of for the convenience of the city of Antioch, which stood on the Orontes, at a small Antioch at Seleucia. f distance from thence. This work cost him, according to Libanius and the emperor Julian r, incredible sums, the mouth of the Orontes, where the port was made, being

full of rocks and fands. He likewise rebuilt the cities of Seleucia in Syria, and Antaradus in Phanicia; whence the latter, in the acts of some councils, is called from him Constantia. The same year, Sapor, king of Persia, besieged Nisibis a second

d Vide BAUDR. p. 35. E IDAT. Cod. Theodos. l. xi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 2. FIRM. MAT. p. 57. d Vide BAUDR. p. 35. FIDAT. 85. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. f Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 44. f Idem, p. 43. h Idem ibid. Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 2. l. viii. p. 32. k Theoph. p. 30. l. Libam. orat. 12. p. 309. GREG. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaumat. h Theoph. p. 31. Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 46. Ath. orat. 12. p. 36. J. Libam. orat. 13. p. 386. Julian. orat. 1. p. 74. Theoph. p. 31. BAUDR. p. 45. p. 85. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13, p. 90. Cod. Theodof.
Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. l. viii. p. 32.

m Gree. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaumat.

apol. 1. p. 676. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46. apol. 1. p. 676. P Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 4 P LIBAN. orat. 13. p. 386. Julian. orat. 1. p. 74.

suppressed in

The battle of Singarus.

Africa.

Nilibis bestaged time; but was obliged to retire with disgrace, after having continued before it three a in vain by the months, as we read in St. Jerom, or seventy-eight days, as Theophanes will have it. The following year, when Rufinus and Eusebius were consuls, the emperor Constantius pretended to have gained a considerable victory over the Persians : he was at Ancyra on the eighth of March, and at Hierapolis on the eleventh of May o. The next consuls were Flavius Philippus, a great stickler for the doctrine of Arius, and Flavius Sallea or Salia, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of Nice. This year Constans, filled with indignation against the Arians, and ashamed of the weakness of his brother, who fuffered himfelf to be imposed upon and deluded by those subtle heretics, threatened to restore by force of arms the orthodox bishops, whom he had banished at their instigation, unless he recalled them of his own accord. Constantius b was, either by fear, or the reasons alledged by Constans in behalf of the exiled bishops, prevailed upon to give his consent to their return P. The same year Constans sent Macarius and Paulus, two officers of distinction, into Africa, with large sums to be distributed among the poor of that province. They were likewise injoined by that most religious prince, as he is styled by a council q, to use their utmost endeavours The Donatists in reclaiming the Donatists, and re-uniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with fuccess; for the most obstinate and stubborn among these sectaries being driven out of the province, the rest yielded to reason, and were received again into the church; fo that the christians there enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till those who had been banished were recalled by the emperor Julian. But this c year is chiefly remarkable for a great battle between the Persians and Romans, fought in the neighbourhood of Singarus, a city of Mesopotamia. The Persians had posted themselves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had placed an incredible number of archers: their army was very numerous, and composed almost of all the nations of the east, Sapor their king being determined to put the whole to the iffue of a general engagement, and end, if possible, by a single victory, so tedious and expensive a war. He did not doubt but the Romans would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed bodies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the Romans, finding they could by no means intice the enemy into the open field, forced Constantius to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with a

fury hardly to be expressed, and forced, in spite of the showers of arrows that were

discharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous resistance they met with

from those in the camp. Great numbers of the Persians were cut in pieces, and the rest either put to slight, or taken prisoners: amongst the latter was the king's son, whom the Romans are faid to have put to death, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods. Thus the Romans made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, baggage and treasures: but while they were, without the least apprehension of danger, quenching their drought with the fresh water, of which they e found great plenty in the camp, the Persian archers rallying, sell upon them unexpectedly, and snatched the victory, to use the expression of Libanius t, out of their

hands. In this attack, which happened in the night-time, great havock was made

The Romans

force the Per-

fian camp,

But sustain a great loss.

A dreadful earthquake at Berytus.

of the Romans; but nevertheless the Persians, as soon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the Tigris, and broke down the bridges, which they had laid over that river, that the Romans might not pursue them ". The loss was great on both fides; but the Romans, by remaining mafters of the field, claimed the victory w. The following year, when Ulpius Limenius and Aconius Catulinus were consuls, the city of Berytus was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which fo frightened the inhabitants, that fuch of them as had not yet embraced the christian religion, f crouded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of fuch converts, not instructed in the holy mysteries, and the duties of their profession, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace . Constans, in the beginning of this year, was in Gauly: there Athanasius took leave of him, upon his setting out for his see in

Egypt. From Gaul he passed into Illyricum, and was on the twenty-seventh of May

n Athan. folit. p. 819. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46, 47. P. Theodoret. via. particily, a. ... c. 8. p. 13. Concil. tom. ii. p. 713. Philostorg. l.iii. c. 12. p. 45. Socrat. l. ii. c. 23. p. 107. Lib. p. 13. Eutrop. p. 588. Julian. p. 43. Lib. p. 133. Lib. ibid. Julian. orat. 1. p. 45. W. Ammian. p. 122. Theoph. p. 32. Cedren. p. 299. Athan. apol. 2. p. 774.

a at Sirmium; whence he returned to Gaul before winter. As for Constantius, he was on the first of April at Antiocb, and some time after at Edessa in Mesopotamia; whence he wrote to Atbanasius, pressing him to hasten his return to the east. He was at Constantinople on the third of October 2. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of April, exempting the ecclefiaftics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly ascribed to him.

THE following year 350. when Sergius and Nigrinianus were confuls, is remarkable for many great events. The Persians, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained in 348. returned this year with a mighty army, an incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds, and, after ravaging Mesopotamia, and taking several b strong holds there, fat down before Nisibis the third time, and left nothing unat-Nisibis besieged tempted to reduce that important place. Constantius was then at a great distance, a third time. the diffurbances which happened this year in the west, requiring his presence there. But the city was defended by Lucilianus, father-in-law to Jovian afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy bishop James, in whose prayers the garison and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms b. The Persians battered the walls for several days together, with the many engines which they had brought with them for that purpose, and at the same time endeavoured to undermine them; but all their efforts proving ineffectual, Sapor Allthe efforts caused the river Mygdonus, slowing through the city, to be turned into a new cha- of Sapor caused the river Mygdonus, slowing through the city, to be turned into a new cha- of Sapor against it renthem fufficiently supplied with wells and springs within the walls, he caused the course tual. of the river to be stopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; infomuch that it feemed an island in the midst of the sea. His defign was to overflow the town; but as it stood on a rising ground, the waters did not quite reach the top of the walls. He therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ships and boats, of which he assembled an incredible number for that purpose. This attack lasted several days; but proving in the end ineffectual, Sapor caused the river to be stopped above the city by a wall or mole of an extraordinary breadth and height; which being fuddenly broken down, the d waters rushed with such violence against the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground for the space of an hundred cubits. Hereupon the enemy, believing themselves now masters of the place, advanced with loud shouts to the attack; but, to their great furprize, met with so vigorous a resistance, the The vigorous garison and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy bishop, that rejustance of the they were obliged to retire, after having lost a great many men, horses and elephants, habitants. as the reader will find related at length by the emperor Julians. Heaven itself feemed to espouse the cause of the inhabitants of Nisibis; for the Persians, during the attack, were so terrified with dreadful flashes of lightning, winds and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themselves, or offending the enemy 4. • They are faid to have lost in this one attack above ten thousand men . Sapor did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with incessant showers of arrows, but to no effect; for the very next morning he faw, to his great surprize, a new wall raised, and the garison ready to receive him. He continued however the fiege; but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulfed with great loss. Besides, his army was annoyed with swarms of small slies; which entering the

foot, and crushed to pieces. To these evils was added a dreadful famine, and soon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the Persian camp, and in the end f obliged Sapor, despairing of success, to raise the siege, after it had lasted near four The siege raised. months, and retire with the loss of twenty thousand men and upwards f. The many evils and calamities which afflicted the Persians during this memorable siege, are ascribed by Theodoret and Sozomen to the prayers of James, bishop of the place. Be that as it will, Sapor was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the transports of his rage, put some of his chief commanders to death, and all those who had advised him to this war. He gave no further trouble to the Romans till the year 359. when the war was rekindled, as we shall relate in a more proper place. The history

nostrils of the horses, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite wild and ungovernable; infomuch that great numbers of the Persians were by them troden under

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 48. THEODOR. • JUL. F JULIAN. THEOPHAN. PHILOSTORG. 1. iii. c. 23. a Idem ibid. orat. ii. p. 116. d Тибори. p. 33. • Idem ibid. & chron. Alexand. ibid. THEODOR. p. 633.

of the siege of Nisibis was written by Vologeses bishop of the place 8, who probably a fucceeded James in that see; but that work has not reached our times.

WE shall now give a succinct account of the disturbances in the west, which encou-

raged the Persians to invade the Roman dominions, and lay siege to Nisibis. Magnentius, the son of one Magnus, a native of Germany, and commander of some troops appointed to guard the banks of the Rhine, finding Constans universally despised by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, resolved to dispatch him, and fet up for himself. Accordingly, having imparted his design to Marcellinus, receiver of the revenues in Gaul, to Chrestus, and some other officers, and gained them over to his interest, on the day appointed for the execution of the plot, Marcellinus, under pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, invited Magnentius, and the chief officers b of the army, to an entertainment, which lasted till the night was far spent, when Magnentius withdrew, and foon after returned in the imperial robes, and with all the enligns of fovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the delign, immediately faluted him with the title of Augustus. The rest, who looked upon it at first as a jest, (and for such it had passed, had the plot miscarried) were easily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conspirators; so that Magnentius was, by all who were present, acknowledged emperor. This happened in the city of Autun, on the eighteenth of January, while Sergius and Nigrinianus were consuls, four years after the council of Sardica, and ten after the death of young Constantine h. The usurper immediately seized on the imperial palace at Autun, c and distributed among the populace what sums he found there; which induced, not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to espouse his cause. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in Illyricum, to reinforce that in Gaul. Magnentius, upon his first assuming the title of emperor, dispatched one Gaiso, a principal commander in the army, with orders to put Constans to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had passed, notwithstanding Magnentius had ordered the gates of Autun to be kept shut a whole day, and placed guards on all the roads, had thrown off the imperial robes, and fled towards Spain. But Gaiso, informed of the rout he had taken, followed him close with a chosen body of troops, Constans mur- and overtaking him at Helena, a small village at the foot of the Pyrenees, dispatched d him there with many wounds. St. Chrysoftom writes, that the unfortunate prince, finding it impossible to make his escape, first slew his children, and then himself k. But this is not vouched by any ancient historian; nay, we are no-where told, that he had any children. Such was the end of Constants, the great Constantine's youngest fon, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was created Cæsar on the twenty-fifth of December 333. and assumed the title of emperor on the His character, ninth of September 337. He was a zealous defender of the christian religion, and the orthodox faith, a declared enemy to the Arians, Donatists, and all sectaries. He filled the churches with gifts and offerings, and had nothing so much at heart as the propagation of the gospel, the abolishing of idolatry, and the unity of the church 1. Thus Athanasius, who never speaks of him but with the greatest respect and vene- e ration, giving him constantly the title of Bleffed. The same writer assures us, that he had received the facrament of baptism, and seems to rank him among the martyrs m. On the other hand, the pagan writers lay feveral things to his charge. Aurelius Villor writes, that after he had reigned some years with great applause, he abandoned himself to cruelty and avarice n. Libanius charges him with suffering one Eugenius, and his other favourites, to oppress the people, and fill their own coffers at their expence o. Villor the younger complains of his preferring to the most profitable employments fuch as were able to lay down most money for them, without any regard to merit P. Eutropius likewise finds fault with his ministers, and adds, that the many vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the rapaciousness of f his ministers, rendered him odious to the soldiery, and insupportable to the people q.

Magnentius

dered.

Zosimus, an avowed enemy to all princes who professed the christian religion, speaks of him as the most cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and disgraced a diadem, and paints him as one addicted to all manner of lewdness, and guilty of such crimes as are most repugnant to nature r. Aurelius Victor s and Zonaras t seem to confirm this

<sup>8</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 674. b Zos. p. 692. Zonar. p. 12. Jul. orat. ii. p. 106, 107. Hier. chron. i Zonar. p. 12. Zos. p. 693. c Chrys. in Phil. hom. 15. p. 143. l Athan. apol. i. p. 678, 679. m Idem ibid. n Aur. Vict. p. 527. LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 212. P Vict. cpit. p. 544. Eutrop. p. 588. r Zos. l. ii. p. 692. l Aur. Vict. p. 527. l Zonar. p. 11.

a charge. But, had it been true, we cannot think the great Athanasius, who could not be unacquainted with it, would have commended him on account of his piety, as he frequently does. Libanius, in an oration which he pronounced not long before his death, extols his continence, and aversion to unlawful pleasures; which would have been rather deriding than commending him, had he been guilty of the above-

mentioned crimes. Zonaras writes, that, before the death of Constans was publicly known, Magnentius The cruelty of fent in his name for all the officers, whom he thought attached to the deceased prince's Magnentius. interest, and capable of defeating his own designs, and caused them to be murdered on the road ". But whether the death of Constans, and the usurpation of Magnentius, could be fo long kept concealed, we leave the reader to judge. Be that as it will, b Magnentius, by the death of Constans, became master of all the countries beyond the Alps, and foon after of Italy, Sicily, and Africa w. To strengthen his interest, he declared his brother Desiderius, and Decentius, according to some, his other brother, Hedeclares according to others only his cousin, Casars. The latter took also the names of Mag-Decentius and nentius and Magnus, and is distinguished on his medals with the uncommon title of Casars. Fortissimus, or Most valiant x. The news of the death of Constans, and the revolt of Gaul, no sooner reached Illyricum, than Veteranio, general of the foot in Pannonia, veteranio as. assumed the imperial robes, and caused himself to be saluted with the title of Augustus sumes the sule by the legions under his command. This happened at Sirmium, on the first of May, of Augustus. c according to Idatius, or on the first of March, as we read in the chronicle of Alexandria. He was a native of Upper Masia, and stricken in years when he usurped the fovereignty; but so illiterate, that he then first learnt to read y. Aurelius Victor speaks of him as a man of no parts?. But the emperor Julian writes, that he was no despicable man as and Eutropius commends him on account of his probity and affability, and adds, that as he had ferved in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with fuccess, he was universally beloved by the soldiery b. It appears, both from the chronicle of Alexandria c, and from his medals d, that he was a christian c. Philostorgius f and Theophanes 8 write, that he was invested with the purple by Constantia, the eldest fister of Constantius, and widow of Annibalianus, who claimed that d right, as having been declared empress by her brother Constantine. The emperor Julian does not speak of him as an usurper; and Zonaras tells us, that, in assuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to Constantius, affuring him, that he had nothing in view but to oppose the usurper Magnentius; and that he should always look upon himself rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or sovereign . Philostorgius adds, that Constantius confirmed to him the title of emperor, and sent him the diadem i. Besides Magnentius and Veteranio, a third pretender to the empire started up, viz. Nepotianus Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, the son of Eutropia, sister to Constantine the Great; who, sittle of empehaving affembled a company of gladiators, and several others of desperate fortunes, ror, and seizes assumed the purple on the third of June, and in that attire presented himself before Rome. e the gates of Rome. The prefect Anicetus, who commanded there for Magnentius, fallied out against him with a body of Romans, who were soon repulsed, and driven back into the city; which Nepotianus took not long after, and filled with blood and flaughter, putting to death among the rest the presect Anicetus. Magnentius was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent Marcellinus, his chief savourite and prime minister, against this new competitor. Nepotianus received him with great resolution; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the soldiers of Magnentius and the Romans who had espoused the cause of Nepotianus; but the latter being betrayed by a senator, named Heraclitus, his men were put to slight, and he himself killed, Heis slain. after having enjoyed the sovereignty twenty-eight days k. Marcellinus ordered his f head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief streets of the city, put all those to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing suture

4 C

disturbances, commanded a general massacre of such as were any-ways related to Constantine. On this occasion many persons of great distinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the rest Eutropia, the mother of Nepotianus 1. Soon after,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Zonar. p. 13. w Julian. orat. i. p. 47. Zos. l. ii. p. 693. \* Birag. p. 483, 485. y Zos. p. 693. \* Aur. Vict. p. 527. \* Julian. p. 59. b Eutrop. p. 588. C Chron. Alexand. p. 678. d Spann. l. ii. p. 91. Birag. p. 486. Chron. Alex. 676. f Philostorg. p. 22. Theoph. p. 37. h Zonar. p. 14. Philostorg. p. 55. k Zos. l. ii. p. 693. Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. p. 316, 319. Themist. orat. iii. p. 43. Julian. orat. iii. p. 106. 107. P. 106, 107.

Magnentius himself came to Rome, to raise the necessary supplies for carrying on the &

Constantius

marches against him.

war against Constantius, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his stay at Rome, put many nically oppress persons of distinction to death, whom Marcellinus had spared, in order to seize their ed by Magnen- estates, and oppressed the rest in a most tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, to contribute half what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having by this means raised great sums, he assembled a mighty army, consisting of Romans, Germans, Gauls, Franks, Britons, Spaniards, &c. but at the same time dreading the uncertain issues of war, he dispatched embassadors to Constantius, with offers of an accommodation 1. That prince was then at Antioch, where, upon the first advice of his brother's death, he had caused himself to be acknow- b ledged emperor of the west, and, to support that title, had affembled all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the east, and a more powerful seet, if the emperor Julian is to be credited, than that with which Xerxes formerly invaded Greece m. Theodoret writes, that Constantius, before he set out on his march to Europe, exhorted all his foldiers to receive the facrament of baptism, and dismissed such as refused to be baptized, declaring, that he could not prevail upon himself to expose to the dangers of a war persons not initiated in the holy mysteries n. This seems to us somewhat strange, since Constantius himself was not yet baptized. Be that as it will, Conflantius fet out from Antioch about the beginning of the autumn, and passing through Constantinople, arrived at Heraclea, where he was met by deputies from Magnentius c and Veteranio, who had agreed to support each other, in case Constantius would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms proposed by their deputies were, That they were ready to affift him with all their forces against the Persians, and other barbarians, and to acknowledge him as the first emperor, provided he suffered them to enjoy the same title. The deputies of Magnentius proposed in his name a match between him and Constantia, or rather Constantina, the sister of Constantius, and widow of Annibalianus, offering at the same time to Constantius the sister of Magnentius .. We are told, that while Constantius was deliberating with himself whether or no he should yield to these terms, and come to an agreement with the two pretended emperors, his father Constantine appeared to him in a dream the night following, and d presenting Constans to him, commanded him to revenge his death, and affured him of success in so commendable an undertaking. Hereupon Constantius, resolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies, both of Magnentius and Veteranio, to be committed to custody; and pursuing his march with incredible expedition, arrived at Sardica, before Veteranio knew of his departure from Heraclea. However, he affembled in haste what troops he could, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; which Constantius wisely declined, offering to conclude a separate treaty with Veteranio, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. Veteranio hearkened to the proposal, and being acknowledged emperor by Constantius, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, e mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. Constantius, who spoke the first, reminded the soldiers, in a very elegant and artful speech, of their obligations to his father; of the bounties they had received at his hands; of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his fons,  $\mathcal{C}_{c}$ , and concluded with exhorting them not to fuffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the son of so great a prince, to pass unrevenged; and declaring, that he only demanded what was in justice due to him, it being agreeable to all the laws of equity, that to a brother should succeed a brother,

Confrantius rejects the terms of an accommodation proposed by Magnentius.

Veteranio deposed by the soldiery.

<sup>1</sup> Ammian. I. xvi. p. 64. Socrat. I. i. c. 32. p. 127. <sup>m</sup> Jul. orat. i. p. 77, 78. <sup>n</sup> Th I. iii. c. 1. p. 638. <sup>o</sup> Zonar. p. 14. Themist. orat. iii. iv. p. 42, 56. Jul. orat. ii. p. 55. orat. ii. p. 143. Zos. p. 694. Athan. solit. p. 844.

and not a stranger, much less an open enemy to the whole imperial family P. Tho this speech was levelled against Magnentius alone, yet the soldiers, applying it to Veteranio, cried out aloud, That they acknowledged no other emperor but Constan- f tius, pulled Veteranio down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem; who thereupon threw himself at Constantius's feet, and implored his

mercy. The emperor received him with great kindness, embraced him, styled him

father, entertained him at his table, and afterwards fent him to Prusia in Bitbynia, where he allowed him a maintenance suitable to his quality. This happened, according to some, at Sirmium, according to others, at Naissus, on the twenty-fifth of December 350. Veteranio spent the residue of his life, which was six years, in works

a of piety, in affilting daily at the holy mysteries, in relieving the distressed, &c. without ever intermeddling in affairs of state; nay, he is faid to have written frequently to Constantius, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the fovereignty, and by that means procured him the happiness he

THE following year Magnentius entered upon his first consulship, and took Gaïso for his collegue, rewarding him with that dignity for the murder of Constant; but as neither of them was acknowledged in the countries subject to Constantius, the present year is in all the fasti dated thus, the year after the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus r. Constantius, now matter of all Illyricum, which was held by Veteranio, and b of the army he commanded, confifting of an incredible number of foot, and twenty thousand horse, resolved to march against Magnentius, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the Persians were preparing to invade the eastern provinces, he married his sister Constantina, the widow of Annibalianus, to Gallus his cousin-Gallus marries german, the fon of his uncle Julius Constantius; created him Casar on the fifteenth of Constantina, March; allotted him for his share not only all the east, but Thrace too and Constant- Cariar. tinople; and fent him to Antioch to oppose the Persians, in case of an invasion'. Philostorgius writes, that, before the two princes parted, they took a solemn oath in the presence of Theophilus, and the other bishops then at court, to maintain an invioc lable fidelity to each other. The Persians contented themselves with only making some inroads into the Roman dominions; but were constantly repulsed by Gallus n. These inroads and incursions are the war mentioned by Philostorgius w and Theophanes x, and faid to have been finished with great glory by Gallus Cafar. About the fame time that Gallus was created Cafar by Constantius, Magnentius, who was then at Milan, gave the same title, according to Zonaras, to his brother Decentius, whom he dispatched into Gaul, to defend that country against the barbarians, who had invaded it; for Constantius had not only stirred up the Franks and Saxons to break into that province, by promising to relinquish to them all the places they should reduce, but had fent them large supplies of money and arms for that purpose y. The d barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded Gaul with a mighty army, overthrew The Franks

Decentius in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced and Saxons h-the country to the deplorable condition in which Julian found it as he him full radae Gaul. the country to the deplorable condition in which Julian found it, as he himself relates at length, in the year 3562. In the mean time Magnentius, having affembled a numerous and formidable army, confisting chiefly of Gauls, Franks, and Saxons, left Italy, and croffing the Alps that part it from Noricum, advanced into the plains of Pannonia, where Constantius, whose main strength consisted in cavalry, was waiting for him. Magnentius, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a small distance, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into the extensive plains of Sciscia on the Save, to decide there which of them had the best title to the empire. Constantius e accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards Scifcia; but as they marched in diforder, they fell into an ambuscade, and were put to

flight with great flaughter . Magnentius, puffed up with this fuccess, quickened his march towards Sciscia, without hearkening to the terms proposed to him by Philip in Magnentius Constantius's name, who, dreading the evil consequences of a civil war, offered to rejects all yield to him the prefecture of Gaul; that is, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and to acknow-terms of peace. ledge him emperor, upon condition-that he relinquished Italy. Philip being dismissed, Magnentius attempted to pass the Save in the neighbourhood of Sciscia; but the garifon fallying out, and Constantius, who was at a small distance, hastening with a strong detachment to support them, Magnentius's men were put to slight, and great numbers f of them cut in pieces. But the usurper, notwithstanding this defeat, sent a few days

after one Titianus, a Roman senator, with the character of embassador, to Constantius, advising him, if he tendered his life, to relinquish the empire, and pass the residue of his days in retirement. To this haughty message, and the bitter invectives uttered by Titianus against the great Constantine and his children, which Zosimus himself styles outrageous insults b, Constantius answered with great temper, That he did not doubt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Zonar. p. 14. Socrat. l. ii. c. 28. p. 120. Zos. p. 695. F Buch. cycl. 240. Socrat. l. ii. 29. p. 120. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 1, 3. Philostorg. iv. c. 1. p. 63. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 7, 8. W Philostorg. p. 60. Theoph. p. 3.4. Liban. orat. xii. p. 269. Jul. epift. ad Athen. p. 511, 512. Zos. p. 695. Jul. orat. c. 29. p. 120. 1. iv. c. 1. p. 63. y Liban. orat. xii. p. 269. 2 Jul. i & ii. p. 64, 181. 2 Zos. p. 698.

and levelled with the ground.

but heaven would espouse his cause, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author a While the two armies lay at a small distance from each other, Sylvanus, of whom hereafter, abandoning Magnentius, fled over to Constantius, with a considerable body of cavalry under his command. Magnentius, no-ways disheartened Sciscia taken at his defection, attacked Sciscia; and having taken it by assault, and levelled it by Magnentius, with the ground, he laid waste the whole country lying on the Save, and then sat down before Sirmium, the metropolis of Illyricum; but not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid close siege to Mursa; which obliged Constantius to quit his camp at Cibale, where his father had formerly defeated Licinius, and hasten to the relief of the place. Magnentius, informed of his approach, placed four thoufand Gauls in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when b they found both armies engaged. But Constantius, receiving timely notice of the ambuscade, seized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party

The battle of Murfa.

Magnentius overthrown.

the empire.

was cut off d. After this, Constantius approached Mursa, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain along the Drave or Draw, on which Mursa stood, the river being on his right, and Magnentius's left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the presence of each other till the close of the day, during which time Magnentius, though he professed the christian religion, is said to have sacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood mixed with wine . At length the signal was given, and the two armies advanced against each other with a fury hardly to be expressed. Magnentius's centre, accord- c ing to the account of the emperor Julian f, was, at the first onset, put in disorder by Constantius's left wing and cavalry; which Magnentius, who had drawn them up unskilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no sooner observed, than he abandoned them, and betook himself to a shameful flight. His men, especially the Gauls and barbarians, ashamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken and in the utmost confusion, often rallied in platoons, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of the victorious army, stood their ground till the night was far spent, having no resource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience. Thus the emperor Julian. But Zosimus & and Zonaras h write, that Magnentius did not retire till his army was intirely routed; d and Eutropius, that he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. Zonaras adds, that, to avoid being taken, he turned his horse loose, adorned as he was with the imperial ornaments, that the enemy, imagining the rider to have been flain, might not pursue him. As for the battle, Zonaras tells us, that fortune favoured fometimes one fide, and sometimes the other k; and Zosimus, that the victory was long doubtful; and that Constantius, grieved to see so much blood shed for a few provinces, sent, even in the heat of the combat, deputies to Magnentius, with terms for an accommodation; but that the foldiers and officers of the tyrant, rejecting them with the utmost indignation, fought like men in despair, till the night was far fpent, when they were at length put to flight by Constantius's cavalry, armed capá-pé, and pursued to their camp, which was taken and pillaged 1. Some, savoured by the darkness of the night, made their escape; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces, or pushed into the river, and drowned m. Such was the issue of the memorable battle of Mursa, fought, according to the emperor Julian, about the end of the autumn; but, according to Idatius, on the twenty-eight of September. Zonaras writes, that Magnentius lost on this occasion twenty-four thousand men, and Constantius thirty thousand; which we can hardly believe. However that be, it is certain, that the empire was greatly weakened by this blow, and that the battle of Mursa is generally reckoned by the ancients one of the most dreadful calamities that Mursa fatal to ever happened to Rome o. Most of the officers on both sides were killed, and among f the rest Menelaus, who commanded the Armenian archers under Constantius, and had signalized himself during the engagement in a very eminent manner. He was slain by Romulus the enemy's general, who being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the person who had given him the wound. We are told, that Menelaus was famous for his skill in archery; that he used to shoot three arrows at a time, which did execution in three different places; and that this greatly contri-

e Idem ibid. & Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 88, 181. d Jul. ibid. Ammian. l. xv. p. 44. Zonar. p. 15. os. l. ii. p. 65, 106. Zonar. p. 15. f Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 65, 106. Zos. l. ii. p. 700. Zonar. p. 15. l Idem ibid. k Idem ibid. l Zos. p. 699. m Jul. orat. i. ii. Zos. l. ii. p. 698. h Zonar. p. 15. ldem ibid. p. 67, 110. n Idem, orat. i. p. 69. \* VICT. epit. HIER. chron. EUTROP. &c.

a buted to the victory P. Marcellinus, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, fignalized his courage in the battle, but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river q. Though we are not told in express terms by any writer, that Constantius was in person at the battle of Mursa, yet we can scarce believe what we read in Sulpicius Severus, viz. that not daring to appear in the field, he waited the iffue of the combat in a neighbouring church. As foon as it was day, (for the battle continued almost all night) the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain An inflance of covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies, could not refrain from tears Constantius's at so melancholy a sight, and being more grieved at the slaughter of so many men, b than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the flain to be buried without distinction, and such as were wounded to be attended with care. At the same time he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed for all those who had borne arms against him; those only were excepted who had been concerned in the death of his brother Constants. Magnentius, abandoning Pannonia, fled with the remains of his shattered army into Magnentius Italy, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle: Constantius did not pursue him, because the winter approached, says Julian ", and likewife, without all doubt, because his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and consequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

Constantius's

THE following year, Decentius Casar and Paulus were acknowledged confuls at c Rome, and Constantius the fifth time, with Gallus Casar, at Constantinople. Constantius passed the winter at Sirmium, as appears from the dates of several of his constitutions. By one dated the twenty-fixth of February of this year 352, and addressed to the prefect Rufinus, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making testaments w; whence it is evident, that, till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. Constantius was a great favourer of eunuchs, and intirely governed by them, and his other domestics . Magnentius having, after the battle of Mursa, fortified the passes of the Alps, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at Aquileia, passing his time, if Julian is to be credited y, in feasting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him. But Constantius, as soon as the season Constantius d was proper for action, affembled his troops; and having, without the loss of one paffer the Juliman, surprised and taken a castle on the Alps, in which Magnentius had left a strong garison, advanced in order to force the rest. His sudden approach struck the tyrant with fuch terror, that he immediately abandoned Aquileia, and ordered the troops that guarded the other passes on the Alps to follow him. By this means Constantius, entering Italy without opposition, made himself master of Aquileia, and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to Pavia, where Magnentius gained a confiderable advantage over him; which however did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the Po, Magnentius's men abandoning him in whole troops, and delivering up to the enemy the places they garifoned. This so dishearte ened the tyrant, that in the end he left Italy, and retired with all his forces into Magnentius Gaul L. Zosimus writes, that he abandoned Italy, because he found the city of Rome abandons Italy, greatly attached to Constantius 2; and Socrates, that before he withdrew into Gaul, he and retires came to Rome, and there put a multitude of persons of all ranks to death b. Constantius was master of Rome and Italy before the third of November; for we find a law bearing that date, addressed to the Roman people, wherein the emperor declares void some of the acts of Magnentius. But, not satisfied with driving him from Italy, he fome of the acts of Magnentius. But, not latisfied with uriving nith from trainy, no fent a powerful fleet to seize on Africa and Carthage; which immediately submitted, Africa, Sicily as did soon after Sicily and Spain d. At the same time several cities in Gaul revolted and Spain declare for Confrom the tyrant, and among the rest Treves, the inhabitants of which important stantius.

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P Zos. l. ii. p. 700.

q Julian. orat. ii. p. 106.

r Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 158.

g Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 69, 107.

E Zos. l. ii. p. 700.

Jul. orat. i. p. 69.

" Jul. ibid. w Cod. Jult. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544.

" Vide Baron. ann. 352.

" Jul. ibid. p. 132.

" Idem or. ii. p. 133, 134.

Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 457.

" Zos. l. ii. p. 700.

" Socrat. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127.

" Cod. Theodof. tit. 5. p. 408.

" Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 73, 74, 137.

" Ammian. l. xv. p. 45.
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f place shutting their gates against Decentius Cafar, the tyrant's brother, declared for Constantius, and chose one Pemenes to govern them in his name. Magnentius, apprehending his affairs to be now in a desperate condition, dispatched to Constantius a fenator, and after him some bishops, to treat of a peace, offering to resign the fovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and some honourable employment. But the emperor treated the senator as a spy, and dismissed

The Jewsrewolt; but are leverely punished.

Constantius marries Eusebia.

the bishops, without deigning to return them any answer . Hereupon Magnentius, a perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army in the best manner he could, and dispatched an affassin into the east to murder Gallus Casar, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from Gaul, and march in person to the desence of the eastern provinces, threatened by the Persians. The affaffin had already gained fome of Gallus's guards; but the plot being discovered before it could be put in execution, they were all seized, and executed as traitors g. Some disturbances however happened this year in the east, raised, in all likelihood, and fomented by the emissaries of Magnentius; for in Palestine the Jews took arms, and cutting the throats of the foldiers in the night, fet up one Patricius for their prince; and over-running all Palestine, and the neighbouring places, committed b every-where dreadful disorders, exerting their cruelty chiefly upon the Samaritans. But Gallus, who was then at Antioch, marching against them upon the first news of their revolt, cut great numbers of them in pieces, without sparing either their women or children, laid waste their country, and burnt several of their cities; among the rest Tiberias, Diospolis, and Diocasarea. The last city he razed to the ground, and put all the Jews he found in it to the fword, because the revolt had begun there h. The Jews committed likewise some disorders in Gaul, where they stabbed a man of great distinction, who, after having governed Egypt, had been sent by Constantius into Gaul, and would, in all likelihood, had he not been thus suddenly taken off, prevailed upon the inhabitants to declare for Constantius. His tomb and epitaph were c discovered many ages after in the village of Peyruis on the Durance i. Towards the close of this, or the beginning of the following year 353. Constantius married Eusebia. a native of Thessalonica, the metropolis of Macedon, and the daughter of a consular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chastity, and the extraordinary care she took in educating her children after the death of her husband k. She had two brothers, Eusebius and Hypatius, whom we shall see consuls in 359. The emperor fent for her out of Macedon, married her with great solemnity, loved her to the last more than he had done any of his other wives, (for he had had several) and, to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new diocese, comprehending Bitbynia, and fome other provinces, to which he gave the name of Pietas, or Piety, the import of d Her character. the Greek word Eusebia 1. She is greatly commended by Ammianus m, Zosimus n, and above all by Julian, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357°. for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, skill in polite learning, prudence, &c. Julian was indebted to her both for his life, and the dignity of Cæsar P. She was no sooner invested with power, than she raised to the first employments all her relations, and the friends of her family 9. On the other hand, Victor the younger charges her with not imitating the example of the empress Plotina, who advited her husband Trajan to prefer the interest of his people to that of the exchequer r. Baronius fpeaks of her as a professed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the Arians, probably induced thereunto by what he had read in Athanasius and Theo- e doret, of whom the former fays in general terms, that the Arians were supported by the credit of women; and the latter, that the empress having sent money to Liberius bishop of Rome, to be distributed among the indigent christians, he could not be prevailed upon to accept it, faying, Let the empress employ as her almoners her Arian bishops, Auxentius and Epistetus. Suidas tells us, that Leontius bishop of Tripoli in Lydia, refusing to wait upon the empress, because she had received other bishops with great haughtiness, she sent for him; but he, instead of complying immediately with her message, acquainted her, that he thought himself obliged to avoid appearing before her, unless she promised to receive him with that respect which was due to his character; that is, to descend from her throne, as soon as he f appeared, to meet him near the door; to receive his blessing in an humble posture; and stand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to sit down. The empress, transported with rage, says the historian, at this answer, and swelled with pride, uttered, in the height of her fury, dreadful menaces against the bishop; and complaining to Constantius of his unreasonable pretensions, endeavoured to inspire him

a with her own rage. But the emperor, giving no ear to her complaints, commended the bishop for thus maintaining his facred dignity and character, and defired the empress to retire to her apartment till her anger was allayed a. Both Suidas and Philostorgius w bestow mighty encomiums on Leontius, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he seems to have been, at least, destitute of prudence and difcretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaifance; but neither are they allowed, in admonishing them of their faults, to be wanting to that respect which is due to their high station. Eusebia proved barren; whence, either out of jealousy, or for some reasons of state unknown to us, she obliged her sister-in-law Helena, whom Julian had, by her interest, obtained in marb riage of Constantius, to take a potion, which made her miscarry as often as she proved with child x. Julian married her about the end of the year 355. and this potion was given her, as Ammianus assures us, at Rome in 357. Before that time she had been delivered in Gaul of a fon, the only child the could yet have; but he was difpatched by the midwife, not without private orders from Eusebia, uneasy at Julian's having any iffue. Eufebia was still living in the year 359, but dead fome time before the end of the year 360 y. We are told, that she died of a distemper occasioned by her barrenness; and that her death was hastened by a remedy with which an unskilful woman pretended to remove it z. Constantius was this year, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-fixth of February and fifth of March at Sirmium; on the c eighth of April at Sabaria in Pannonia; on the twenty-seventh of the same month, the thirteenth of May, and the twenty-fourth of June, at Sirmium; on the third of November at Milan; and on the first of December again at Sirmium a.

THE following year, when Constantius was conful the fixth time, and Gallus Casar the second, the war against Magnentius was carried on with more vigour than ever, and happily ended by a third battle, fays Julian b, fought by the emperor's generals in the Cottian Alps, that is, in the Higher Dauphine, near a castle called Mons Seleucus, or Mons Seleuci, which stood between Die and Gap, not far from the place where the present borough of Aspres stands. Magnentius's forces being in this battle likewise Magnentius routed and broken, the tyrant took shelter in Lions; but the few soldiers who attended defeased in

- d him, despairing now of any further success, resolved to purchase the emperor's favour Gaul. by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the present calamitous war; and accordingly furrounded the house where he lodged, to prevent his escape. It was probably on this occasion that Magnentius addressing himself to his men, they, instead of listening to him, cried out with one voice, Long live Constantius Augustus. This at least to us seems more probable than what we read in Socrates and Sozomen , viz. that Magnentius, endeavouring in a fet speech to encourage his men, whose spirits began to fink under their ill fortune, they, forced by a superior impulse, instead of Long live Magnentius Augustus, cried out with one voice, Long live Constantius Augustus. From this miracle, add these two authors, Magnentius concluded, that e his rival was favoured by heaven; and therefore, from that time forward, laying all
- other thoughts aside, studied only how to make his escape. The tyrant, well apprised of the intention of his men, and thereupon transported with rage and despair, first flew with his own hand his mother, his brother Defiderius, whom he had created  $C\alpha far$ , and fuch of his relations and friends as were with him; and then, fixing his fword in a wall, threw himself upon it, to avoid by that means a more shameful Helays violent death, which he well deserved, and had just reason to apprehend, if he fell alive bands on biminto the hands of Constantius f. Such was the deserved end of the tyrant and usurper self. Magnentius, the first, say some writers, who brought a scandal upon christianity, of which he made an outward prosession, by the murder of his lawful sovereign. But f we have shewn pretty plain in the reign of the emperor Philip, that he was the first
  - christian who imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign. All authors agree, that Magnentius died this year 353. about the middle of August, says Socrates, after he had held the supreme power three years, and near seven months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through most of the provinces of the empire s. His brother

w Philostorg, l. vii. c. 6. p. 504. Suid, ibid. \* Ammian, l. xvi. p. 7 20 Chrys. in Philip. hom. 5. p. 144.

\* Zonar, p. 20. Chrys. in Philip. hom. 5. p. 144.

\* Burdigal, itin. p. 39. Itin. 7. D. 544. <sup>12</sup> Suid. λ. p. 20. \*\* Cod. Just. l. vi. it. 22. leg. 5. p. 544.

\*\* Sorat. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127.

\*\* Soz. l. iv. c. 7. p. 544.

\*\* Vict. epit.

\*\* Vict. epit. g VICT. epit. p. 544. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227.

Decentius

fir strangles himself.

Constantius's Cyrists;

From whom hifiorians differ,

And give us feveral instances of his cruelty.

a noted informer, sent into Britain.

His cruelty.

Decentius Cafar, who was marching to his assistance, and had already reached Sens, a hearing of his death, and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy's Decentius Cx- forces, chose rather to strangle himself, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of August. On some of his medals he is styled Augustus; and both on his, and those of Magnentius, mention is made of a victory gained by the two Augusti, and by Casari. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over Constantius at Pavia, as we have related above; after which Magnentius probably gave Decentius the title of emperor. Zonaras writes, that Desiderius was not killed by Magnentius, but dangerously wounded; and that, upon clemency extol. his recovery, he yielded himself up to Constantius k. That author does not tell us led by the pane. what reception he met with; but Julian says in general terms, that Constantius, after b the victory, sheathed his sword, and spared those who were suspected of the greatest crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidents, and fuch as taking upon them to difcharge his embassies, had abused their prince in a most outrageous manner. The writer means, no doubt, Titianus, of whose embassy to Constantius, and insolent behaviour, we have spoken above; as does likewise Themistius, where he tells us, that the emperor having got into his power the person, with whose outrages he had been most affected, he not only forgave him, but requited his invectives with innumerable favours, the sense of which kindness from the hands of a prince whom he had so insolently abused. broke his heart 1. Thus the panegyrists. But historians do not speak so favourably of Constantius; for Zosimus tells us, that, not able to bear his good fortune, he grew c proud, haughty, and imperious m; and Libanius, that those who had served under Magnentius, dreading the feverity of Constantius, and not daring to shew themselves, turned public robbers, and infested the highways, till they were again taken into the fervice by Julian. Ammianus affures us, that the emperor spared none who had, or were suspected to have, rendered the usurper any considerable service; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who sentenced them to death, or seized their estates, and confined them to desert islands, upon the deposition of their known enemies, or persons altogether unworthy of credit; nay, frequently upon bare suspicions, when no one appeared against them o. Many innocent persons, says the same d writer, were put to death, or banished; among the latter he names one Gerontius, who had been honoured by Magnentius with the title of comes or count, and was therefore first racked, by Constantius's order, in a most inhuman manner, and then sent into exile P. As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the most mischievous of that infamous tribe was one Paulus, a Spaniard, who had the character of fecretary, and was nicknamed Catena; that is, Chain, being remarkable for making accusations arise from one another, and linking them together, Panlus Ca'ena, as it were, in a chain. He was fent into Britain, to bring from thence the tribunes and other officers, who had fided with Magnentius; that is, who had obeyed the usurper, when they were not in a condition to oppose him. He discharged this commission with such cruelty and injustice, that Martinus, a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the island, generously interposing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that, unless Paulus altered his measures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to fee the innocent thus tyrannically oppressed, and confounded with the guilty. This Paulus highly resented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and fend him loaded with chains to the emperor. Hereupon Martinus, drawing his sword, attempted to kill the informer; but he, dexterously avoiding the push, received only a slight wound; and the brave Martinus buried his sword in his own breast 4. Notwithstanding the odium which the death of so deserving a man cast upon the reign of Constantius, all those, whom Paulus brought to him, were f stripped of their estates, and either proscribed, banished, or put to death r. The name of Paulus is frequently mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, who relates several instances of his cruelty. Libanius likewise speaks of one Aristophanes, whom that inhuman minister caused to be beaten with balls of lead till he was ready to expire '. The emperor was this year, on the fixth of September, at Lions, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares void all the public acts of the usurper, and promises indem-

<sup>\*</sup> Vict. ibid. Zos. p. 701. Socrat. p. 128. Zonar. p. 16. 1 Berag. p. 48: 16. 1 Themist. orat. vi. p. 80. 205. l. ii. p. 701. 1 Lie 86. 4 Idem, p. 9, 10. Berg, p. 483-485. k Zon. · Ammian. l. xiv. p. 9. I Idem ibid. \* LIBAN. Orat. ix. p. 214.

a nity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting those who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws punished with death. Gothofredus endeavours to explain this law. By another law of this year, the date of which is much disputed, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children, and domestics ". From Lions the emperor removed to Arles, where he passed the winter, and folemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæsar; that is, from the eighth of November 323 w. Some modern writers pretend, that on occasion of this folemnity was erected at Arles the obelifk, which was not long fince discovered there \*. But this is a mere conjecture; for we have no positive proof even of its b having been raised in honour of Constantius. Before the emperor lest Arles, he fummoned a council there, and on that occasion gave many instances of his irreconcileable hatred to the orthodox, whom he had already begun to perfecute, and to the Constantius bishops, who stood up in defence of the faith of the council of Nice, especially to the perfectives the great Athanasius, and the holy bishop Paulinus, who was driven from Treves, and orthodox. tent into exile . Gaul was this year miserably ravaged by the barbarians beyond the Rhine, and the dishanded troops of Magnentius. At Rome the populace rose on account of the scarcity of provisions, and committed great disorders. In Asia the Ijaurian robbers over ran Lycaonia and Pamphylia, and even laid siege to Seleucia, a The Isaurians great and populous city, and the capital of Isauria. Count Castricius defended the over-run several provinces. c place with three legions, fays Ammianus; which shews, that the legions were not at this time near so numerous as formerly, but much the same with our regiments. Gallus Cæfar no sooner received news of the siege of Seleucia, than he dispatched Nibridius, count of the east, to the relief of the place, who obliged the Isaurians to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inaccessible mountains 4. At the fame time the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Mejopotamia; and the Perfians, under the command of Nobadarus, attempted to surprise the city of Batne in the province of Anthemusia on the Euphrates, on occasion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of Indian and Chinese commodities. But the eastern provinces were not fo much haraffed by the barbarians as by Gallus himself, who The extravad commanded there with the title of Casar, and governed more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty-four or twentyfive, his great quality, (for he was the nephew of Constantine, the cousin and brotherin-law of Constantius) some slight advantages obtained over the Jews, Persians and Isaurians, and the flattering panegyrics of Libanius and others, pronounced before him, inspired him with such pride and arrogance, that he became altogether insupportable, and abandoned himself to every act of violence and oppression. He is even faid to have entertained thoughts of revolting from Constantius, and fetting up for himself b. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife Constantina, instead of foftening his favage temper, took pains to encourage him in his cruelty, and to e exasperate him against such as did not yield to her the most slavish submission, being puffed up beyond measure with the thought that she was the daughter and fifter of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of Cæsar. Ammianus styles her the Megæra or fury of her sex, and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition c. Gallus, being thus egged on by his natural cruelty, and the restless and turbulent spirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon His cruelty and bare suspicions; others deprived of their estates, and banished. The prince enter-suspicions temtained an incredible number of informers and spies, who, infinuating themselves into per. all companies, related to Gallus and his wife, and exaggerated, what they had heard of them; and the persons thus accused were, without so much as being heard, hurf ried to execution, or privately dispatched. Gallus himself, in order to make discoveries, used to walk the streets in the night-time in disguise, and to mix with the populace in public-houses; but he did not long continue so shameful a practice, having been often known, by reason the streets of Antiocb, where he resided, were illuminated the whole night with a great number of lights. His suspicious and cruel temper being once discovered, such as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more easy than to destroy the most

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<sup>t</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2, p. 270.
                                                                     " Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 34, 35.
                                                        * P. PAGI, p. 353. Y ZONAR. p. 10.

b Idem, p. 31. Socrat. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Liban. vit. p. 34.
p. 8, 9. Nor. dec. c. 1. p. 78, 79.
p. 10-15. Idem ibid.
P. 10—1, ...

* AMMIAN. p. 1, 3.

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Thalasfus's

imprudent

behaviour.

innocent persons, and procure the confiscation of their estates; for under Gallus it 2 was one and the same thing to be accused or suspected, and condemned. By this means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and slaughter, and no man, fays Ammianus, however free from guilt, was fure to live or enjoy his estate a whole day. Among the many innocent persons, whom Gallus unjustly deprived of their lives, liberty or estates, authors particularly mention one Clematius, a nobleman of Alexandria, who refusing to comply with the lustful desires of his wife's mother, she turning her love into hatred, applied to Constantina, and presenting her with a necklace of great value, obtained a warrant to Honoratus, count of the east, to put him to death, which he did accordingly d. Thalassus, at that time presect of the east, was greatly concerned at the conduct of Gallus; and, had he been a man of b prudence and discretion, might have easily corrected it, and prevented many disorders; but being himself of a haughty and imperious temper, instead of admonishing Gallus of his faults with the respect that was due to his rank, he opposed him with too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughness and ill-nature; and not fatisfied with that, he informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a design Gallus should know he had done it; which, instead of reclaiming him, prompted him to still greater excesses, that he might not seem to yield to his inferior c.

Constantius marches against the Alemans.

THE following year, Constantius was consul the seventh time, and Gallus the third. The emperor, having passed the winter at Arles, went early in the spring to Valence, c with a defign to march against Gondomadus and Vadomorus, two brothers, and both kings of the Alemans, who had made frequent inroads into that part of Gaul, which lay next to their territories. The rendezvous of the troops defigned for this expedition was at Challon, on the Sone, where they began to mutiny for want of provisions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was expected from Aquitaine. Constantius was inclined to send to the mutinous army Rufinus, prefect of Gaul, with a delign, as was supposed, to expose him to the sury of the incensed soldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's side uncle to Gallus, on whose ruin the emperor had already resolved. But Rusinus's friends at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his mind; and Eusebius, Constantius's d great chamberlain, gained over the most mutinous and refractory by distributing money among them underhand. The emperor staid some time at Valence, and there received certain advice of what Gallus had done f; that is, as we conjecture, of the murder of Domitian, of which we shall speak anon. The muting being appealed, and the expected convoys arriving foon after, the army marched chearfully towards Raurucum on the Rhine, a little above the present city of Basle, where the emperor attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the Germans from the other side of the Rhine plied the workmen so warmly with incessant showers of darts and arrows, that the design was laid aside as altogether impracticable. This reduced the emperor to great streights; but while he was at a loss what course to take, a person well acquainted with the country, shewed him a place where the river was fordable. They e were however prevented from croffing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from the enemy's camp to fue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his council, Grants a peace and approbation of the army, readily granted, that he might be at leisure to consult to the Alemans. what measures might be taken with respect to his cousin Gallus Casar, of whose extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he left Gaul, as foon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to Milang. He was on the twenty-second of June at Cesena in Romagna, and on the twenty-first of July at Ravenna; whence he went to Milan, the usual place of his residence, and there paffed the winter. We shall now give a succinct account of the affairs of the east, and the strange conduct of Gallus there, which gave just occasion to the complaints f of the people, and induced the emperor to refolve upon his ruin. What happened there the preceding year, we have related above. In the beginning of the present year, great diffurbances were raised at Antioch, on account of the scarcity of provifions. For Gallus commanding the magistrates to lower the prices, and they reprefenting, that this, instead of mitigating, would increase the evil, he caused some of them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to prison. But Honoratus,

Attempts in vain to lay a

bridge over

the Rhine.

Ammian. L xiv. p. 3. # Idem ibid. p. 23-25. f Idem, p. 23. b Cod. Theodof chren. p. 52.

a who was still count of the east, opposed this wild decree, and, in spite of Gailles, fet the prisoners at liberty'. Some time after, Gallus being to set out for Hieragolis, the people of Antioch befeeching him to give orders before his departure for the conveying of corn to their city from other countries, he answered, that if they were not supplied, it was the fault of Theophilus, governor of Syria. This answer the people Theophilus! remembered, and the price of provisions rising, sour or five mean persons threw governor of themselves upon Theophilus in the circus; and the mob immediately rising, they not doned by Gallus only murdered him, but, transported with rage, dragged his body about the streets; to the rage of a treatment which he no-ways deserved, having discharged his employment with the populated great mildness and integrity. They attempted to treat Eubulus, one of the chief b men in the city, and his son, in the same manner; but they sound means to escape the fury of the populace, who nevertheless burnt their houses k. The death of Theophilus, thus abandoned by Gallus to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one Serenianus, who was univerfally hated by all good men, and had even aspired at the empire, greatly prejudiced Constantius against him. The emperor, however, wrote several obliging letters to him; but at the same time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the west. About this time Thalassus, prefect of the east, dying, Constantius named in his room one Domitian; and in giving him his instructions at his departure, told him, among other things, he had been informed that Gallus was desirous of coming to Italy, and paying him a visit; adding, If c you think it proper, you may conduct him to my presence; but let it be done with all the duty and respect owing to his birth and station. Domitian understood the emperor's meaning; but as he was the fon of a tradefman, he wanted politeness and address to execute his tacit orders, agreeable to the prince's intention. For on his arrival at Antioch, he went directly to the house where the presects lodged, without paying The improdum his respects to Casar, tho' he passed before his palace; and, under colour of being conduct of the indisposed, kept several days at home, informing himself of the conduct of Gallus, preprint and fending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length Gallus fending him word that he should be glad to see him, he went to court; and coming up to the prince, You must go, said he abruptly, to Italy; for such is the emperor's d will and pleasure; which, if you refuse to comply with, I shall stop the necessary appointments for the maintenance of your boushold. Having thus spoken, he withdrew without uttering a single word more, or waiting the prince's answer, who called him hack and stormed after for the him above could never prove him to appear back, and afterwards often fent for him; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. Gallus, highly provoked, and not without reason, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arrest. Montius, or, as others call him, Magnus, then questor, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himself obliged to prevent them, and with great frankness told Gallus, that he ought to pull down the statues of Constantius before he thought of arresting or putting to death a prefect 1. Others say, that e addressing himself to Gallus, he spoke the following words with an air of contempt; The emperor has not thought fit to trust you with the power of creating a single magi-strate, and you talk of putting a present to death ! Gallus, offended at the liberty which the questor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who immediately feizing Montius, and fastening cords to his feet, dragged him to the house of Domitian, whom they threw down stairs, and dragged with Montius though the chief He and Monstreets of Antioch, casting, after many infults, both their bodies into the river ". This tius murdered, bold attempt, in which Constantina is said to have had a great share, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the east, And many at the instigation of Gallus, and his wife Constantina, whose thirst after blood was others. f as great as that of her husband. The reader will find in Ammianus Marcellinus o a detail of these cruel and inhuman executions. It being discovered, that a purple garment was making privately at Tyre, the two Apollinares, father and son, the former governor of Phanicia, and the latter fon-in-law to the prefect Domitian, were by Gallus's orders arrested, as if they aspired at the sovereignty, and, without any farther inquiry, condemned to banishment. But those who conducted them, at some distance from Antioch, pursuant to their private orders, broke their thighs, and then put them to death P. Ursicinus, general of the horse, was obliged to abandon the desence

1 Ammian. l. xiv. p. 25. Liban. vit.
1 Ammian. l. xiv. p. 16, 17. Zonar. p. 16.
2 Philostorg. l. iii. p. 61.
3 Philostorg. l. iii. p. 61.
3 Pocr. l. ii. c. 34.
4 Ammian. p. 17. Zon. p. 17.
4 Ammian. l. xiv. p. 18—23.
5 Pidem, p. 21, 22.

of

Gillus and Urlicinus invited into Italy;

And likewife Conflanting.

Constantina dies on her journey.

of Nisibis, and hasten to Antioch, to preside at the inquiry which the emperor ordered a to be made into this affair; but the other judges being named, and well instructed before-hand by Gallus and Constantina, he could not proceed as he would have otherwise done; for Ammianus Marcellinus, who served under him, speaks every-where of him as a man of an unblemished character. As this commission gave him an opportunity of discovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in the east, and pressed him to redress the many evils which afflicted those provinces 4. Besides the informations the emperor received of Gallus accused Gallus's male-administration and cruelties, he was told, that, not satisfied with the of aspiring at dignity of Casar, he aspired at the sovereignty, and harboured evil designs against the sovereignty. the emperor. This charge was believed by Socrates, and is not denied by Ammi-b anus'. But other writers will have these to have been mere inventions of Dynamus and Picentius, two mean and infamous informers. To them Zosimus adds the prefect Lampridius, a man of great ambition, and the eunuchs of the court, who had a great ascendant over the emperor, especially his chief chamberlain Eusebius. Constantius, giving credit to their accusations, whether true or false, resolved upon the ruin and death of Gallus, tho' his cousin-german and brother-in-law; but lest he should openly revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote a very friendly and obliging letter to Gallus, inviting him to Italy, that he might advise with him on certain affairs of great importance. At the same time he wrote to Ursicinus, at that time magister equitum, or general of the horse in the east, to come with all speed to Milan, in c order to deliberate about the most proper measures that might be taken with respect to the Persians, who were assembling their forces, as was pretended, with a design to invade Syria. This was likewise a pretext, which the emperor made use of to remove Ursicinus, left he should raise disturbances in the east during the absence of Gallus. For the eunuchs and courtiers, dreading the merit and abilities of that worthy man, and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with fuch fears and jealousies, in order to compass his ruin. One Prosper, a comes or count, was sent to fucceed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to remove from him all apprehensions of his being suspected ". Ursicinus, on the receipt of the emperor's letter, fet out immediately, accompanied by Ammianus the historian, and d arrived at Milan much fooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor, who now thought of nothing but getting Gallus into his power. In order to this, besides the above-mentioned letter to Gallus, he wrote several others to Constantina, expressing a great defire to see her, and inviting her to court, with the most tender infinuations imaginable; for he thought that the readiest way to draw Gallus thither. They were both too fensible of their evil conduct not to apprehend the worst from the emperor: however Constantina, who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, hoped by her artful infinuations to difarm his rage; and without any farther deliberation, fet out on her journey, leaving Gallus at Antioch: but she had scarce entered the province of Bithynia, when she was seized with a sever at a place called e Cani Gallicani, of which she died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no farther mention is made in history. Her body was carried to Rome, and buried on the Nomentan way, where stood the church of the martyr Agnes, which she had founded w. Her death threw Gallus into the utmost perplexity; as he had now lost his only advocate with the emperor, he despaired of being able to appeale him; and therefore began to think of affuming the title of Augustus, which he had done, had he met with the least encouragement; but most of his friends deserting him on account of his inconstant temper, and the rest hating him for his cruelty, and dreading the power of Constantius, he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of openly revolting. In the mean time the emperor, with frequent letters, and repeated mel- f fages, importuned him to come with all speed to court. Among the rest, he sent one Scudilo to him, a crafty infinuating man, who by giving him all imaginable Gallus sets out assurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave Antioch, and begin from Antioch. his journey to Italy. He stopt some time at Constantinople, where, like a man who apprehended no danger, he exhibited public shews, and diverted himself and the people with the circensian sports. This consident behaviour increased the emperor's fears and jealousies, who thereupon ordered all the garisons to be removed out of

<sup>\*</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. \* Ammjan. l. xiv. 26. w Ammian. l. xiv. p. 27. Philostorg. p. 62. \* Ammian. l. xiv. p. 1. \* Zos. L ii. p. 701. Ammian, l. xiv. p. 26.

a the ciries and towns through which he was to pass, lest he should debauch them; and at the fame time dispatched several officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him; which they did with fuch strictness, Is carefully that, tho' the Thebean legions encamped in Thrace, upon his arrival at Adrianople, matched by the fent deputies to him, affuring him, that they were ready to stand by him, and affist officers of Confidence of the stantius. him to the utmost of their power, yet, during the twelve days he staid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of speaking with him. In the mean time, he received fresh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haste he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but the officers sent to him by Constantius advising him to leave his court at Adrianople, he set out with b a small retinue for Milan, where the emperor then was; but upon his arrival at Petavium in Noricum, he was there met by Barbatio, who entering the same evening the house where he lodged with a company of soldiers, stript him of all the ensigns Is arrefled at of his dignity, and dispatched one Apodemus with his purple shoes to the emperor, Petavium, and affuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing else was intended enligns of his by the emperor against him; but nevertheless, putting him into a close litter, he dignity. hurried him away to Flanona, now Fianone, in Dalmatia, not far from Pola, where Crispus Casar, the son of Constantine, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor fent his two most inveterate enemies, Eusebius the eunuch, and Pentades his fecretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect Domitian, and c others, and to hear what plea he could make x. Julian y and Libanius z write, that he was condemned without so much as being heard; and truly a prince, who hears only with the ears of his favourites, may be faid not to hear at all. Gallus owned most of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alledged, that they proceeded chiefly from the instigation and evil counsels of his wife Constantina. The emperor, provoked at this plea, which reflected in fo high a measure on his fifter, and confequently on himfelf, and egged on by the enemies of Gallus, perfuading him, that his fatety depended upon the destruction of so dangerous a rival, resolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly figned a warrant for And put to his execution a. Some authors write, that the emperor, foon after, changing his mind, death d countermanded the execution; but that Eusebius, and the other enemies of Gallus, pretended that it came too late b. Be that as it will, it is certain that Gallus was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for the blood of many innocent persons, which he had shed. Thus fell Gallus Cæsar, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, but in great measure to the malice of Eusebius, Scudilo, and Barbario, his avowed enemics, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed c. All those who had been any-ways concerned with him in the death of the prefect Domitian, the questor Montius, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the

\* Ammian l. xxi. p. 178. & l. xiv. p. 27—29. 

\*\* Julian. ad Athen. p. 500. 

\*\* P. 266. \* Ammian. l. xiv. p. 29, & 31. 

\*\* Idem, p. 30. 

\*\* Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31. 

L. xiv. p. 18. l. xv. p. 34. 

\*\* Julian. ad Athen. p. 501. 

\*\* Ammian. l. xv. p. 32, 33. 

\*\* VOL. VI. Nº 4. 

4 F whom

emperor's displeasure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the e east in chains to Aquileia, where they were tried by Eusebius, and one Arbora, men destitute of all mercy and compassion, and on that very account charged by Constantius with that commission. These merciles judges, without making any distinction between the guilty and innocent, sentenced some to the rack, and after that to banishment, others to servile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, sparing none but such as could redeem themselves with large sums. Luscus, the first magistrate of Antioch, was burnt alive. But Gorgonius, Gallus's great chamberlain, the most guilty of all, escaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. Julian, the brother of Gallus, tho' no-ways concerned in his crimes, was kept seven months under close confinement, and would have been put to death, had f he not been faved by the favour of the empress Eusebiad. By the death of Gallus, the Roman empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for the space of near seventy years, that is, from the year 285. or 286. when Dioclesian took. Maximian for his collegue; for ever since that time there had been either feveral emperors, or one Cx/ar. Ammianus observes, that Constantius, swelled with pride upon seeing himself sole master of the empire, assumed the title of eternal, styled himself lord of the universe, and gave ear to the flatteries of his ambitious and infinuating courtiers. As for Ursicinus, general of the horse in the east, of whom we have spoken above, he was accused of having put Gallus upon all the a wrong measures he had taken, in order to render him obnoxious to the people, and make the empire fall to his own children. But Ammianus, his faithful friend, and inseparable companion, assures us, that his only crime was the umbrage which the eunuchs, and other courtiers, took at his great power, and extraordinary abilities. However, after the death of Gallus, it was refolved in a council, which was held privately in the emperor's apartment, that the following night he should be conveyed out of the city, and executed without any farther trial. But the emperor changing his mind, Ursicinus escaped, and Constantius was soon after obliged to have recourse to the valour and address of so brave and experienced a commander, as we shall fee anon d.

THE next confuls were Arbetio and Lollianus. During their administration, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; the one addressed to Volusianus, vicar of Rome, and dated the thirtieth of April, forbidding the marriage of a brother or fifter-in-

cruelly tortured upon bare fuspicions.

defeated.

Sylvanus falfly accused of aspiring at the empire.

law, and declaring the children born of such a marriage illegitimate: the other dated the twenty-third of September, and addressed to one Severus, ordaining bishops to be judged by bishops, and not by the civil magistrates c. In the beginning of this year Constantius summoned a council of bishops at Milan, and banished Liberius, bishop of Rome, into Thrace, because he would not consent to the sentence passed by the council against the great Athanasius f. Before the emperor left Milan, Afri-Africanus and canus, governor of Pannonia Secunda, was brought prisoner to that city, with several c feveral others, others, who, after being tortured in a most cruel manner, were thrown into prison, because they had at an entertainment expressed themselves with great freedom on matters of state; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on some plot, and that Africanus aspired at the sovereignty. A tribune, by name Marinus, who was present at this entertainment, chose rather to lay violent hands on himself at Aquileia, than to endure the torture 8. Ammianus, who relates this, does not tell us in this place what became of Africanus, and the other prisoners; but seems elsewhere to infinuate, that they were all put to death. The emperor foon after left Milan to march against the Germans, who made frequent inroads into the empire towards the Brigantine lake, now the lake of Constance. The emperor himself remained in the plains of the d country now belonging to the Grisons in the neighbourhood of the present city of Coira, and detached Arbetio with the flower of the army against the enemy. Arbetio fell into an ambuscade, and lost great numbers of his men; but this loss was soon retrieved by the valour of Arintheus, who became famous under the emperor Valens, The Germans and of two other officers, who falling upon the Germans, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the Roman terri-The emperor, satisfied with this, returned to Milan, and there took up his winter-quarters. From Milan, he wrote a long letter to the fenate of Constantinople in commendation of the philosopher Themistius, whom he had created senator of that city. Themistius answered this letter soon after by a panegyric on Constantius, wherein e he endeavours to prove, that he was the greatest philosopher in the whole empire k. The emperor's letter, and the oration of Themislius, are still extant. The tranquillity which Constantius enjoyed at this time was soon interrupted by the apprehension of a pretended conspiracy, which produced a true one. Sylvanus, the son of Bonitus, a leading man among the Franks, commanded in Gaul, and had performed there great exploits against the barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, especially of Arbetio, the consul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had proposed him to the emperor as the best qualified person in the empire for driving the barbarians out of Gaul, and restoring that province, distressed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. And truly Sylvanus well deferved f the character which Arbetio gave him; but the conful's main delign in commending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's presence, in order to compass his ruin, which he did in the following manner: One Dynames, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving Gaul, begged of Sylvanus letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor erased all but the subscription; and having inserted directions to the friends of Sylvanus for the carrying on of a conspiracy, delivered the letters to the present Lampridius,

who

d Idem, I. xiv. p. 26, 33, 34.

p. 37.

f Hilar. or. in Conft.

k Ammian. l. xv. p. 34—36.
l. xv. p. 36, 37.

k Themist. or. Conf. p. 18. & or. ii. p. 24—40. Cod. Theodof l. iii, tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. & l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 12.

Ammian. l. xv. p. 34—36.

h Idem, l. xvi. p. 67.

i Idem, 1 Idem ibid.

a who being privy, as was supposed, to this wicked contrivance, shewed them to the emperor. Hereupon orders were immediately issued for the apprehending of fuch persons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of Franks of distinction at court, they all interposed in favour of their countryman; among the rest, Malaricus, their chief, well apprised that the whole was a mere calumny, offered to go into Gaul, and bring the supposed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if persons, whom Sylvanus mistrusted, should be sent for that purpose, he might be prompted by sear to attempt what he was falsy accused of having already attempted. But Constantius, without hearkening to the just and reasonable proposal of Malaricus, was persuaded by Arbetio to name Apodemus, b a declared enemy to all men of probity, to inquire into this affair. He immediately fet out for Gaul; but instead of presenting to Sylvanus as soon as he arived, pursuant to his instructions, the emperor's letter commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he seized on his estate, and caused his friends in Gaul to be apprehended, and put to the torture. This coming to the ears of Sylvanus, who was then at Cologn, and too well acquainted with the emperor's suspicious temper, and the ascendant his enemies at court had over him, to suffer himself to be arrested, he resolved at first to take shelter among the Franks, his countrymen; but being persuaded by his friends not to trust a people so remarkable for their fickleness and treachery, he determined, for his own prefervation, to do what otherwise he would never have thought of; c and accordingly assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor Is forced to by the troops under his command 1. Some of his coins have reached us, on which assume it in his he bears the title of Augustus, and the prænomen of Flavius, common, fince Constan-own defence. tine's time, to such as had none of their own, especially foreigners ". While these things passed in Gaul, Dynames, to strengthen his accusation against Sylvanus, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of Malaricus, to a tribune, desiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himself further. The tribune, being at a loss about the meaning of it, sent it to Malaricus, who knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other Franks, demanded vengeance on those who were by such malicious contrivances endeavouring to prejudice the d emperor against those of their nation. This occasioned an inquiry, and unravelled the whole scene of iniquity. The emperor, well apprised of the innocence of Syl- He is declared vanus, and the malice of his accusers, deposed the presect Lampridius, and even innocent. ordered him, with several other persons of distinction, to be put to the torture, on which some of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were however in the end all absolved, so great was the power of their faction at court; and Dynames was even preferred to the government of Hetruria. As Sylvanus was declared innocent, they were all greatly surprised by the arrival of a messenger from Gaul, dispatched to acquaint the emperor, that Sylvanus had actually assumed the title of emperor. The messenger arrived at Milan about the close of the evening, and the e emperor, thunder-struck at the unexpected tidings, summoned a council the same night, the refult of which was, that Ursicinus, of whom we have spoken above, should be sent forthwith into Gaul, the courtiers, who dreaded Ursicinus no less than Ussicinus sense Sylvanus, hoping by that means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps against him. of both. Ursicinus made what haste he could to reach Cologn, that Sylvanus, suppoling his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions. For Ursicinus was charged with letters from the emperor to Sylvanus, confirming him in his post of general, injoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to Ursicinus, But Ursicinus, notwithstanding the haste he made, came too late, the news of Sylvaf nus's revolt being known at court having got to Cologn before him; which obliged him to change his measures, and pretend, that he had deserted Constantius, and was come to share with Sylvanus his success or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of dispatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatness of soul which Ammianus so much admires in his hero. Sylvanus received him with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness, freely opened all his thoughts to him, advised with him about the measures that were to be taken for their mutual fecurity, and reposed in him an intire confidence; which gave Ursicinus an opportunity of gaining over some of his guards with large promises,

who early one morning forcing unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering a fword in hand, met Sylvanus, while he was attempting to make his escape, and take Sylvanus sain fanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the by the treachery title of emperor only twenty-eight days. Thus fell one of the bravest and most deferving officers of the empire, whom the crafty malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence to assume the purple. He had ferved under Magnentius; but deferting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of Mursa, had ever after distinguished himself in the wars of Constantius, who, in regard of his eminent services, had raised him to the post of magister peditum, or general of the foot. But no merit or services, however great, are a sufficient antidote against the possonous tongues of artful and b infinuating courtiers, when they have once gained the confidence, and engroffed the favour, of a jealous, weak, and timorous prince. Constantius expressed an extraordinary joy at the news of Sylvanus's death; but tho' he owned, that he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour against such as had been any-ways concerned in his revolt. Pemenes, who had defended Treves against Decentius, and many other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of Sylvanus to death, without distinction; but were therein opposed by the emperor, alledging, that friendship ought not to be punished as a crime; nay, he ordered the effects and estate of the unhappy Sylvanus to be referved for his fon, who was then very young, and had been left by his father as c an hostage at court, perceiving, when it was too late, that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted, and in a manner forced him to revolt.

The empire in great danger.

THE barbarians, whom the brave Sylvanus had driven out of Gaul, that is, the Franks, Alemans, and Saxons, no fooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the rest Cologn, which they levelled with the ground P. At the same time the Quadi and Sarmatians, entering Pannonia, laid all waste before them 9; and the Persians over-ran without opposition Mesopotamia and Armenia, Prosper, who had succeeded Ursicinus, and the prefect Mausonianus, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care r. Conflantius, apprifed d of the danger that threatened the empire, but not thinking it adviseable to stir out of Italy himself, after various consultations, resolved in the end to raise his cousin Julian, the brother of Gallus, to the dignity of Casar. This design was opposed by all the fycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct and courage, told him, that he was capable of fulfaining the burden of the empire alone, infinuating at the fame time, that it was no-ways fafe for him to raise Julian to that high station. But the empress Eusebia, interposing in favour of Julian, prevailed upon her husband to pursue his intentions. The emperor therefore, being returned to Milan before the thirty-first of Ostober from a short progress, ordered Julian to quit his philosophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace; and on the e fixth of November having affembled the army, he ascended the tribunal, and placing Julian on his right hand, he acquainted the foldiers with his defign of dignifying his cousin with the title and authority of  $C\alpha far$ , and asked their consent. The army with one voice approved of his resolution; whereupon the emperor cloathed him with a purple robe, faluted him with the title of Cafar, and of most loving brother; appointed him governor of Gaul, and, in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a stout army, not doubting but upon occasion he would fignalize at their head his own courage, and be witness of theirs. This ceremony and speech were followed by loud acclamations, and great encomiums bestowed by the whole army on the emperor and the new Gafar. A few days after \$\xi\$ Constantius gave him his fifter Helena in marriage; and this new favour and mark of distinction was likewise owing to Eusebia, who, besides many other things of great value, presented the young prince on this occasion with a large and well-chosen library'. But at the same time his whole house was changed, the emperor pretending thereby to do him honour; but his real design was to remove all in whom he had any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not so much to defend as to watch him; all his letters were opened before they came to his hands, infomuch that

Iulian created Cælar.

He marries Helena, the emperor's sister.

AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 38-42. Zonar. p. 17. Ammian p. 44. & Julian or. i. & ii. p. 89, 183, 184.
 Ammian ibid. p. 57.
 Ammian p. 47—49. P Ammian. 1. xv. p. 47. 9 Zos. p. 702. r Ammian. ib Zos. 1. iii. p. 709. Julian. ad Athen, p. 504. Socr. 1. ii. c. 34.

a he thought it adviseable to desire his best friends to sorbear visiting him, lest they His tower should expose themselves or him to danger t. Before he set out for Gaul, the emperor gives the emgave him inftructions under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the peror fealoufy. expences of his table, as if he had been a child, fays Ammianus a, fent to school. At the fame time he greatly restrained and curtailed his authority, injoining the generals who ferved under him, to watch his actions with no less care than those of the enemy, and investing one Marcellus with the command of the army who was fent to succeed Ursicinus, tho' the latter was ordered to continue in Gaul, till the war was ended with the title of general, but without any command, the emperor being still in some degree prejudiced against him w. Julian was, above all, strictly injoined not to give any b largesses to the army; and authors observe, that Constantius himself, contrary to cultom, gave none upon his promotion \*. Several writers tell us, that the emperor fent Julian into Gaul on purpose to destroy him y. But what others write seems to us more probable, viz. that he treated him thus on account of his youth, and want of experience, and to deprive him of all means of revolting, and fetting up for himfelf. Julian fet out from Milan on the first of December, the emperor himself accom- He is sens panying him as far as Pavia, from whence he pursued his journey to the Alps, attended into Gaul. only by three hundred and fixty foldiers. On his arrival at Turin, he was first acquainted with the loss of Cologn, which had been kept concealed from the emperor. He arrived at Vienne before the end of the year, and was received by the people e of that city, and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy 1. While he was entering the city, an old woman, who had been long blind, cried out, if Ammianus is to be credited, that he would one day restore the temples of the gods a.

THE following year, 356. Constantius took upon him his eighth consulship, and chose Julian for his collegue. The latter passed the winter at Vienne, deliberating about the operations of the enfuing campaign. During his stay there, he received intelligence, that the city of Autun was belieged by the barbarians, but defended Autun belieged with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulsed the enemy when they were riun; who raise already scaling the walls, which had encouraged the other troops to make a vigor-the siege. ous fally. However Julian, having affembled what forces he could, marched to

d the relief of the place; but finding the siege raised, from Autum he went in pursuit of the barbarians to Auxerre, croffing with no small danger thick woods, and from Auxerre to Troies. On his march he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, killed great numbers of them, and took some prisoners. From Troies he hastened to Rheims, where the main body of the army, commanded by Marcellus, waited his arrival. Leaving Rheims, he took his rout towards Decempagi, now Dieuze, on the Seille in Lorrain, with a delign to fall upon the Germans, who were busied in ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, attacked his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two e legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. The Germans themselves were defeated a few days after, tho' not with great loss, in the neighbourhood of Brocromagus, now Brumt, in Alface, between Strasbourg and Haguenaub. This small victory opened him a way to Cologn, which Cologn rehe found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in taken by Julian, their hands. The barbarians had neglected to fortify it; but Julian ordered the and rebuilt. ancient fortifications to be with all speed repaired, and the houses rebuilt. Libanius adds, that he re-established another great city in that country, perhaps Tongres or Treves, which had been often attacked by the barbarians, and was reduced to a miserable condition. During his stay at Cologn, one of the kings of the Franks, f dreading his arms, sent deputies to him to sue for a peace; but Julian granted him only a short truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of Cologn, he removed to Basle to support the emperor, who was making war upon the Germans in Rhatia, and to prevent their escaping from him into Gaul. He continued there till winter,

\* Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. " Ammian. 1. xx. p. 168. w Idem, l. xvi. p. 60. F EUNAP. c. 5. p. 76. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Sozom. l. v. c. 2. p. 596. \* Ammian. n. or. xii. p. 270. \* Ammian. l. xv. p. 50. b Idem, p. 59. Liban. or. ix. p. 237. Ammian. p. 40. Julian. p. 512. d Ammian. p. 61, 72. l. xxii. p. 206. l. xv. p. 50. LIBAN. or. xii. p. 270. AMMIAN. l. xv. & or. xii. p. 271. AMMIAN. p. 40. JULIAN. p. 512. Vol. VI. Nº 4. have

when he retired to the city of Sens, and there took up his quarters. This campaign proved, according to the account which Ammianus gives us of it, very glorious for Julian. But the many advantages which he is faid to have gained, must either Authors difagree about bis first campaign.

have been less considerable than they are represented by that writer, or counter- a balanced by equal losses, since Julian himself writes, that his first campaign proved unfuccessful, and that during this summer he performed nothing worthy of notice d. Besides, we shall see him the next winter besieged in Sens by the barbarians, and obliged to fly before them, which he himself owns; but Ammianus has passed it over in silence. Libanius says, that the greatest victory he gained this year was over himself, in restraining his courage, and bearing with patience the evil offices of those about him, who, instead of seconding his great designs, made it their whole business to thwart them, in compliance with their private instructions, and to humour the jealous temper of Constantius f. The same writer adds, speaking, we suppose, like an orator, that Julian was allowed not to act, but only to shew himself 8. As b for Constantius, it appears from the dates of several laws, that he did not stir from Milan till after the eleventh of April', and then took a progress into Illyricum. He was returned to Milan on the twenty-ninth of October, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of the city of Rome all their privileges 1. He left Milan soon after to make war upon the Germans, who had for their kings the two brothers Gondomadus and Vadomarus. He passed the Rhine, entered their dominions on the fide of Rhætia, and meeting with no opposition, laid waste their country far and wide. This obliged them to fue for peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then returned to Milan, the usual place of his residence. While the emperor was abroad on this expedition, the empress Eusebia visited the city of Rome, and c was received there by the fenate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her stay in that metropolis, she gave great largesses to the people, and upon her departure made rich presents to the heads of the tribes m. The same year Constantius, exerting his zeal for the doctrine of Arius, drove Athanasius from his see at Alexandria; and put Georgius, an Arian, in his room. He likewise banished the orthodox bishops, Hilarius of Poitiers, and Rhodanes of Toulouse. But as for Athanasius, he persecuted him even beyond the limits of the empire, writing letters against him to the princes of Auximus in Ethiopia, where he imagined the perfecuted bishop had taken shelter. The same year the emperor enacted two remarkable laws, the one, dated the twentieth of February, condemning those to death d who should for the future facrifice, or pay any manner of worship to idols n; the other, dated the eighth of March, declaring the effects of condemned persons, except in cases of magic or treason, to belong to their children and relations within the third degree . But this law the emperor himself revoked two years after P.

pain of death, the worshipping

of idols.

Conftantius

ooliges the

Germans to

fue for peace.

THE next confuls were, Constantius the ninth time, and Julian the second. The latter had taken up his winter-quarters at Sens, as we have related above, and had kept with him but a small number of troops, the rest being dispersed about the country for the convenience of their quarters in a province so often ravaged and Julian besieged laid waste. The barbarians, apprised of this, came in great numbers, and laid siege to the place, hoping to take Julian himself prisoner. But he, with the few forces e he had, made fo vigorous a defence, that the enemy, despairing of ever being able to reduce the town, drew off their forces, and retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while Marcellus, the commander in chief, never stirred to rescue Julian, or relieve the place, tho' he was quartered in the neighbourhood q. Ammianus tells us, that for this neglect he was by the emperor deprived of his command, and confined to Sardica, the place of his nativity r. But Julian fays only, that Constantius began to suspect him, and look upon him as unequal to the command with which he was invested. Libanius writes, that he dreaded the barbarians, oppressed the subjects of the empire, treated Julian himself with great haughtiness, thwarted all his designs, and upon his removal repaired to Milan to discredit him f with the emperor. But Julian, well acquainted with the malice of the one, and the jealoufy and credulity of the other, fent the eunuch Eutherius, his great chamberlain, to answer such things as might be alledged against him; which he did so effectually, that the emperor remained fully satisfied with the conduct of Julian'. Ammian bestows great encomiums upon this eunuch. Not long after Constantius declared

Julian

d Julian. 2d Athen. p. 510.

\*\* Idem ibid.

\*\* Liban. or. ix. p. 237.

\*\* Idem, or. xii. p. 271.

\*\* Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 13. p. 39.

1 Ammian. l. xvi. p. 77, &c.

1 Julian. or. iii. p. 240.

\*\* Mulian. or. iii. p. 240, m Julian. or. iii. p. 240, 241.

\*\* Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 13. p. 39.

1 Liban. or. iii. p. 240, 241.

\*\* Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 2. p. 329.

\*\* Ibid. leg. 4. p. 331.

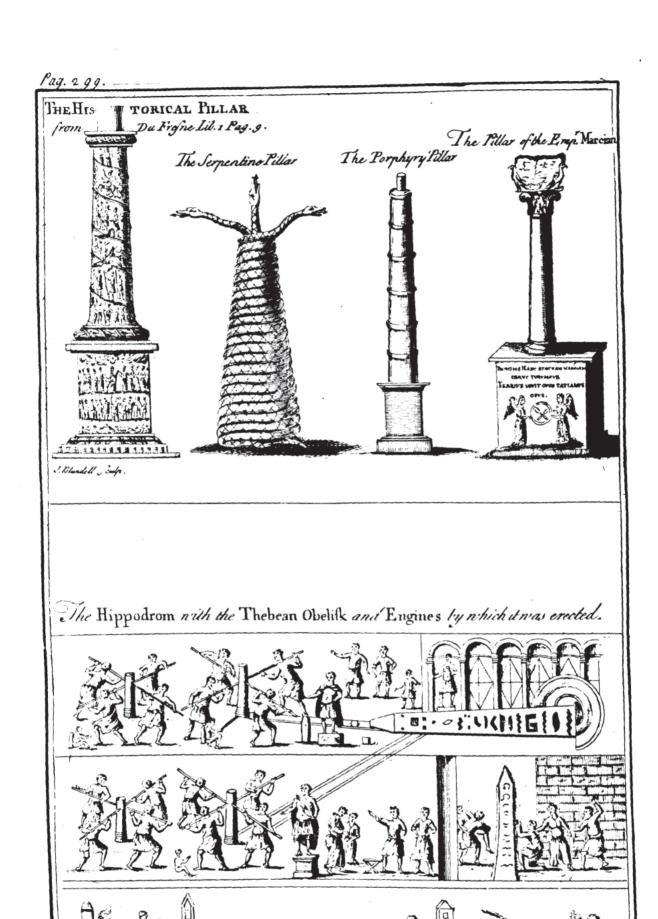
\*\* Ammian. p. 61.

\*\* Ammian. p. 64, 66.

\*\* Julian. p. 511.

\*\* Ammian. p. 64, 65.

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a Julian commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul, being persuaded to it either by He is created the empress, or the eunuch Eutherius, or probably by both ". At the same time he commander in chief of all the appointed Severus, an officer of great experience, and of a quite different temper forces in Gaui. from Marcellus, to command under him. Upon his arrival in Gaul, Julian, who -received him with great joy, raised new troops, and supplied them with arms, which he luckily found in an old arfenal ". This year Constantius sentenced to death a great many persons convicted of having consulted the magicians, and published a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourse to the augurs, aruspices, or any other diviners whatsoever \*. By another law, dated the fourth of December, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beafts. This year the emperor b took a progress to Rome, which he had never yet seen, with the empress Eusebia, Constantius and his fifter Helena, the wife of Julian. He entered the metropolis of the empire takes a progress on the twenty-eighth of April, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number to Rome. of precious stones, being attended by the senate, and the whole nobility, who came out in their robes, and richest apparel, to meet him. The reader will find a very particular account of his triumphal entry in Ammianus, who describes it at length 1. He was wonderfully taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, with Is taken with the multitude of the people, with the loftiness of the buildings; but chiefly admired the grandeur the temple of Jupiter Tarpeius, the public baths, the amphitheatre, Pompey's theatre, cence of the and the square of Trajan. He is said to have complained of same, far exceeding city. c truth in other things, but coming short of it in what related to Rome. He harangued both the people and the senate, the former from the rostra, and the latter in the senate-house. He is thought to have celebrated in that great metropolis the thirty-fifth year of his reign, reckoning from 323. when he was created Cæsar; and it was perhaps on occasion of that solemnity that he ordered public sports to be exhibited, not only in Rome, but in all the other cities of Italy . During his stay at Rome, he was presented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by several cities, and among the rest by the city of Constantinople, which had appointed Themistius to present it; but he falling fick, the discourse, which he had composed for the occasion, was sent to the emperor, who was so well pleased with it, that he ordered d a statue to be erected in honour of the orator; which prompted him to write a second, discourse or panegyric b. The emperor, desiring to add something of his own to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for the conveying of an obelisk thither, which had been removed by his father Constantine from Heliopolis in Egypt with that defign, and had been carried as far as Alexandria. But that prince dying in the mean time, it still remained there. Constantius therefore ordered it to be brought to Rome, where it was with much difficulty set up in the Circus Maximus about the beginning of the following year c. This is the obelisk which was erected in Rome in the pontificate of Sixtus V d. Constantius would not enter the place, where the senate assembled, till the ancient altar of victory was removed from thence, lest he should defile his e eyes, says St. Ambrose e, with the unhallowed sight of an altar consecrated to the infernal spirits. He was greatly taken with the pleasures and diversions of Rome, fays Ammianus f; but was foon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the Suevians had entered Rhatia, the Quadians, Valeria, and the Sarmatians Lower Pannonia, and Upper Masia. He therefore left Rome on the twenty-ninth of May, after he had been there about a month, and was at Milan, if no mistake has crept into He returns to the code, on the third of June, and likewise on the thirteenth of July 8; whence Milan. we may conclude, that the barbarians withdrew of their own accord. While Constantius was at Milan, he received letters from Mausonianus, prefect of the east, informing him, that Saper, king of Persia, was engaged on the most remote f frontiers of his kingdom in a mighty war with the Chionitæ, and other people; that he had suffered great losses, and consequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the Romans, which Mausonianus had taken care to propose to Tamsapor, the Persian general on the frontiers of Mesopotamia, who had written on that subject to his master. These negotiations came to nothing, as will appear anon. However the emperor sent for Ursicinus, who was still in Gaal, Ursicinus rein order to advise with him about the most proper method of dealing with the Per- called from Gaul, and sont

into the east.

\* Cod. Theodof. ix. tit. 16. \* AMMIAN. ibid. l. iv. p. 119.

Themist. or. iv. p. 53-57.

D. 106.

Ammian. p. 72. Ambros. rel. fym.

sians.

fians. In the mean time Constantius, leaving Milan about the middle of July, went a to Trent, and from thence into Illyricum, visited the frontiers of the empire towards the Danube, and conferred with the chiefs of the Quadians, and other neighbouring nations, who affured him of their friendship. Ursicinus found him at Sirmium, and was, after feveral conferences, fent by him into the east, with the character of general, and the same power with which he had been invested before his difgrace. The emperor was at Milan on the fourth and fixth of December; but returned to Sirmium before the eighteenth of December, and, according to Ammianus, passed the winter

Barbatio fent

The Germans attack Lions by Julian.

deavours to thwart his de-

flight by the barbarians.

To return to Gaul: The emperor, refolved by all means to put an end to the dreadful devaltations committed there chiefly by the Alemans, wrote to Julian, to b march with all his forces against them, and at the same time sent Barbatio, who had been created general of the foot in the room of Sylvanus, out of Italy, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, in order to surprise and inclose the enemy between the two armies. Barbatio was generally esteemed a good officer 1; but all his bravery consisted, according to Ammianus m, only in words. He had betrayed Gallus, under whom he served, and studied how to check the progress of Julian; who no sooner heard of his arrival at Basle, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen thousand men: but the Leti, a German nation, passing between the two armies, advanced as far as Lions, with a defign to furprise and pillage that wealthy city. As are cut in pieces they met with a warmer reception from the inhabitants than they expected, they gave c over all thoughts of taking the place, and contented themselves with ravaging the country all round it. Julian, upon the first notice of what had happened, detached strong parties to guard the passes, through which he knew they must return; by this means they were all cut off, except those who marched near the camp of Barbatio, who was so far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by a letter to Constantius of some officers for attempting it, who thereupon ordered them to be cashiered. One of these was Valentinian, afterwards emperor n. The other barbarians either fortified themselves in the countries which they had seized, stopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took shelter in the islands formed by the Rhine. Julian resolved, first to attack the latter, and with this view fent to demand some boats of Barbatio, who, d instead of complying with his just request, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did on another occasion the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had plentifully supplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of pique to Julian, or in compliance with private instructions from the emperor to thwart all his enterprizes o. Be that as it will, Julian, not in the least ruffled or difheartened at the unaccountable conduct of Barbatio, perfuaded fome of the most resolute among his men to wade over to one of the islands, where they killed all the, Germans who had taken shelter there; and seizing their boats, pursued the saughter in several other islands, till the enemy, abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their respective countries P. After this, e Julian rebuilds he undertook the rebuilding of the Tres-taberna, a fort near Strasbourgh in Alface, now known by the name of Saverne, which the enemy had demolished. As it was so fituated as to curb the nations beyond the Rbine, and prevent their irruptions into Gaul, Julian not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works to them, stored the place with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garison in it, to keep the neighbouring country in awe q. While Julian was busied in this work, Barbatio was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the Rhine: but the enemy, apprifed of this, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which, being carried by the stream against the boats, sunk several of them, and parted the Barbatio put to rest. Barbatio, seeing his work ruined, thought it adviseable to retire; but the f enemy falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Hereupon Barbatio, putting his troops into winterquarters, as if the campaign had been over, tho' it was then but harvest-time, returned to court, to make war there upon Julian with his calumnies and ill offices r. The barbarians, elated with this fuccess, assembled in great numbers, under the banners

> h Ammian, ibid. p. 72. Julian, ad Athen. p. 513. 1 Cod. Theod. p. 57. k Ammian, l. xvii. p. 103. 1 Liban, orat, xii. p. 272. m Ammian, p. 73. 1 Idem ibid. 1 Idem, p. 73, 74. P Idem ibid. 8 Liban, orat, xii. p. 273. 1 Julian, p. 512. Liban, p. 273. 1 Ammian. P. 75.

a of Chnodomarius, a prince of great renown among them, and of fix other kings, and

encamped in the neighbourhood of Strasbourgh, Being informed there by a deferter, that Julian had only thirteen thousand men with him, Chnodomarius sent him a haughty and menacing message, commanding him to abandon forthwith the country which the Germans had conquered by their courage and valours. Libanius adds, that the messenger produced to him the letters of Constantius, promising to relinquish to them what countries or cities they should seize in Gaul. By such promises Constantius is supposed to have stirred them up against the tyrant Magnentius. But Julian, paying no regard to them, detained the messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun at Saverne, till he received intelligence, that the enemy were b advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, leaving Saverne, he marched Julian marches directly against them. When he was about half way, he halted, with a design to against them. rest his men, and put off the battle to the next day; but both officers and soldiers demanding to be led without delay against the enemy, he pursued his march, and found the Germans, who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and many other lords of great distinction. Both armies engaged with great resolution The bastle of Argentorstun and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful; the Roman cavalry even or Strasbourg. gave way, nor could Julian, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to rally, and return to the charge: but the vigorous relistance made by the foot, so disheartened c the enemy, that, after having attempted several times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuolity; which the Romans perceiving, they made a last effort; and charging the barbarians, already quite spent, put them to slight, The Germans and purfued them with great flaughter. Great numbers of them threw themselves intirely defeat. into the Rhine, which was in their rear, and were drowned. Chnodomarius himself ed. was taken in a wood, and presented to Julian in the sight of the whole army, who thereupon saluted him with the title of Augustus; which he rejected with great indignation, telling his soldiers, That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to Constantius, under whose auspices they had fought ". He lost in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the Germans six, or, d as others will have it, eight thouland men were killed in the field; but a great number of dead bodies were seen floating on the river w. Zosimus writes, that sixty thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot, and an equal number drowned; but he must have been missed by bad memoirs, which makes us question the truth of what he adds, viz. that, after the battle, Juian obliged fix hundred of his horsemen, who had fled, to appear before the whole army in the apparel of women x. battle of Strasbourgh is famous in history. Julian himself styles it a successful action, which restored Gaul to its ancient liberty. Mamertinus says, that, by this single battle, the war was ended, and Germany ruined z. It is at least certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of Gaul. This memorable battle was fought in e the plains near Strasbourgh, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the last quarter. Julian ascribed the whole glory of it to Constantius, and immediately sent his royal captive Chnodomarius to him, whom he had treated with great respect, looking upon him as an instance of the instability of all human grandeur. Constantius sent him to Rome, where he died soon after a natural death b. This victory was greatly lessened by the sycophants at court, and all the other actions of Julian turned into ridicule; which however was less prejudicial to him, than if they had extolled and magnified his exploits to a suspicious, weak and timorous prince. Constantius was Constantius not ashamed to ascribe the whole glory of this great action to himself, as appears from assume to himself as edict published about this time, wherein he speaks of himself as if he had sought glory of this f at the head of his army, without so much as mentioning the name of Julian. Au- action. relius Villor, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, speaks in the same strain d; and Themistius, in magnifying his victories over the Germans, and the valour with which he delivered Gaul from their intoads, and restrained them within their ancient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himself had sent to the senate of Constantino: le e. Julian's first care, after the battle, was to cause all the dead to be buried, without diffinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he

<sup>\*</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 75, 76.

p. 237. Julian. ad Athen. p. 512.

p. 160.

\* Panegyr. xi. p. 223.

\* Ammian. l. xvi. p. 78.

l. xvi. p. 86.

\* Aur. Vict. p. 528.

\* Themist. or. p.

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N° 4. AMMIAN. p. 84, 85. LIBAN. orat. x. \* Zos. l. iii. p. 704. 7 Am B. b Idem, l. xvii. p. 103. \* THEMIST. Or. p. 57. returned

returned to Saverne, to finish the works begun there, and then advanced with all a his army to Mayence, where he built a bridge over the river, and entered Germany, having with much-ado prevailed upon his army to follow him. The Germans, alarmed at the boldness of the young general, sent deputies to sue for peace, and almost at the same time others to threaten him and his army with immediate destruction, if they did not forthwith retire; but the brave commander, despiting their menaces, continued ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the fnow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of Trajan, which ome take to be the castle of Cromburgh, about three or sour leagues from Francfort. This undertaking alarmed the enemy to fuch a degree, that they fent new deputies o sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted b them for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort which was building in their country, in order to curb and awe them f. After this, he returned to Gaul with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that fome Franks, having ravaged the country about Rheims during his absence, had thut themselves up in two castles on the Meuse, he marched against them, and obliged them to furrender, after they had defended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; that is, the greatest part of December, and all February. The prisoners were all fent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. Julian, having thus ended this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in Paris, which we find about this time first c mentioned in history. It was then only a castle situated on the island formed by the Seyne, which is now but a very small part of that great metropolis 8. This year the some laws of emperor enacted a law, dated the third of July, commanding the effects of those to be confiscated, who should renounce the Christian to embrace the Jewish religion; by another he obliges all senators to reside at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, many of them having retired from that metropolis, and fettled in Achaia, Macedon, and the other provinces of Illyricum, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at Rome. By a third, addressed to Felix bishop of Rome, he exempts all merchandizing ecclefiaftics, their wives, children, and domestics, from every imposition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, supposing the gains they made to be applied by d them to the relief of the poor.

Some Franks to furrender, and fends them to the emperor.

Julian obliges

Constantius.

THE next confuls were Cerealis, uncle to Gallus Cafar on the mother's side, and Datianus, who, though of a mean descent, bore the title of comes in 349. and was afterwards raised to the rank of a patrician h. We have observed above, that the Persian general Tamsapor had been persuaded by Musonianus, presect of the east, to write to his master about renewing the ancient treaties with the Romans; but as Sapor had not only concluded a peace with the Chionita, but entered into an alliance with them before Tamsapor's letters came to his hands, in answer to the proposals trans-Embassies from mitted to him by that general, he wrote a haughty letter to Constantius, which he Sapor to Confent by one Narses, with presents for the emperor. The contents of the letter were, e from Constantius to Sapor. beyond the river Strymon in Macedon; but lest his demands should seem unreasonable, he would be satisfied with Armenia and Mesopotamia, which, with the utmost injustice, had been taken from his grandfather Narses. He added, that, unless they were restored, he was determined to do himself justice, and try whether he could recover them by force of arms. In this letter Safor styled himself king of kings, brother of the fun and moon, &c. Narses, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at Antioch about the end of the preceding year, where Themistius faw him; and, after having rested some time there, pursued his journey to Constantino; le, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of February of the prefent year 358. From 1 Constantinople he repaired to Sirmium, where the emperor then was, and, in a public audience, presented to him Sapor's letter, wrapped up in a piece of white silk. Conflantius, without entering into any negotiation with him, wrote back to Sapor, that as he had maintained the Roman dominions in their full extent while he was possessed only of the east, he could not fuffer them to be curtailed now that he was master of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and defirous to conclude a peace with the Persian monarch, provided it were upon honourable terms. With this letter

f Ammian, p. 88. Liban, orat, xii, p. 277. c. 8. p. 113. Cod. Theod, tit. 4. p. 8. ■ AMMIAN. p. 240. in fol. h PHILOSTORG. I. VIII.

a he dismissed Narses; but a few days after sent a solemn embassy into Persia, with letters and presents for the king, being desirous at least to put off the war till he had fecured the northern provinces against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire against so powerful and formidable an enemy. The Roman embastadors found Sapor at Ctefiphon; but not being able to prevail upon him to abate any thing of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of August. Count Lucillianus, and Procopius, who usurped the sovereignty in the reign of Valens, were fent to the Persian court soon after, to amuse that warlike prince with new proposals; but he, instead of hearkening to them, kept the embassadors some time under close confinement, threatening to treat them as spies, but in the end b dismissed them unhurt i. While the emperor resided at Sirmium, the Quadi and Sar- The Quadi and matians broke into Pannonia and Masia; and the Juthunges, a German nation, into Sarmatians The latter were defeated and driven back by Barbatio; but the emperor Constantius. marched in person against the former soon after the vernal equinox; and having crossed the Danube on a bridge of boats, laid waste the territories of the Sarmatians, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the Quadi, pretending to fue for peace; but their true design was to surprise the Romans, who, suspecting it, fell upon them sword in hand, and cut them all to a man in pieces. This obliged the rest to sue for peace in good earnest; which they obtained, upon their fetting at liberty the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages k. The emperor then marched against c the Limigantes, that is, those slaves, who, in 334. had driven the Sarmatians out of their country, and seized it for themselves, as we have related elsewhere. They too had made frequent inroads into the Roman territories; but, upon the approach of the army, came in great numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to submit; but prepared to fall upon him unexpectedly, if an opportunity offered. The emperor, observing their surly looks, and distrusting them, ascended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleasure. While he was speaking to them, his troops, pursuant to their private orders, insensibly surrounded them on all sides. When the emperor had done, the Limigantes, diffatisfied with the conditions he had offered them, laid their hands on d their swords; which being observed by the Romans, who watched all their motions, they fell upon them at once, and began the slaughter. The Limigantes, finding it impossible to make their escape, made with great fury towards the tribunal; but were repulfed by the guards forming themfelves into the shape of a wedge, and all to a man cut in pieces, not one of them deigning to ask quarter. After this, the Romans entering their country on one fide, and the Sarmatians, their ancient masters, with the Taifales, on the other, and destroying all with fire and sword, they were obliged in the end to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them, The Limiganwhich was, to quit their country, and remove to a more distant place, that they tes driven out might not be tempted to infest the empire anew. Constantius restored the country to country restored e the Sarmatians, its ancient owners, twenty-four years after they had been driven to the Sarmafrom it; appointed one of their nation, by name Zizais, to rule over them with the tians. title of king, and declared them a free people 1. For these exploits the army faluted Constantius with the surname of Sarmaticus, who soon after, that is, about the end of Ollober, returned to Sirmium, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters m.

In the mean time Julian, having spent the first months of this year at Paris, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, so as to find the necessary supplies, without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhausted, took the field as soon as the season was fit for action, with a design to conquer the Franks, f before the truce which he had granted to the Alemans was expired. The Franks were at this time divided into several tribes or clans; but the most powerful among them was that of the Salii, who being driven by the Saxons, according to Zosimus a, from the lands they possessed in Germany, had settled in Batavia; that is, in the islands formed by the several branches of the Rhine, and in Toxandria, which country began, according to the best modern geographers, about a league from Mastricht, and extended about twenty-five leagues along the Meuse, where stand at present the cities of Boisseduc, Breda, and Antwerp o. Against these Franks Julian marched first,

<sup>1</sup> Ammian l. xvi. p. 68. & l. xvii. p. 94. Themist. orat. iv. p. 57. Zonar- p. 17. Petr. legat. p. 28. Ammian l. xvii. p. 103, 104. 

1 Idem, p. 106—112. 

1 Idem ibid. 

2 Zos. l. iii. p. 707. k Ammian.l. xvii. p. 103, 104. Notit. Gall. p. 558.

Julian over-

He obliges the Alemans to fue for peace.

Nicomedia over: urned by an earthquake.

gurs, &c.

and was already arrived at Tongres, when he met their deputies on their journey to a Paris, where they supposed they should find him. They had been sent to beg he would suffer them to remain as friends in the country which they possessed. Julian, upon some difficulties which he started, sent them back for more particular instructions. They imagined, that he designed to wait their return at Tongres; but they were no fooner gone, than he followed them; and having entered their country, and obliged them to submit, he allotted them lands in Gaul, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry P. He then marched against the Chamavi, another And the Chanation of Franks, who had fettled in Gaul; and having overcome them in battle, and taken many of them prisoners, he obliged them to retire beyond the Rhine; whence they fent deputies to fue for peace, which he granted them upon fuch terms b as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus reduced the Salii and Chamavi, he rebuilt three forts on the Meule, which the barbarians had demolished; but wanting provifions in a country so often ravaged by the enemy, to store them, to supply his army, and to maintain the many captives, whom he had obliged the enemy to fet at liberty, he ordered six, or eight hundred vessels as we read in Zosimus, to be built in Britain, for the conveying of corn from thence into Gaul. Julian continued in the country of the Chamavi, till the truce he had granted to the Alemans was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the Rbine, he entered their country, putting all to fire and sword. Hereupon two of their kings, Suomarius and Hortarius, came in person to him, and obtained a peace, upon their promising to set at liberty all the captives c they had taken, to supply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furnish wood, iron and carriages for the repairing of the cities which they had ruined. The prisoners, whom he rescued out of the hands of the barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thousand, and upwards 9. The campaign being thus ended, he put his troops into winter-quarters; but we are not told where he took up his own. This year, on the twenty-fourth of August, about six in the morning, a most dreadful earthquake was felt in Asia, Pontus, and Macedon, which greatly damaged an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of Nicomedia, where it was fo fudden and violent, that all the houses were overturned at once, and the inhabitants to a man buried in the ruins. This calamity is described at length by Ammianus, d by Gregory of Nyssa', Ephrem of Edessa, who wrote an elegy on that subject, and Libanius, who bemoaned in an oration the destruction of a city, which he styles the fifth of the empire for greatness, and inferior to none in beauty ". When Julian passed that way in 362. he could not refrain his tears, in comparing the condition it was in then, with that in which he had formerly feen it w. Aristenetus, who resided there in quality of vicar; Cecrops bishop of the place, and another bishop, perished with the rest; but not in the church, nor with many bishops, as the pagans gave out, to infult the christians x. The church, which was a magnificent structure, and had been built by Constantine about the year 330. underwent the same fate with the A law against other edifices y. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the thirteenth of July, e magicians, au- and addressed to Taurus prefect of Italy, declaring all magicians, astrologers, augurs, aruspices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind; and such of them as shall be found in the prince's court, guilty of treason, as giving the world occasion to believe, that he suffers or countenances them. By the same law he orders the latter, whether discovered in his own palace, or in that of Julian, to be put to the rack, if they deny the charge, and specifies the various kinds of tortures which he will have them to undergo, without any regard to their rank or quality 2. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor meant to drive these impostors from the court of Julian, who was suspected of privately favouring them, and giving credit to their predictions 1. THE following year 359. the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius were confuls,

being raised to that dignity by the empress Eusebia their sister b. Ammianus begins his history of this year with the exploits of Julian in Gaul, where he was busied in erecting magazines, in visiting the cities which had suffered most by the inroads of the barbarians, and giving proper orders for the rebuilding of their walls, and repair-

P AMMIAN. p. 99. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 514. 
9 JUL. ibid. Ammian. p. 102. Liban. orat. xii, p. 280. Zos. p. 70.

F AMMIAN. p. 97. 
GREG. Nyss. p. 75. 
Marc. chron. p. 66. 
Liban. orat. viii. p. 203. 
W AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 219. 
Soz. l. iv. c. 16. p. 559. 
P Philost. l. viii. p. 204. 
Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125. 
Vide Baron. ad ann. 358. Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113.

a ing their fortifications. After this, he affembled all his forces at Mentz, and passing the Rhine on a bridge of boats, entered Germany, and advanced as far as a place or country called Pallas, where the territories of the Alemans and Burgundians ended, pillaging and laying waste their country far and wide. There he was met by two Julian obliges kings, Macrianus and Hariobaudus, who were brothers, come in person to submit to several Ger-Julian, who granted them a peace, as he did soon after to three other kings, Urias, man nations to Ursicinus, and Vestralpus, upon their promising to deliver up all the prisoners they had taken, and to furnish a certain quantity of corn when required. After this, Julian lest Germany, and, as the season was already far advanced, he put his troops into winter quarters, and retired himself to Paris. To return to Constantius: That prince, b having intercepted a letter to Barbatio from his wife Affyria, giving him some hopes of being raised one day to the sovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many Barbatio and innocent persons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their several others designs. A tribune, by name Valentine, was several times racked in a most inhuman executed. manner; but, as he constantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced in the end of his innocence, to make him fome amends, gave him the command of the troops in Illyricum d. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence, that The treachery the Limigantes, quitting the country in which they had been placed by him the pre- of the Limiceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire. Hereupon, leav-gantes. ing Sirmium early in the spring, he hastened to the banks of the Danube, to prevent c them from croffing that river, and invading Pannonia. Upon his arrival he fent deputies to them, desiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted to them. The Limigantes answered in appearance with the greatest submission imaginable, that they were willing to live as true subjects of the empire, in what part soever the emperor should think fit to place them; but that the country which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonstrate, if the emperor would give them leave to cross the river, and lay their complaints before him. Constantius, pleased with their proposal, granted them their request, and received them in the neighbourhood of Acumincum, which most geographers take to be the present town of Kamanez on the Danube, near Peterwaradin, in d the territory of Sirmium. But while he was afcending his tribunal, they unexpectedly fell upon his guards fword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himself, had he not with much-ado saved himself by flight. Several of his guards were slain; but in the mean time the rest of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, surrounded They are all sus the Limigantes, and cut them all to a man in pieces. Constantius then returned to off. Sirmium, where he was on the twenty-second of May, this year the eve of Pentecost; but foon after fet out from thence for Constantinople, for he was on the eighteenth of June at Singidunum in Masia f. He passed the remaining part of this year at Constantinople, ready to march, upon the first advice, against the Persians. During his stay in that metropolis, he distinguished it with a presect or governor; an honour till this e time peculiar to Rome. The first prefect of Constantinople was one Honoratus, invested with that dignity on the eleventh of December, according to Idatius, or of September, as we read in the chronicle of Alexandria. He had before been prefect of Gaul s. This year the emperor dispatched into the east the secretary Paulus Catena, famous for his cruelty, to profecute several persons accused of having consulted the oracle of an idol named Besa in the city of Abydus, on the most distant borders of Egypt. Modestus, then count of the east, and afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, Hermogenes, who had succeeded Musonianus in the office of presect, being thought unfit for that commission, on account of his mild and compassionate temper. Medestus established his tribunal at Scythopolis in Palestine, whither persons of both sexes, and f of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crowds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a most cruel and barbarous manner on the Several persons rack, or publicly executed. Ammianus gives us a most frightful idea of this, as we may condemned for call it, inquisition; but at the same time owns, that several persons were cleared, and consulting an others punished with far less severity than was expected. Parnasus, who had been governor of Egypt, was condemned to lose his head, for having consulted an astrologer, by means of one Aristophanes; but Modestus softened the rigour of that sentence, and only sent him into banishment; as he did Simplicius the son of Philippus, who had

\* Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113. & l. xx. p. 154. 

\* Idem, l. xviii. p. 118. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Cod. heod. chronol. p. 59. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Socrat. l. ii. c. 37. p. 139. 

\* Soz. l. iv. c. 23. 

Chron. Alex. Theod. chronol. p. 59. 5 Idem ibid. p. 682. 6 Ammian. l. xix. p. 150, 151. Vol. VI. No 4. been

been prefect, and consul in 348. though accused of aspiring at the empire. The latter was only banished from his own country; nor would Modestus suffer him to be racked, though he had positive orders for it from the emperor. As for Aristophanes, he was, by the order of Paulus, whom he had provoked with his freedom of speech, beaten with balls of lead sastened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when Modestus, pitying him, ordered the executioner to forbear, and sent Aristophanes into banishment. Demetrius, surnamed Cythras, a philosopher, stricken in years, being convicted of having sacrificed to the idols, was tortured with great cruelty for many hours; but afterwards suffered by Modestus to return to Alexandria his native city. Parnasus, and the rest, excepting Aristophanes, who had been banished on this occasion, were recalled three years after, and pardoned.

The Perfians begin hofulities.

In the mean while Sapor, king of Persia, was encouraged and pressed to begin hostilities by an officer of Constantius, named Antoninus, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of Persia, hoping to make his fortune there, and brought with him an exact account of the state of the empire, and all its forces. At the same time Eusebius the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of Ursicinus, as the only person who was independent of him, and scorned his support, persuaded the emperor to remove him, as a person not to be trusted, from the command of the troops in the east, and to appoint in his room Sabinianus, a decrepit old man, possessed of immense wealth, but every way unfit for that employment. This change was no fooner known at the Persian court, than Antoninus, who was well acquainted e with the character of Sabinianus, pressed Sapor anew to begin the war without delay, adviling him to march strait to the Euphrates, without losing time in belieging towns, to cross that river, and enter Syria, which he might easily reduce, while defended by fo unfit a commander. The Persian, approving the scheme, began to assemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This alarmed Constantius. who immediately ordered Ursicinus to hasten back into Syria, with the character of general of the foot, in the room of Barbatio lately beheaded; but without any authority, or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of Eusebius, and the other eunuchs, that, if the mighty designs of the Persians were defeated, Sabinianus might have the honour of it; but, if they were attended with d fuccess, Ursicinus might bear the whole blame. That brave commander had no fooner reached Syria, than he was informed, that the enemy's vanguard had already passed the Tigris. Upon this intelligence he hastened into Mesopotamia, to give the necessary orders there, in case the enemy should attack the city of Nisibis. From Nisibis he flew to Amida, another city in the same country; and, though he travelled in the night-time, he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, whose parties were spread all over the country. From Amida he sent Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, that to him they feemed at least an hundred thousand strong; that they had already passed Nineve in the province of Adiabene, and were arrived at the bridge of the Anzabas, a e river in Assyria. Hereupon Ursicinus dispatched orders to Cossianus, duke of Mesopotamia, and to Euphronius, governor of the province, to warn the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of fafety; to abandon Carrba, which was an open city; and to fet fire to the forage, and likewife to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no subsistence, either for themselves or their horses, between the Tigris and the Euphrates. At the same time he took care to fortify the banks of the Euphrates with forts and palifades, supplying the former with warlike engines of all kinds. These wise precautions having obliged Sapor to lay aside his defign of marching strait to the Euphrates, he turned to the left, and took his rout, pursuant to the advice of Antoninus, by the foot of the mountains which part Mesogo- f tamia from Armenia, not doubting but he should find there plenty of forage, and the Euphrales fordable nearer its head. Ursicinus, apprised of his design, immediately left Amida, to give the necessary orders on that side likewise; but being surrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly escaped falling into their hands. Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, was pursued as far as Amida; which place was invested a few days after by Sapor's whole army, in which ferved feveral princes of different nations, and among the rest the king of Albania, and Grumbates, king of the Chionita, a prince renowned for his valour and conquests. The Persian took on his march to

Un ficinus en-

ters Melopo-

tamia.

Wife precautions taken ly Urlicinus.

a. Amida two Roman forts, Reman and Busan, the foldiers who garifoned them, open- Sapor takes ing the gates to him upon the first summons, though they were both places of great two Roman ftrength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had retired to them with all their effects. In both the forts Sapor found some virgins, consecrated, to use the expression of Ammianus, to the worship of God, according to the discipline of the christians, and was so far from offering them any injury, that, on the contrary, he injoined his foldiers not to interrupt or disturb them in their usual exercises of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudice, which his former cruelties had begotten in the minds of the neighbouring people k. He appeared before Amida, not with a defign to beliege the place, but only to found the disposition of the garison; and, in case they refused to submit, to pursue his march into Syria, b agreeable to the plan suggested by Antoninus. But the Romans having discharged against him, as he approached the walls to shew himself in all his pomp and majesty, a thower of darts, arrows and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the son of Grumbates, a youth of great expectation, dead at his sather's feet, he was so transported with rage, that, laying aside his former scheme, he resolved at all adventures to revenge the affront offered to himself, and the death of He lays siege to the young prince, with the utter destruction of the city, and a general massacre of all Amida, its inhabitants. The reader will find a very particular and distinct account of this memorable fiege in Amnianus, who was shut up in the town, and an eye-witness of e all that passed both within and without the walls. Never was place assaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigour, resolution and intrepidity; but in the end most of the garison being killed, and those who survived quite spent with labour and watching, the walls being in feveral places levelled with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the Persians made a last effort, and entered the town Which, after a fword in hand, after having lain seventy-five days before it, and lost, during that time, long and vistority thousand men, and upwards. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, ance, is taken, and the rest, with the soldiers and inhabitants, either put to the sword, or carried and razed. into captivity, except our historian, and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, escaped through a postern not observed by the enemy. As for Safor, the d summer being already far spent, and his army greatly satigued, he thought it adviseable to return to his dominions, having but little to brag of this expedition, which cost him the lives of so many men, and prevented him from pursuing the advantageous designs suggested to him by Antoninus 1. Sabinianus was busied, during the whole time of the fiege, in exercifing his men near Edessa m. Ursicinus was continually pressing him to take the field, and harafs, at least, the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; which he might have easily done, and by that means diverted them from pursuing the siege with so much vigour, and perhaps obliged them to raise it. But Sabinianus returned no other answer, than that his instructions were not to expose the army to any danger. He is supposed to have had e likewise private instructions from Eusebius, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give Ursicinus no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour ". Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and fee, with the utmost regret, one of the strongest cities in the east reduced, and so many brave men fall unrevenged. Anmianus, after his escape from Amida, found him at Miletene in the Lesser Armenia, on his way to Antioch, whither he followed him soon after. From Antioch Ursicinus repaired to court, where he was, to his great surprize, charged with the Ursicinus neloss of Amida, and all the wrong steps taken during that unhappy campaign. Arbetio eused at court; and Florentius, two of Eusebius's creatures, were appointed by the emperor to inquire but sound inito his conduct, and examine by whose fault Amida was lost. These two judges, howf ever partial and corrupt, could not lay the blame on Ursicinus; but, on the other hand, not caring, through fear of offending Eusebius, to expose Sabinianus, ended their inquiries, without clearing, as they were in justice bound to do, the former, or condemning the latter. Ursicinus, highly provoked at such proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who, he faid, would not fail to punish with due severity the authors, whoever they were, of the late miscarriages. In the transport of his passion, he let drop the following unguarded expression, viz. That the emperor bimself, though he marched into Mesopotamia the next spring at the head of his army, would not be able to protest that country,

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 144-146. · Idem, l. xviii. p. 124-132. n Idem, p. 127. n Idem ibid. &c l. xix. p. 136.

so long as he was thus governed by eunuchs. This being carried immediately to the a emperor, as it generally happens in courts, with malicious aggravations, Constantius, He is difgraced, without any further inquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having divested him of his employment, and given it to one Agilo a German, who, in 354. had been tribunus stabuli, which answers our master of the horse. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himself, and the empire, which lay at stake, at so critical a conjuncture, of the skill, counsels and experience of the best officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition and revenge of a wicked courtier, facrificing to his private ends the public interest, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country.

The Perlians make themselves masters of several places in Mesopotamia.

THE following year, Constantius being conful the tenth time, and Julian the third, Sapor, entering Mesopotamia early in the spring, took by assault Singara, a town of confiderable strength, and carried both the garifon and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving Nifibis, where great part of the Roman army lay encamped, on the left, he took his rout towards Bezabde, called also Phænicia, a strong town on the Tigris, After feveral attacks, in which great numbers fell on both fides, the bishop of the place went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to so destructive a war; but Sapor, without returning him any answer, pursued the siege, made himself master of the place, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and reduced the rest, with the bishop, and all his clergy, to slavery. Some suspected the bishop, named, as we are told P, Heliodorus, of secretly favouring the Persians; but Ammia- c nus clears him of this charge 3. Sapor did not demolish Bezabde, as he had done Singara; but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a garifon in it, led his army against Virta, or Birtha, on the most distant borders of Mesopotamia; but not being able to reduce it, after several unsuccessful attacks, he raised the siege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize this campaign. While Sapor was thus, by degrees, reducing Mejopotamia, Constantius was still at Constantinople, raising new troops, and soliciting the Goths and other barbarians to join him. At length he left that metropolis, when the spring was already far advanced, and set out for Syria. Upon his arrival at Casarea in Cappadocia, he was met by deputies fent to him by Julian, who had been declared emperor at Paris, as we shall relate d anon. He was thunder-struck with this news, and long in suspense, whether he should march against Julian or Sapor; but was in the end persuaded to pursue his march into the east. Leaving therefore Cappadocia, he advanced to Miletene in the Lesser Armenia, passed the Euphrates at Samosata in Syria, and arrived at Edessa in Mesopotamia, where he was obliged to wait the coming of his troops, and the warlike engines, till after the autumnal equinox, when he pursued his march to Amida, which he could not behold, buried, as it was, in its ruins, without shedding many tears. From Amida he continued his rout to Bezabde, with a design to retake that place; but being in several affaults repulsed by the Persian garison, he resolved to reduce it by famine, which e he might have done, the Persian army being long before dispersed, and, according to custom, returned to their respective homes, had not the heavy rains, and severe weather, obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire to Antioch, which he did not reach before the end of the year; for, on the seventeenth of December, he was at Hierapolis in Euphratesiana .

The Scots and

Picts break in-

to the Roman

s errisories.

Constantius marches into

Meiopotamia.

We shall now return to Julian, whom we lest the preceding year in his quarters at Paris, where he was informed in the beginning of the winter, that the Pills, and Caledonians about this time first distinguished in history by the name of Scoti or Scots, had broken into the Roman province, and committed dreadful ravages there. Upon this intelligence, he fent his lieutenant Lupicinus, who had succeeded Severus in that f post, with some troops into Britain. Lupicinus set sail from Boulogne in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached London, where he landed his forces s. But of this expedition we find no farther account in history: and indeed Lupicinus, tho' he was an officer of great bravery and experience in war, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled foon after, as we shall relate anon. In the mean while Constantius, wholly intent upon affembling a mighty army for his intended expedition against the Persians, sent Decentius, one of his secretaries, into Gaul, to sends for pare of bring from thence all the Batavians, and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men

The emberor Iulian's army.

<sup>•</sup> Idem, p. 144, 145, & l. xiv. p. 24. • Menæa, 9 Apr. p. 76 Cod. Theodol p. 60. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. & l. xx. p. 170—177. Menæa, 9 Apr. p. 76. 4 AMMIAN. 1. XX. p. 165. • Idem, h. xx. p. 154.

a chosen out of each corps serving under Julian, that is, the flower of that prince's army. The emperor's orders were not addressed to Julian, to whom he only wrote, warning him not to oppose them; but to his lieutenant Lupicinus, and to Gentinus, or, as others call him, Sintula, his tribunus flabuli, or matter of the horse. Mott writers are of opinion, that the emperor took this resolution, rather with a design to weaken Julian, than to strengthen himself; for he began to be jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehensive of his power. The common report was, that the emperor was induced to take this step by private letters from Florentius, at that time prefect of Gaul, and in his heart a great enemy to Julian'. Be that as it will, Julian found himself reduced by the above-mentioned order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of b falling a facrifice to the refentment of the emperor, if he refused to comply with it; or perishing by the arms of the barbarians, if he obeyed it, being well apprifed that they, unmindful of their promifes and treaties, would be tempted to break into Gaul, as foon as they faw that province destitute of troops to defend it. In this dangerous fituation, he refolved, without hefitating a fingle moment, to obey, but at the same time to abdicate the dignity of  $C\alpha far$ , that he might not be charged with the loss of Gaul. He thought himself however bound to acquaint Decentius, that the auxiliaries raised in Gaul and Germany had entered into the service, upon condition of their not being obliged to pass the Alps; and that the violation of this article, always infifted upon by the people beyond the Rhine, might prevent their c lifting themselves for the suture. But Decentius giving no ear to his just remonstrances, Julian complies he submitted to the emperor's will without reply. As Lupicinus, to whom the empe-with the emperor's orders were addressed, was absent in Britain, Decentius himself chose all the ror's orders. best men out of each corps, not excepting Julian's own guards; which was no fooner done, than Julian wrote to their respective commanders, injoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw all Gaul into the utmost confusion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries and lamentations, as if the barbarians had already entered the province: several libels against Constantius, and in commendation of Julian, were privately handed about, and dispersed among the soldiery. Ammianus mentions one, in which the soldiers d complained of their being banished to the most remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children and relations were carried into captivity by the barbarians. To obviate this complaint, Julian ordered them to carry their families with them, supplying them with public carriages for that purpose. When the troops were ready to depart, Julian advised Decentius not to suffer them to approach Paris, where he still was in his winter quarters; but Decentius, fearing they might mutiny, if they left Gaul without feeing their general, led them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious step. Julian received them in a most obliging manner, and encouraged them chearfully to submit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But on the other hand, the people conjured e them not to abandon a country, which they had defended with so much glory; and the foldiers shewed a strong inclination to comply with their request. Hereupon The soldiers Julian, ascending the tribunal, told them, that it was not by any means lawful for unwilling to them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that leave him. fubject made a long discourse, which the soldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in silence. After this, Julian invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with no less tenderness than magnificence, and desiring them, when they took leave of him, to let him know in what he could be ferviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with so obliging a commander, and to quit their country, returned in the utmost affliction to their quarters. However, they continued all f quiet till about fun-set, when the soldiers, stirred up, according to Zosimus", by libels dispersed under-hand among them by their officers, slew all at once to arms, and hastening to the palace, surrounded it, and with a tumultuous noise proclaimed They proclaim Julian emperor w. Julian calls all the gods to witness, that he had not the least him emperor. knowledge of this defign, nor the least suspicion of its being on foot, but was withdrawn with his wife when he first heard himself saluted with the title of Augustus z. Libanius too assures us, that the design was not premeditated, but sudden y. Julian, shewing himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the soldiery, ordered all the

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 157, 158. т Idem, p. 169. Ыван. ог. хії. р. 283. Julian. ad Athen. p. 518, 519. w Амміан. l. хіх. p. 159. Lib. or. хії. p. 284. У Julian. or. хії. р. 284. Zos. l. iii. p. 710. LIBAN. Or. X. p. 241. Vol. VI. Nº 4. gates

gates of the palace to be kept shut; insomuch that the soldiers, eager to see him, a were obliged to wait till the next morning. In the mean time, he invoked his gods, intreating them to reveal to him their will by fome prodigy; and they com-

manded him, as we are told, to comply with the desires of the soldiery. Ammianus writes, that Julian told his friends in confidence, that a spectre appeared to him that very night, representing the genius of the empire, as it was painted in those days, and disappeared, after having uttered these words, I am come to stay with you, but only for a short time. Eunapius assures us, that before he accepted the sovereignty, he performed certain ceremonies in private with a pagan pontiff, whom he had some time before secretly sent for out of Greece 2; which, in the language of that writer, imports, that he had recourse to magic. As soon as day appeared, the soldiery, b breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged Julian to shew himself, and saluted him anew with the title of Augustus, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promifing to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occasion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was to no purpose; nay, the soldiers, well apprised that Constantius, notwithstanding all his

Julian rejects

the title.

But is forced

His speech to the foldiery.

promises, would in the end treat them as rebels, threatened Julian with immediate death, if he perfifted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To these menaces he yielded, and was thereupon listed up by the soldiers on fhields, and shewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, by name Maurus, placed upon his head his golden e collar, inriched with precious stones, instead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, Julian, to animate his foldiers, promifed them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of filver a man b. After this, he shut himself up in the palace, difpleased and uneasy at what had happened; which gave occasion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the foldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great satisfaction, they found him, not only safe, but clad in the imperial robes. Libanius writes, that the eunuch, his chamberlain, had in reality been bribed to murder him, and Julian himself, that money had been distributed among the soldiery to debauch them. However that be, the soldiers, imagining he had been in danger, pressed him to put all the friends of Constantius d to death, who had opposed his promotion; but he resolutely declared, that he His generosity, would not by any means suffer the least injury to be offered to them; nay, he generously forgave the eunuch, who had attempted to take away his life. Some troops had already begun their march towards the east, but they were no sooner informed of what had passed at Paris, than they returned with their leader Sintula, and joined Julian, having affembled them all in a neighbouring plain, appeared at their head with all the badges of majesty; and ascending the tribunal, in a very elegant and lively speech commended their valour, put them in mind of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince, whom they themselves had raised, and ended with assuring them, that he was determined to rule with justice and moderation, and to prefer such only as were men of e merit, without fuffering himself to be biassed by the recommendations of any person whatfoever 8. Such is the account which Julian himself, and after him Libanius, Ammianus, and Zosimus, his admirers, or rather adorers, give us of his promotion Disagreement to the imperial dignity. But on the other hand, the christian writers, namely Greeamong authors gory of Nazianzush, Philostorgius, Theodoretk, and Sozomen!, seem to have thought about the man- him privy to the design of the soldiery; nay, Zonaras tells us in plain terms, that either prompted by ambition, or apprehending in the end the doom of his brother Gallus, he gained under-hand the officers, who by his private directions stirred up the foldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might feem to have accepted the fovereignty to fave his life. The former writers betray, f no doubt, a great partiality for Julian, and the latter an equal prejudice against him. We shall therefore, in describing his reign and actions, impartially relate, unbiaffed as we are by any favour or prejudice, what we find in writers of both parties, leaving the reader to judge which of them deserves most credit. All authors

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ammian. p. 162. <sup>8</sup> Eunap. c. 5. p. 76. <sup>b</sup> Ammian. p. 160. Lib. ot. v. p. 179. Zos. p. 711. Zonar. p. 18. <sup>c</sup> Julian. ibid. p. 522. Ammian. p. 160. <sup>d</sup> Liban. ot. xii. p. 285. <sup>e</sup> Julian. ibid. <sup>f</sup> Idem, p. 522. & Lib. p. 285. <sup>g</sup> Ammian. l. xx. p. 161, 162. Julian. Liban. Zos. ibid. <sup>h</sup> Greg. Naz. p. 58, 67. <sup>l</sup> Philostorg. l. vi. c. 5. p. 84. <sup>h</sup> Theodor. l. ii. c. 28. p. 636, <sup>1</sup> Sozomen. p. 18. <sup>m</sup> Zonar. p. 18.

a agree, that Julian was raised to the imperial dignity in the year 360, but as to the day, we are quite at a loss: but as the troops were, at the time of his promotion, still in their winter-quarters, it must have happened in the month of May or April. He had no fooner accepted the imperial title, than Decentius haftened back into the Decentius and east, whither he was soon followed by the prefect Florentius, who, conscious to himself Florentius of his conduct towards Julian, and dreading his refertment, was in such haste to Gaul. get out of Gaul, that he left his whole family behind him; but Julian not only gave them leave to follow him, but ordered them to be supplied for that purpose with public carriages. Lupicinus, Julian's lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage and address, was capable of imbroiling matters; but as he was still in Britain, b Julian, by ordering all the veffels on the coaft to be ftopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had passed; so that upon his landing at Boulogne to execute the emperor's orders, addressed to him, as we have related above, he was arrested Lupicinus by an officer fent thither for that purpose, but treated by Julian with the utmost arrested, but humanity and good-nature ". And now Julian, well apprifed that the emperor would humanity. be alarmed, and highly provoked, at what had happened, in order to appeale his wrath and allay his fears, wrote an obliging letter to him, which he fent by two Julian fends of his chief officers, Pentadius and Eutherius. In the letter he acquainted him with deputies, and writes to the what had happened, begged he would suffer him to enjoy the title which he had emperor. been forced to accept, promifed to obey him, even in that station, with the same c readiness and alacrity as if he were a private person, offered to send him some troops, and even to leave to him the nomination of the prefect; but at the same time he referved to himself the creating of the other officers, and remonstrated with the greatest submission, that Gaul was so far from being able to spare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it stood in need of assistance from other provinces. Julian not only wrote himself, but persuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earnestly intreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with Julian, who had obliged them to take an oath not to raile any disturbances, if Constantius fuffered him to continue in Gaul with the title of Augustus. Julian, in his letter, contented himself with the title of Casar ; and he himself assures us, that, in writing d to the emperor, he never assumed any other q. But to this public letter, as we may style it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abusive, as we read in Ammianus, who tells us, that tho' it had been communicated to him, yet he should have thought it indecent and unbecoming to infert it in his history. The deputies from Julian met the emperor at Cafarea in Cappadocia, who, upon his first reading the letter, was fo transported with rage, that he drove them from his presence, and was some time in suspense, as we have said, whether he should proceed in his expedition against the Persians, or turn his arms against his new rival; but upon mature deliberation, cooler counfels prevailed, and Constantius, dismissing the deputies without any answer, dispatched Leonas, his questor, into Gaul, with a letter to Julian, acquainting him, e that he could not by any means approve of his usurpation, and exhorting him, as Constantius he tendered his own fafety, and that of his friends, to be fatisfied with the title of acknowledge Cafar, which he still allowed him to enjoy, but disapproved and annulled whatever him emperor. else had been done. Leonas soon reached Paris, where he was kindly received by Julian, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter the day after his arrival. Julian received it fitting on his tribunal, in the presence of the soldiery and people, whom he Julian's conduct had assembled for that purpose, and caused it to be read aloud. When he under-on this occasion. stood, that the emperor would not by any means allow him the title of Augustus, addressing himself to Leonas, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the foldiery consented to it; but otherwise could not, without betraying f them, and exposing them to the resentment of Constantius. He had scarce uttered these words, when the whole assembly confirmed to him with repeated acclamations the title they had given him, declaring, that they were determined to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. Julian wrote to the emperor by Leonas, acquainting him with the disposition of the people and soldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himself to abandon them to his resentment. Several messages and embassies passed between Constantius and Julian; the former insisting upon his abdi-

cating the fovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquish

P. 18. P Zonar. ibid. 4 Julian. ibid. p. 523. O Ammian, L. XX. p. 167. JULIAN, p. 518. ZONAZ. F AMMIAN. ibid. p. 169.

the authority with which he had been invested by the soldiery and people, but at a the same time assuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his service.

In the mean time, the emperor being wholly taken up with the Persian war in the east, Julian, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, puffed the Rhine at Tricesima, which some take to be Cleves, others Kellen, in that neighbourhood; and falling suddenly upon the Atthuarii, the inhabitants of the present countries of Cleves and Munster, who had made frequent inroads into Gaul, laid waste their territory, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to submit to such laws as he thought fit to impose upon them. In this expedition he spent three months, and then repassing the Rhine, he visited all the forts on that river as far as Basle, recovered some places that were still held by the enemy, fortified b them, and, as the year was already far spent, retired by the way of Besançon, which he describes in a letter', to Vienne, where he took up his winter-quarters. About this time died his wife Helena, the fifter of Constantius, and her body was sent to Rome to be there interred near that of her fifter Constantina u. She is styled on most of her medals Flavia Julia Helena, and on some bears the title of singusta w, which we suppose her to have taken after the promotion of her husband. This year, on Monday the twenty eighth of August, happened a great eclipse of the sun, which began at half an hour past four in the morning, and lasted above two hours . Ammianus takes notice of it in his history v.

THE next consuls were, Flavius Taurus, presect of Italy, who had presided the c year before at the famous council of Rimini, and Florentius, prefect of Gaul, who had fled from that province upon the promotion of Julian. This year Julian, finding

His wife Hclena dies.

Julian overcomes the

Atthuarii.

Julian's by pocrify.

Alemans; And grants

Constantius would not hearken to any terms, began to prepare for war, being insited to it also by his magicians, who affured him of success, and encouraged by several dreams, in one of which he is faid to have known, that Constantius was near his end, nay, that he was to die about the month of November 1. He still made an outward profession of the christian religion, says Ammianus 2, to gain the christians to his party, tho' he had long fince renounced that in his heart, and embraced the religion of the ancient Romans; nay, the better to impose upon them, on the feast of the Epiphany, which was celebrated with extraordinary folemnity in the church, he d publicly affished at divine service, and offered up with the rest his solemn prayers b; which expression of Ammianus some understand of his receiving the eucharist. Zonaras writes, that this happened on the feast of our Saviour's nativity, which was then celebrated by the Greeks on the fixth of January; and adds, that Julian by this hypocrify hoped to secure the soldiers to his party, who were for the most part christians. When he had made the necessary preparations for war, and was ready to march into Italy, and thence into the east, against Constantius, if he persisted in refuling him the title of emperor, advice was brought him, that the Alemans, and among the rest the subjects of Vadomarius, whose country lay near Basle, had broken into Gaul, on the fide of Rhætia, and committed dreadful ravages there. Vadoma- e rius pretended to have the greatest respect imaginable for Julian, and to be much concerned for the hostilities committed by his countrymen; but, in the mean time, Julian, having intercepted a letter from him to Constantius, filled with bitter invectives against himself, found means to have him arrested at a banquet, and banished him into Spain d. He had already fent Libano, one of his commanders, with a strong detachment against the Alemans; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near Santio, now Seckingen, in the neighbourhood of Basle, Julian advanced in person He reduces the against them, passed the Rhine, and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to restore the booty they had taken, and fue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms. Libanius affures us, f them a peace. that Constantius had, by letters and large sums, transmitted to the heads of the German nations, stirred them up, and encouraged them to invade Gaul, in order to divert Julian from forming other schemes f. This, says Ammian, was the common report s, and Julian pretended to have in his custody the very letters, and to shew both them, and others, which the emperor was supposed to have written to the barbarians

<sup>\*</sup> Idem, p. 170. Lib. or. xii. p. 286. Zon. p. 19. 

† Julian. epist. xxxviii. p. 180. 

\* Ammian. l. xx. p. 172. & l. xxi. p. 178. 

w Byzan. famil. p. 41. 

\* Petav. doctr. temp. l. xi. c. 45. p. 373. 

y Ammian. l. 20. p. 155. 

Z Liban. ot. xii. p. 286. 

Ammian. ibid. 

† Liban. ot. v. p. 180. 

h Idem, p. 181. 

Z Zonar. p. 19. 

Ammian. ibid. 

Liban. ot. v. p. 180. 

\* Ammian. ibid. 

Liban. ot. v. p. 180. 

\* Ammian. ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Liban. ot. v. p. 180. 

\* Ammian. ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Ammian. ot. v. p. 180. 

\* Ammian. ot. v. p. 180 y Ammian, I. 20, p. 155. Z LIBAN, b Hem. D. 181. ZONAR, p. 19. f LIBAN. or. v. p. 180. & AMMIAN. ibid.

a in the time of Magnentius, animating them to invade Gaul'; which greatly estranged from him the minds of the people. However, Ammianus does not take upon him to affirm it, but only fays, that it was a flying report'. In the mean time, Confrantius having ordered magazines to be formed at Briancon in Dauphiny, at Bregentz on the lake of Constance, and at several other places on the Alps, Julian concluded from thence, that he was bent upon war; and refolving to be before hand with him, he threw off the mask, and obliged his soldiers to take an oath of allegiance He obliges his to him, which they all did very readily, except Nebridius, who had succeeded Flo-foldiers to take rentius in the prefecture of Gaul. That officer frankly declared, that he would not, an oath of allegiance to upon any consideration whatsoever, take an oath, which obliged him to draw his bimself. b sword against his lawful sovereign. Upon this, Julian suffered him to retire unmolested into Hetruria". The loyal, generous, and disinterested conduct of this officer deserved a better name than that of effeminacy, with which Libanius has been pleased to stigmatize it w. In his room, Julian appointed one Germanicus to discharge the functions of the prefect. As his thus obliging the foldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himself was openly revolting from Constantius, he wrote to several cities, He writes to and among the rest to Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, acquainting them with the several cities. motives that had prompted him to take that step, being well apprifed, says Libanius, that good princes are willing to submit their actions to the judgment of the whole world, whereas tyrants dread the least scrutiny x. Of all these letters, or rather c apologies, only that has reached our times which he wrote to the Athenians, and a few lines of a letter which he wrote to the inhabitants of Corinth, when he was already mafter of great part of the empire. In these he pretends to have been animated by his gods to make war upon Constantius, and by them assured of success. And now Julian, finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his army, and resolved to pursue his designs with vigour, sent part of his forces into Pannonia under the conduct of Nevita, Jovinus and Jovius, ordering them to take different routs, that they might feem the more numerous, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving Basle, marched through woods and by-ways into Illyricum. Nevita, Jovinus, He sets out on and Jovius, had with them about twenty thousand men, but Julian himself only his march. d three thousand. They were all to meet at Sirmium, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon the first news of Julian's march, Taurus, presect of Italy, and Florentius, whom Constantius had lately appointed presect of Illyricum, abandoning their provinces, betook themselves to slight, and hastened to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of Julian. As they were both consuls this year, Julian ordered them, if Zosimus is to be credited, to be stigmatized in all the public acts with the name of the runaway consuls. By their flight, Julian became master of Italy without striking a blow, and likewise of Sicily, whither he sent some troops, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to pass over into Africa. The different parties, led by Julian and the three above-mentioned commanders, purfued their march with e fuch expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, which Julian entered in triumph; Lucilianus, who commanded there for Constantius, having been surprised the night before, and taken prisoner by one of Julian's parties. He staid but two days at Sirmium, being eager to make himself master of the important pass of Sucidava, dividing Illyricum from Thrace, which he Makes bimself did without meeting with the least opposition; and having left a strong garison master of there under the command of Nevita, he turned back to Naissus, where he seems to Illyricum; have continued, till news was brought him of the death of Constantius, affembling troops from all quarters, in order to reinforce his army before he entered Thrace. During his stay there, he raised Aurelius Victor, the historian, to the government f of Pannonia Secunda, and wrote to the Roman senate a letter filled with bitter invectives against Constantius, which was ill received by the people, and is highly disapproved of by Ammianus himself . While Julian lay at Naissus, without the least apprehension of an enemy at his back, two of Constantius's legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into Gaul, surprised on their march the city of Aquileia, and defended it with such vigour and resolution, that Julian could not by any But cannot means reduce it: they were commanded by one Nigrinus, who held out till two reduce Aqui-

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ja

months after the emperor's death, and was even then with much ado prevailed upon to submit to Julian b.

The emperor

The Perfians resire.

In the mean time, Constantius, being returned from Mesopotamia to Antioch in the latter end of the preceding year, as we have related above, married in that city, with great folemnity, Maxima Faustina, Eusebia being dead fome time before. Of the parentage and qualities of this new empress, no mention is made by the ancients. All we know of her is, that some time after the death of Constantius she was delivered of a daughter, named Flavia Maxima Constantia, who was afterwards married to the emperor Gratian. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor spent

the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition against the Persians, being resolved to end that war, or at least to secure the empire on that b side, before he marched into the west against Julian. In the mean time Sapor, having affembled a mighty army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the Tigris,

with a design to cross that river, and pursue his march strait to the Euphrates. This Constantius no sooner understood, than he left Antioch; and crossing the Euphrates, advanced as far as Edessa, whence he sent part of his army, under the command of

Arbetio and Agilo, to the banks of the Tigris, with express orders to spare the troops, and not expose them wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that Julian had already made himself master of Illyricum, and the important pass separating that country from Thrace. He was thunderstruck with

this news; but the very next day, an express arrived from his generals on the banks e of the Tigris, affuring him, that Sapor, frightened by unlucky omens, was marched back to his own dominions with his whole army. Constantius, overjoyed at these

tidings, immediately left Mesopotamia, and returned to Antioch, with a design to march without delay against Julian, being encouraged thereunto by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to facrifice their lives in so good and honourable a cause. In the mean time, he dispatched Arbetio with a strong detachment to

the streights of Sucidava, where Julian was affembling his forces in order to invade Thrace, and followed him in person with the rest of his army about the latter end The emperor marches of the autumn. Upon his arrrival at Tarfus in Cilicia, he was seized with a severish

against Julian, distemper, occasioned chiefly by the uneasiness and perplexity of his mind; but d believing he might get the better of it by motion and exercise, he pursued his march Mopfucrene. to Moplucrene, on the borders of Cilicia, at the foot of mount Taurus, where, by the violence of his distemper, which increased daily, he was obliged to stop. In that place, all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of November, being

then in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæfar, but only the twenty-fifth fince the death of his father d. It was commonly faid, and believed at least by the christians, that Julian had, with the promise of a great reward, seduced one of his courtiers, whom

they do not name, to administer him poison, of which he died . Be that as it will, Julian no fooner received the news of his death, than he left Illyricum, and on the eleventh of December arrived at Constantinople, whither he caused the corps of the deceased prince to be brought by Jovian, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be

interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the apostles. Julian himself affifted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other badges of his dignity 8. Gregory Nazianzen writes, that at the point of death Constantius betrayed great concern chiefly for three things; which were, his having murdered his nearest relations, his having raised Julian to the dignity of Casar, and his having persecuted,

at the instigation of the Arians, the orthodox christians. On the other hand, Ammianus tells us, that he was said to have named Julian for his successor. We can scarce believe, that he repented his having persecuted the church, though Gregory f Nazianzen, and, after him, Theodoret, affirm it, since Athanasius assures us, that he

held the impious tenets of the Arians to his last breath, and received baptism a little before he expired at the hands of the bishop Euzoius, a most obstinate Arian k. Socrates writes, that he was baptized by Euzoius at Antioch before he set out for Cilicia; and truly Euzoius was the Arian bishop of that metropolis! But Philostorgius tells us,

the point of death by an Arian bishop.

b Ammian. p. 191—195. Cldem, l. xxi. p. 185. Cange Biz. fam. p. 48. Ammian. p. 196. Zon. p. 19. Socr. l. ii. c. 47. Greg. Naz. of. iii. p. 68. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 168. Panegyr. xi. p. 213. Liban. of. xii. p. 289. Greg. Naz. of. xxi. p. 389. Theodor. l. iii. p. 637. Ath. de fyd. p. 907. Socrat. l. ii. c. 47. p. 161.

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a that he received baptism at Mopsucrene, when he was already at the point of death; wherein he is followed by the chronicle of Alexandria, which adds, that he sent for Euzoius from Antioch. As for his character, all the ancients, whether christians His character. or pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince: he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, especially by his chamberlain Eusebius, over whom however he had, says Ammianus pleasantly, some small authority". He admitted none to his confidence, but such as were well skilled in the art of flattery; whence he had no true friends about him, but fuch only as, by approving and commending all his measures, studied to gain his favour, and raise themselves. He used to ascribe to himself the whole glory of victories gained by his officers, and speak of them as if b he had fought in person at the head of the victorious army. The christian writers, both Arian and orthodox, complain of his affuming to himself too much in ecclesiastic matters. Under him employments were not given to the most deserving men, but to fuch only as were best able to purchase them of the eunuchs, and other tavourites; whence the unhappy people in the provinces were miserably oppressed by their governors, who made it their chief business to repay themselves, at their expence, the sums which they had disbursed, and to heap up money wherewithal to purchase other more profitable employments. He was so jealous of his authority, and of such a timorous and suspicious temper, that, upon the least appearance of a plot, he put numbers of persons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, c tho' accused by persons altogether unworthy of credit. By this means the infamous tribe of informers increased under him to such a degree, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was fafe . As he had no great genius or capacity himfelf, he hated all men of letters, and discountenanced every liberal art and science; whence only freed-men applied themselves to the study of the law, and that of eloquence was intirely neglected: to be a great philosopher was reckoned a crime, Constantius looking upon the philosophers as magicians, against whom he enacted, as we have observed, most rigorous laws P. However, he founded and endowed a library at Constantinople, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a person with a handsome salary to take care of it 4. But among so many bad quad lities, he had some good ones. In crimes of treason, real or only suspected, he behaved like a tyrant, says Ammianus; but in other respects was not a bad prince r. He was of very low stature, says the same writer, but enured to all manner of fatigues, and performed the military exercises, especially those of the infantry, with wonderful address. He was satisfied with a frugal diet, slept little, was an utter stranger to luxury, and of such chastity and temperance, as not to be even suspected of those vices which usually reign in courts. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning those to death who were found guilty of crimes against nature ". He sometimes performed the meanest duties of a soldier, but at the same time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majesty of his station w. He · e despised all manner of popularity, which Ammianus ascribes to a greatness of mind worthy of a prince, but perhaps ironically; for elsewhere he derides his affected gravity, telling us, that he appeared in public like a statue, without moving his head or hands, without spitting or blowing his nose, (to these particulars that writer descends) lest he should by such vulgar actions degrade the majesty and grandeur of an emperor'. Tho' he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not quite unacquainted with polite literaturey; but of this his speeches, which we read in Ammianus, are no proof, fince they, as we may well imagine, were composed by that historian. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius commend him for the great respect he always shewed to his father, for his extraordinary modelty, and for rewardf ing, with uncommon generosity, every service done him. Themistius extols his magnificence, and observes, that he enriched all his friends. He finished the walls of Constantinople, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings there; and embellished the city with fountains, baths, and other stately edifices b. His panegyrists speak of him as a prince of great moderation, and inclined

<sup>1</sup> Philost. 1. vi. c. 6. p. 85. 

Chron. Alex. p. 684. 

Ammian. 1. xviii, p. 119. 
Ammian. 1. xviii, p. 119. 
Ammian. 1. xvii. p. 203. 
Liban. or. xxviiii. p. 591. 
P. Liban. ibid. Eutrop. 1. xv. p. 44. 
Themist. or. iii. p. 45. 
Ammian. 1. xiv. p. 21, 22. 
Idem ibid. p. 203. 
Libem ibid. p. 201. & 1. xvi. p. 70. 
Themist. or. ii. p. 39. 
Vict. epit. 
Cod. Theodof. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 59. 
W. Ammian. 1. xxi. p. 200. 
Libem, 1. xvi. p. 70. 
Ammian. 1. xxi. p. 200. 
Libem, 1. xvi. p. 70. 
Ammian. 1. xxi. p. 200. 
Libem, 1. xvi. p. 70. 
Libem ibid. & Eutrop. p. 183. 
Themist. or. iv. p. 62. 
Libem ibid. p. 58.

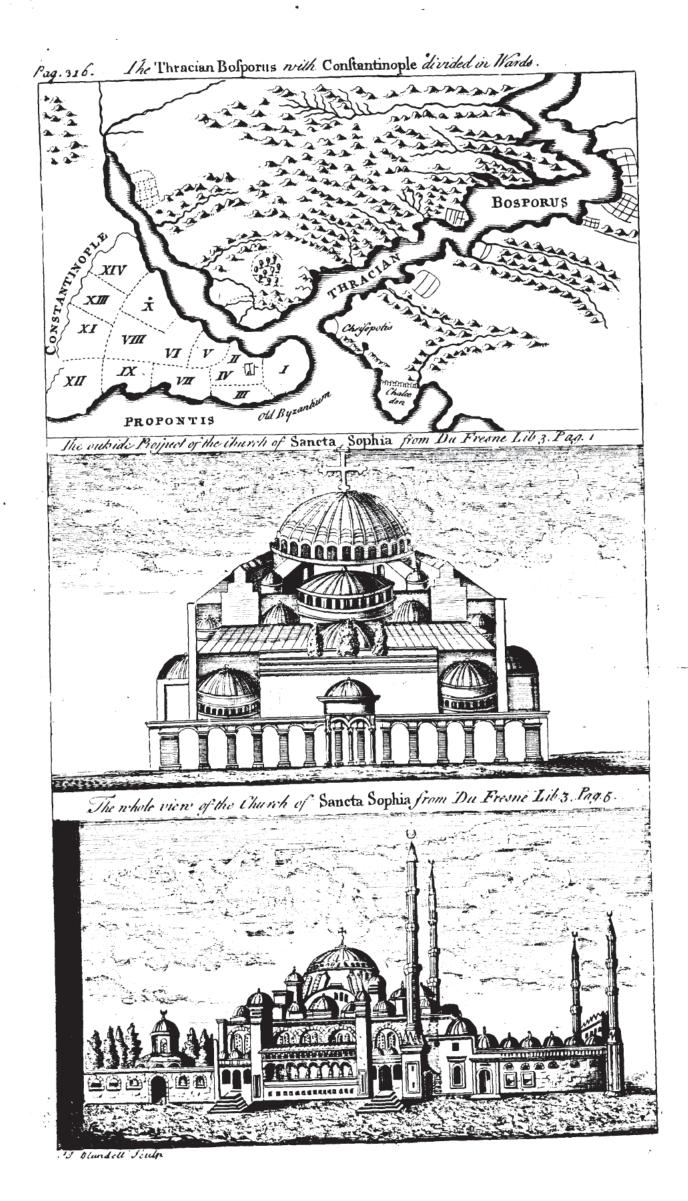
to mercy; but Julian tells us, that he was an utter stranger to all mercy and com- a passion, though he was commonly thought to be possessed of both these virtues. Crimes of treason he punished with the utmost severity, says Libanius 4; but bore with great patience, and was ready to forgive upon the least submission, all other affronts and injuries offered him. To confirm this, he tells us, that the inhabitants of Edessa having pulled down one of his statues, and publicly whipt it, adding, that he who deferved to be thus treated, was not fit to govern, the emperor, when informed of the infult, did not betray the least resentment, nor ever shewed the least ill-will to that city, or the authors of such an outrage, which few princes would have suffered to go unpunished. He was a most zealous promoter of the christian religion, and enacted several laws, of which we have taken notice in the history of his reign, for b the utter suppression of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the rest the samous cathedral of *Emesa* in *Syria*, and the great church of *Alexandria*, called Casarea. As for that of St. Sophia at Constantinople, it was the work of Constantine, tho' commonly ascribed to his son Constantius. He not only built, but endowed and enriched, many churches with great revenues, and shewed, on all occafions, an extraordinary respect and esteem for the clergy, especially the bishops, receiving their bleffing in an humble posture, entertaining them at his table, exempting them from all manner of imposts and taxes, &c 8. But these favours he bestowed on those alone who professed the doctrine of Arius. As for the orthodox bishops, they were driven from their fees, and either banished, or imprisoned; nay, some of c them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this perfecution is not our province, but that of the ecclefiaftic writers. Of the authors who flourished under Constantius, we shall speak in note (G).

LIBAN, orat. xiv. p. 399. e Idem ibid. p. 400. f Socra efcrip. p. 144, 145. B HILAR. contra Constant. or. p. 113, 1140 E JULIAN. epift. 23. p. 141. p. 94. Cange urb. Constantinop. descrip. p. 144, 145.

(G) Among the men of learning who flourished under Constantius, St. Ferom mentions Gennadius, Petrus, Victorinus, Minervius, Alcimus, Delp'idius, and Donatus (1). All we know of the two first, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at Rome, and the latter at Saragoja in Spain (2). Ot Victorinus we shall speak hereafter. Tiberius Victor Minervius taught eloquence at Conflantinople, at Rome about the year 353, and at Bour-deaux, the place of his nativity (3). He is highly commended by Aufonius, who is proud of having studied under him (4). Alethius Minervius, his son, was likewise professor of eloquence in the same city; but died when he was yet very young (5). Latinus Alethius Alcimus was a native of the Agenois, or territory of Agen, and is by Aufonius counted among the professors of Bourdeaux (6; but he was likewise a pleader, and is commended by Apollinaris Sidonius for his knowledge of the law, and his extraordinary skill in the Greek and Latin tongues (7). He published some works, in which he commended the emperor Julian, and Salust, who was present of Gaul under that prince (8); but none of them have reached our times. Aufonius, who had a great value for him, commends his modesty, the mildness of his temper, his gravity, and the regularity of his life (9). Atticus Tyro Delphidius, the son of the orator Patera, or Paterius, of whom we have ipoken in our last note, acquired great reputation by his poems (10). As he was by profession a pleader, he accused of extortion before Julian in 358. Numerius governor of Narbonne Gaul; but could not make good the charge (11). He embraced the party

of a tyrant, hoping by that means to make his fortune; but, without the tears of his father, he had been utterly undone (12). This tyrant can be no other than Procopius, who revolted from the emperor Valens in 365. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at Bourdeaux with great reputation (13), but in the reign of Valentinian, and not of Constantius, if what Sulpicius Severus writes be true, viz. that dying about the age of forty, he had not the displeasure to see his daughter Procula seduced by the Priscillianists in 380. and his wife Eucrocia, who had embraced the same heresy, beheaded about the year 384 (14). St. Ferom writes, that while he was yet very young, he was famous all over Gaul for his compositions both in verse and prose (15). Ammianus Marcellinus (16) and Apollinaris Sidonius (17) commend his lively and flowing eloquence. Tho we might infer from what we have quoted above out of Sulpicius Severus, that he was a christian, yet St. Jerom, in writing to Hedibia descended from him, speaks of him as a pagan (18). Donatus, under whom St. Jerom studied, taught grammar at Rome with great reputation in 354. Wrote comments on Terence and Virgil, and published several grammatical pieces, often quoted by Cassiodorus, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (19). Gregory the great speaks of the rules of Donatus, as generally raught at the end of the fixth century (20). Some grammatical pieces, explaining with great clearness the first principles, have reached us, under the name of Ælius Donatus (21). There are still extant comments on Virgil and Terence, which some

(1) Hier. chron. (2) Idem ibid. (3) Idem ibid. (4) Aufon. ibid. carm. 6. p. 150. (5) Hier. c. (7) Sidon. l. viii. epift. 11. p. 232. (8) Idem ibid. p. 147. (11) Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114. (14) Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 173, 177. Prosp. chron. ibid. (17) Apoll. Sid. l. v. ep. 10. p. 140. l. i. c. 4. p. 202. Cassiod. de orthogr. p. 255, 256. gram. c. 622. p. 27. 28. (3) Idem ibid. & Auson. de prosess. Burdigal. carm. 1. p. 137. Hier. chron. p. 254. (6) Auson. ibid. carm. 2. p. 141. dem ibid. (9) Auson. ibid. (10) Idem ibid. carm. 5. (5) Hier. chron. p. 254. (8) Idem ibid. (9) A (12) Auson car. 5. p. 148. (15) Hier. epist. 150. p. 140. (13) Idem ibid. p. 149. (16) Ammian. (19) Hier. in. Ruf. (18) Hier. epift. 150. p. 140. (21) Vide Baillet. (20) Greg. moral, p. 62. gram. c. 622. p. 37, 38.



BEFORE we proceed to the history of Julian's reign, it will not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader a succinct account of the birth, parentage, education, and studies

pretend to be those that St. Ferom ascribes to his master Donatus; but critics of more penetration are of opinion, that the fome observations in the com-ments on Virgil seem worthy of Donatus, yet the whole is altogether unworthy of a man of his parts (22). As for the comments on Terence, they are thought to have been written by one Evanthius, called by some Eugraphus, who died in the first year of Gratian's reign, or in 359 under Conflantius, as we read in the chronicle of St. Jerom, who calls him the most learned among the grammarians (23). He taught the Latin tongue at Constantinople, and, upon his death, Chrestus was sent for out of Africa to succeed him (24). The life of Virgil, ascribed by some to Donatus, is, in the opinion of Vosfius, a very mean performance, done not by Ælius Donatus, which he takes to be the name of the grammarian, under whom St. Ferom studied, but by one Tiberius Claudius Donatus (25). As for the life of Terentius, he takes it to have been written by Suetonius, and not Donatus (26). Nonius Marcellus, another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is supposed, about the time of Constantius, and was, as we gather from the title of his work on the propriety of Latin words, a native of Tivoli, and a Peripatetic philosopher (27). He is quoted and commended by Priscian; which feems very strange to Vossius, who speaks of him with great contempt, and thinks him commendable for no other reason, but because he has conveyed to us several passages out of the ancients, which are to be found no-where else (28). The works of Sex. Pompeius Festus bear a much better character than those of Marcellus. He wrote on the signification of words; but his work, which was only an abridgment of what Verrius Flaccus had written on that fubject in the time of Augustus, was abridged in the time of Charlemagne by Paulus Diaconus; and to this abridgment is owing the loss of the far greater part of that which was done by Festus (29). At what time Festus lived, we are no-where told. Some manuscripts have reached our times on the art of surveying or measuring land, done by one Innocen-tius, probably the surveyor of that name, who, ac-cording to Ammianus Marcellinus, was at the court of Conflantius in 359 (30). To him are likewise ascribed some remarks on the Roman laws, which, in our opinion, were rather the work of Innocentius the questor, who drew up most of the laws of Conflantius, as Eunapius informs us (31), and published several works both in Greek and Latin. The latter was grandfather to Chryfanthus, under whom Ennapins studied, and consequently was more ancient than the surveyor, and superior to him in rank (32). One of Constantins's officers, by name Innocentins, took holy orders, and, retiring from the court, led a folitary life on the Mount of olives (33). Vindanius Anatolius, a native of Berytus, Wrote ten books on agriculture, containing many useful rules, blended with some superstitious and heathenish observations (34). Part of that work has reached our times; but the author is there styled Vindamonius, and not Vindanius. One Anatolius, a pagan, and a native of Berytus, was presect of Illyricum in 349, and 359. (35), and died in 360 (36). He was perhaps the author of the above-mentioned work. One Andronicus was concerned in the affair of Parnasus, governor of Egyps, accused in 350. of having consulted the astrologers, as we related among the other transactions of that year; but Andronicus was absolved, and afterwards became famous, especially on account of his poetical compositions (37). Libanius speaks of a poet, by name Andronicus, who, he says, charmed all Egyps, and was still alive in 378 (38). Themissius, who was contemporary with Libanius, mentions a young Egyptian, who had a particular talent for writing tragedies (39); and Photius takes notice of several theatrical pieces written by one Andronicus, senator of the city of Hermopolis in Egypt, some of which were inscribed to count Phabammon of Cynopolis in the same country (40). Whether all these writers speak of one and the same person, we will not take upon us to determine. Sextus Aurelius Victor may be ranked among the writers who flourished under Constantius, tho' he died long after him, fince, in his reign, he wrote his history of the Roman emperors. He is comhis history of the Roman emperors. monly thought to have been a native of Africa, and to have been born of poor parents in some village of that country (41). He was, at least when he wrote his history, a pagan, as must evidently appear to all who peruse it. It begins with Augustus, and extends to the twenty-third year of Constantius; that is, to the end of the year 359. or the beginning of 360 (42); for he speaks of the victories gained by Julian in Gaul; but takes no notice of his affuming the title of Augustus, which he would not have omitted, had his history reached so far. He ascribes all the conquests of that prince to Constantius, at that time the object of his flattery (43). In the title, the work is faid to extend to the tenth consulship of Constantius, and the third of Julian, which happened in the year 360. This history is but a very concise abridgment. Another abridgment, done by the same writer, has reached our times, comprehending the lives of illustrious men, mostly Romans, from Procas to Julius Casar. This work is, by different writers, ascribed to Cornelius Nepos, to Pliny the younger, to Æmilius Probus, to Tacius, and to Suetonius; but Vossius, and other able critics, adjudge it to Aurelius Victor (44). To these two histories is prefixed a third, on the origin of the Romans, which likewise passes under the name of Sextus Aurelius Victor, and is thought by Andreas Scotus to have really been done by him; but Vossius takes it to be the work of some writer, who flourished after his time (45). Another history of the emperors, extending to the reign of Theodo-fins, goes under the name of one Sexus Anrelins Victor, whom we must distinguish from the author we are now speaking of. Ammianus writes, that Julian, while he was at Sirmium in 361. faw there Victor the historiographer, and foon after created him governor of the Second Pannonia, and honoured him with a statue of brass (46). The same writer adds, that he was generally esteemed on account of his wisdom, and was afterwards raised to the go-

(22) Idem, p. 29, 30. (23) Hier. chron. (24) Idem ibid. & Vost. hist. Lat. p. 743. (25) Id. ibid. p. 743. & orat. l. vi. c. 2. p. 432. (26) Idem ibid. (27) Vide Baillet. c. 620. p. 34. & Salmas. in not. in Spart. p. 241. (28) Vost. ibid. (29) Vide Baillet. p, 30, 35. (30) Ammian. l. xix. p. 149. (31) Eunap. c. 21. p. 144, 145. (32) Idem ibid. (33) Pallad. hist. Lausiat. c. 103. p. 1022. (34) Phot. c. 163. p. 349. (35) Eunap. c. 1. p. 117. (36) Ammian. l. xix. p. 166. & l. xxi. p. 185. (37) Idem, l. xix. p. 152. (38) Liban. vit. p. 158. (39) Vide Ammian. ibid. p. 230. (40) Phot. c. 279. p. 1596. (41) Vost. hist. Lat. p. 196. (42) Aur. Vist. p. 528. & 517. Casaubon. not. in Spart. p. 119. Vost. ibid. (43) Aur. Vist. p. 486. (44) Voss. ibid. (45) Idem ibid. p. 196. (46) Ammian. l. xxi. p. 190.

Rirth, educa- and studies of a prince so much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers: Julius Constan- a tion and paren- tius, the brother of Constantine the Great, had two wives, viz. Galla, by whom he had

vernment of Rome. Vossius and others take this to be the historian of whom we are now speaking; for he had ended his history the year before, as we have observed above (47). One Victor was consul in 369. whom Onuphrius supposes to have been the historian mentioned by Ammianus (48); but, had it been the fame person, Ammianus would, in our opinion, have taken notice of his consulftip, as well as his government. In an inscription of the time of Theodosius, that is, long after the year 369. he is styled governor of Rome, but not conful; which title would not have been omitted, had he ever discharged that office. Besides, it appears from Themistius (49), that Victor, who was contul in 369. was a commander of great prowefs and renown. Gothofredus publified in 1628. an ancient description of the world, as he styles it, done in the time of Constantius, and not of Constantine, as we read in the text, after that prince had finished the port of Seleucia, and after the earthquake which overturned the city of Duras (50). The port of Seleucia was perfected, according to St. ferom, in 346, and the earthquake happened in 345. The author takes no notice of the earthquake that ruined Nicomedia in 358, nor of that which over-turned Berytus in 348, or rather 349, whence Go-thofredus concludes that work to have been done about the year 347. He thinks the author infinuates, that there were then two emperors; and infers from thence, that he wrote after the death of young Constantine in 340, and before that of Constans in 350 (51). Gothofredus, in publishing this work, not only reformed the barbarous and uncouth language of the Latin text, and corrected the many faults he found in it, but added to it a Greek translation, suppoling it to have been written originally in that language (52); which supposition is rejected by Petavins, as falle and groundless. However that be, the author feems to have been better acquainted with the eastern than the western provinces. He was greatly mistaken in supposing Rome and Hetruria to have been comprised in what was at that time called Italy (53). Gothofredus is inclined to believe one Alypius of Antioch, famous in Julian's time, to have been the true author of this work; because that prince commends the geography, which had been fent to him by Alypius, the brother of Cafarius (54). But this geography feems only to have been a map, accompanied with some vertes. The author gives us a tolerable account of feveral cities, tho' for the most part, blended with many fables; which evidently shew him to have been a pagan, though he acknowledged a God the author of mankind (55). The beginning of the work bespeaks it imperfect (56; and besides, it is plain, that he had written several things relating to the Persians, which have not reached us (57); whence Gothofredus concludes this to be only a finall part of a much larger work (58). Vossius was altogether unacquainted with this writer. None of the authors we have hitherto mentioned were christians; but Julius Firmicus Maternus, who flourished at the same time, was not only a christian, but a zealous defender of the religion he protessed; for he addressed a work to the two emperors, Conflantius and Constans, animating them to complete the destruction of idolatry. This work is intituled, the errors and falshood of profane religions (59). The author not only exposes the absurd notions of the pagans, but explains, with great elegance and erudition, several articles of the christian faith. He wrote before the year 350. in which Constans died, and in or after the year 343, for he speaks of his journey to Britain, which happened that year (60). Though the ancients feem to have been quite unacquainted with this work, yet no writer, we know of, has ever questioned its being genuine. The author is diffinguished, in the title of the work, with the epithet of clarissimus, which was peculiar to the senators of Rome, and sufficiently consutes the opinion of Baronius, who will have him to have been bishop of Milan (61). Eight books on judicial astrology were published about the same time by one Julius Firmicus Maternus, who was likewise a Roman senator, and is therefore by some writers confounded with the above-mentioned author (62); but Possevinus maintains them to be two different writers (63): and truly the astrologer is styled, in the title of his work, fulius Firmicus Maternus junior; and the work itself is altogether unworthy of a christian. It is addressed to Mavortius Lollianus, and was begun in the reign of Constantine the Great, but finished in that of his son Confiantius, about the year 355 (64). With the year 354, the seventeenth of Constantius's reign, end two small works, published by Bucherius in 1633. With the paschal cycle of Victorius. Bucherius is of opinion, that they were composed that very year, and by the same author, to whom he afcribes three others contained in the fame manuscript (65). The first of these works is a list of the consists from 205, to 354, with the epacts, bissextile years, and the day of the week with which each year began. There are some missakes in the analysis has the rest is done with great exin the epacts; but the rest is done with great exactness (66). The manuscript which Bucherius made use of, was imperfect; but cardinal Noris having discovered an intire copy in the emperor's library, containing a lift of the confuls, from the two first, Brutus and Collatinus, to those of the year 354. he published it in 1689, with a learned differtation on that work, by him greatly esteemed (67). He is of opinion, that it was composed in 354, the year with which it ends (68). The second work published by Bucherius, is another list of the consuls and governors of Rome, from 254. to 354. From the year 288, to the end, the author not only names the governors, but the day on which each of them entered upon his office (69). The third begins with a short necrology of the bishops of Rome, in which are marked, according to the order of the months, the day on which each of them died, and the place where he was buried. It begins with Lucius, and ends with Julius. In this lift, Sixtus II. and Marcellus are omitted; the latter probably by a mistake of the transcriber, confounding him with his predecessor Marcellinus; and the former perhaps, because he is fet down in the calendar of martyrs annexed to the necrology, and containing the names of several martyrs according to the order of the months, and the time of their martyrdom; but they are all of Rome, ex-

(47) Voss. ibid. p. 196. (48) Onuph. p. 298. (49) Themist. orat. ix. p. 121. (50) Gothofred. vetus orb. descrip. p. 13. & 33. (51) Idem, p. 13, 14. (52) Idem, p. 7. (53) Idem, p. 33. (54) Julian. epist. 30. p. 163. Gothofred. p. 10. 11. (55) Idem, p. 9. (56) Idem, p. 3. (57) Id. p. 9. (58) Idem, p. 3. & 8. (59) Firm. Matern. c. 21. Bibl. patr. tom. 4. p. 99. (60) Du Pin, 10m. 1. p. 578, 579. Possevin. apar. tom. 1. p. 989. Matern. c. 29. p. 107. (61) Baron. ad. ann. 337. (62) Vide Du Pin. p. 577. (63) Possevin. p. 988. (64) Du Pin ibid. (65) Buch. cycl. p. 245, 247. (66) Idem, p. 247—251. (67) Noris fast. consular. (68) Idem, p. 23. (69) Buch. p. 236, 241, 244.

a had Gallus Cæfar, and other children, whose names are not known, and Basilina, descended of an illustrious family, being the daughter of one Julian, who was prefect, and the fifter of another, who was count of the east. The furname of Anicius was common to both, and the Anician family was one of the most illustrious in Rome h. Perhaps Basilina was the daughter of Anicius Julianus, who was consul in 322. and afterwards governor of Rome. She professed the christian religion; but seems to have been tainted with the doctrine of Arius; for she bore great hatred to Eutropius, the famous orthodox bishop of Adrianople k. She was married at Constantinople, and died a few months after she was delivered there of Julian, her only child. He was born in 331. after the month of June; for writing against Albanasius at the end of b 362. he fays, that he was then in the thirty-fecond year of his age, which was not ended on the twenty-fixth of June 363. when he died m. He was named Julian from his grandfather on the mother's fide, and is styled in all ancient inscriptions Julianus Flavius Claudius. He was of low stature, and a disagreeable aspect, which was besides disfigured with a long beard, as he is represented in most of his medals; but at the same time well-shaped, very nimble, active, and of great address at all sorts of exercifes a. As for his mind, he was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learned with furprifing quickness, and never forgot what he had once knowno; infomuch that those, whose province it was to instruct him, tho' persons eminent in every branch of learning, used to complain, that he too soon exhausted their stock c of knowledge P: hence he is by fome writers equalled, and by others preferred, to the greatest men Greece ever produced q. However, he was far better acquainted with the Greek than the Latin tongue: in the former he came not short of the best writers; but did not excel, according to Eunapius, in the latter. His eloquence was eafy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery s. In his answers offhand he displayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and presence of mind, and, in the greatest dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidity. But whether the folidity of his judgment was equal to the brightness of his genius, we shall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild and sweet temper, had a violent thirst after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he fred quently preferred to the advice of his ablest counsellors, and strangely addicted to fatire and raillery . He was brought up at Constantinople till the death of his uncle Constantine, which was followed by the massacre of all his relations, in which were involved among the rest the father and elder brother of Julian; but Julian himself was spared on account of his infancy, being then but six or seven years old, as was his brother Gallus, because he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought

\*\* Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31. l. xxv, p. 291. Lib. orat. xii. p. 262.

p. 126. \*\* Athen. folit. p. 812. \*\* Julian. ad Athen. p. 502.
orat. xii. p. 262. Julian. mifop. p. 80. 81. & epift. 58. p. 214.
ibid. \*\* P Eunap. c. 5. p. 68. \*\* Idem, p. 589. & Vict. epit. p. 545. \*\* Eunap. ibid. \*\* Idem ibid. \*\* Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114. \*\* Idem, l. xiv. p. 31. Eunap. c. 5. p. 68. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 169.

cept St. Cyprian, and the famous martyrs of Africa, Perpetua and Felicitas (70). The fourth work for which we are indebted to Bucherius, is another catalogue of the bishops of Rome, which ends with Liberius, who fucceeded Julius, the last in the former list. As the election of Liberius is marked, and not his death, we may suppose this catalogue to have been written in his time. It is exceeding exact from Pontianus to the end; but full of militakes till his time. Anicetus, Eleutherius, and Zephyrinus, are omitted (71). The fourth work begins with the birth-days of the emperors, or the days of their accession to the empire, according to the order of the months. The last emperor mentioned there is Constantius, who is not styled, as the others, divus, but dominus; a convincing proof, that he was still living (72). This work contains likewise some verses, and a calendar of the sports, and other profane, and even idolatrous folemnities; but from the author's marking the dominical letters, we may conclude him to have been a christian. The work is inscribed to one Valentine, and is faid in the title to have been done by Furius Dionysius Filoccalus (73). The months of March, April, May, and June, are winting in the edition of Bucherius; but are to be found in Petavius's uranology, copied by him from Herwari (74). Du Cange will have the first author of the paschal chronicle, or the chronicle of Alexandria, to have ended his work in the year 354 for it is manifest, that this work was done by different writers, the same thing being often repeated, and sometimes related in a quite different manner. In some places the tenets of Arius are preached up, and in others condemned (75). As therefore Holstenius sound a manufcript of this chronicle ending in the year 354. Du Cange ascribes it to the first author, and what was afterwards added, to another, who not only continued the work to the time of Heraclius, but inserted several things into the part which had been done by the other (76). But the task of examining this point, we are willing to leave to others.

past recovery w- Some authors write, that Julian was conveyed away privately by Marcus bishop of Aresbusa in Syria, and concealed in a church is others, that Constantius ordered both him and his brother to be spared y. Julian himself tells us, that the emperor at first ordered him to be murdered with the rest of his relations; but afterwards contented himself with sending him into banishment?. Constantius suffered Gallus to enjoy part of his father's estate, and restored to Julian the estates both of his mother and grandmother, which had been confiscated a. Julian, at seven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch formerly belonging to his mother, named Mardonius, who discharged his trust with great care, inspiring him with an utter aversion to all manner of sports and diversions, and teaching him how to conquer his passions, and get the better of his evil inclinations b. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, a leading man among the Arians c, by whom he was brought up, partly at Nicomedia, and partly at an estate in Bithynia left him by his grandmother, where he planted with his own hands a vineyard. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheless gave it afterwards to one of his friends d. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was, by the emperor's orders, sent with his brother Gallus, who had been all this time confined to his estate in Ionia, to a castle called Macella, in the neighbourhood of Casarea in Capsadocia. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, a handsome allowance, a noble court, and the best masters to instruct them in all the sciences; but at the same time were furrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner prisoners, no one c being allowed, as Julian complains e, to visit them. In this exile or retreat they continued fix years; that is, till the fifteenth of March 351, when Gallus was created Cefar. The emperor's chief care was to appoint them fuch masters as were capable of inspiring them with sentiments of piety, and instructing them in the duties of the christian religion, which they were taught to practise, by conversing only with persons of religious and exemplary lives. They spent their time, says Sozomen, not in profane diversions, but in reading, meditating, visiting the churches, and the tombs of the holy martyrs f. They were even admitted to the office of readers, and read the holy scriptures in public, appearing no less satisfied with that function, than if they had been discharging the highest office in the states: and truly Gallus acted d therein with fincerity, he being not only a true, but a most pious christian; but Julian only studied, if Gregory Nazianzen is to be credited, to deceive the world with the mask of piety, and conceal his wicked inclinations h. Both that writer and Ammianus Marcellinus assure us, that he was, from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the ancient Romans, that is, to idolatry i; but he himself tells us, that he was a christian till he was twenty k; and Libanius, that when he came first to Nicomedia, which was in 351. or 352. he had an extreme aversion to the Roman gods!. Be that as it will, the different disposition of the heart, with which the two brothers performed the fame actions, was laid open to the eyes of the world, as we are told, by the following miraele, which we cannot omit, but intirely submit to the judgment of the They both undertook to build a church over the tomb of St. Mamas, a e celebrated martyr of Casarea in Cappadocia; but the side that was to be erected by Julian could never be finished; whereas that which Gallus had undertaken, was speedily completed. This miraculous event is not only related by Theodoret m, but by Gregory Nazianzen, who affures us, that he learnt it of those who had been eyewitnesses of it "; and Sozomen, who, in relating it, says the same thing, and adds, that many persons were still living, ready to confirm, as eye-witnesses, the truth of what he relates °. From this retreat Gallus was called to court, and created Casar, in the beginning of the year 351. and foon after the emperor was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to give Julian leave to quit Macella, and pursue his studies at Constantinople, where he saw his brother, as he passed through that city on his journey into the f east, with the title of Casar P. Libanius writes, that he met Gallus at Nicomedia, and obtained leave of the emperor to speak with him 9. At Constantinople Julian studied oratory, under a fophist of no great eloquence, but chosen by Constantius for his pre-

<sup>#</sup> Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. orat. xii. p. 262. \* Greg. Naz. orat. iii. g. y Idem ibid. p. 58. 2 Julian. ad Athen. p. 498. 1 Idem ibid. p. 502, 532. 5 Jul. iii. orat. p. 498. 2 Julian. ad Athen. p. 498. 4 Julian. epift. 46. p. 199, 200. 5 Julian. iii. orat. v. p. 37. 6 Julian. epift. 51. p. 210. 1 Liban. orat. v. p. 173. 6 Ammian. l. xv. p. 34. p. 9. Y Idem ibid. p. 50.
mifapog. p. 80, 81. C. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219.
ad Athen. p. 499. F. Sozom. l. v. c. 2. p. 593. F. Theodoret. l. iii.
Naz. p. 58. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 208. K. Julian. epift. 51. p. 210.
Tueodor. p. 637. R. Greg. Naz. p. 59. & 61. Sozom. p. 594.

a ceptor, because he used, in all his declamations, to inveigh against the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods r. Socrates affures us, that this sophist was Ecebolus s, of whom hereafter. Julian's conduct at Constantinople, his application, and obliging behaviour, foon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the schools like a private person, and, following the directions of the eunuch Mardonius, carefully avoided the least mark of distinction. This no fooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to quit Constantinople, and retire to Nicomedia, or what other place in Asia he pleased; but strictly injoining him not to frequent the school of Libanius, a pagan sophist of great reputation, who being driven out of Constantinople, had opened a school at Nicomedia; which city he was likewise obliged to quit soon after, and retire to Antioch, the place of his nati-b vity. The sophist too, under whom Julian studied at Constantinople, prevailed upon him to promise, and solemnly swear, that he would never hear the lectures of Libitnius. Julian observed his oath; but, as he had a great esteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his style with better success than those who had studied under him ". During his stay at Nicomedia, he became acquainted with one Maximus of Ephesus, a pagan philosopher of great reputation, and much addicted to the fludy of magic, who, flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inspired him with an aversion to the christian religion, which condemns all magical practices w. Libanius writes, that the precepts and instructions of a philosoc pher in Ionia, meaning, no doubt, Maximus, made fuch a deep impression on the mind of Julian, that he immediately renounced the christian religion, and embraced that of the Romans x. However, he was so far from owning his real sentiments, that, on the contrary, he put on the appearance of a fincere and zealous christian, causing his head to be shaved, fays Sozomen, affecting the dress and manners of a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of Nicomedia, while he at the same time privately adored the heathen deities, and caused himself to be instructed in the abominable mysteries of magic v. Gallus, who resided at Antioch, hearing somewhat of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by several warm and pious epistles, to confirm him in the true religion, and divert him from the idolad trous worship of the pagan gods z. But the sacrilegious curiosity of knowing suture events, fays Gregory Nazianzen, and the defire of reigning, prevailed over all other considerations 2. Upon the ruin of his brother Gallus, he was very near undergoing the same sate, being unjustly charged with several crimes, and suspected by the emperor of aspiring at the sovereignty, who thereupon ordered him to be arrested, and kept him for seven months surrounded by guards, sometimes in one place, and fometimes in another b, but mostly at Milan, where the emperor himself resided; for he tells us, that he was kept fix months in the great city which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to see the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empress Eusebia, who e prevailed upon her hufband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himself with liberty and freedom; which he did, without either justifying, through fear or complaisance, the emperor's proceedings against his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard usage he himself had met with. Constantius promised him a second audience; which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch Eusebius, the emperor's great chamberlain, who began to apprehend, that Julian might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but confidence . However, Constantius being in the end convinced of his innocence, by means of the empress, he was allowed to return to his own country; that is, to his mother's estate in Ionia or Bithynia d. But a report being spread, before he set out, f that Africanus had revolted in Illyricum, Constantius would not suffer him to return to Asia; but, at the request of Eusebia, gave him leave to go into Greece, which he preferred to all other places, being desirous, as he pretended, to perfect himself in the sciences; but his true design was to confer with the magicians at Athens, whom he believed more skilled in that art than those in Asia . He arrived at Athens about

F Idem ibid. 
SOCRAT. l. iii. p. 197.

EUNAP. C. 14. p. 132.

LIBAN. VII. p. 18. SOCRAT. p. 165.

EUNAP. C. 14. p. 132.

W SOCRAT. l. iii. c. i. p. 165.

SOZ. l. v. c. 2. p. 594.

LIBAN. OFAT. v. p. 175.

LIBAN. ibid.

F SOCRAT. l. iii.

C. i. p. 166.

PHILOST. l. iii. c. 27. p. 59.

LIBAN. OFAT. X. LIB. ibid.

GREG. NAZ. OFAT. ibid.

LIBAN. OFAT. XII. p. 267.

JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 501.

Glem ibid. p. 503, 504.

LIBAN. ibid.

JULIAN. ibid. EUNAP. C. 5. p. 74.

THEMIST p. 479.

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the middle of the year 355, and there became acquainted with the two great lumi- a naries of the church, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, who were at that time both improving themselves at Athens in the study of eloquence, of which they made afterwards so good an use. With the latter Julian read and studied, not only the prosane authors, but the books of the holy scripture, carefully concealing, through fear of Constantius, his real fentiments f; but he could not, with all his disguises, deceive the former, who, from his wild motions and gestures, which he minutely describes, forefaw, and foretold among his intimate friends, what afterwards happened 1. During his stay at Athens, he became familiar with the most zealous advocates for paganism, and the persons best versed in magic, expressing to them, in con- b fidence, his concern for the downfal of paganism, and his desire and intention of restoring it to its former lustre, as soon as it was in his power so to do h. He had been but a very short time at Athens, when he was recalled, to attend the emperor at Milan, who, it feems, had already determined with himself to raise him to the dignity of Casar 1. Julian left Greece with great regret, resolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor designed to invest him, either because he loved a retired life, as Libanius would make us believe k, or rather dreading the fate of his brother, as he himself informs us 1. On his arrival at Milan, he lodged in a house without the city, where he was splendidly entertained by the cunuchs of the empress ... Constantius was not then at Milan; but he returned soon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his defign of raifing Julian, who c did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but Eusebia, who favoured Julian, prevailed; and the emperor ordered Julian to shave his long beard, to quit his philosophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man, and the garb of a courtier of. As he had hitherto led the life of a philosopher, or rather of a monk, his aukwardness in acting a part he had never been accustomed to, afforded for some time no small diversion to the other courtiers. The emperor assigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among those who had shed the blood of his father and brothers, and massacred When he found the emperor, in spice of his warm remonstrances, his whole family. resolved upon his promotion, he earnestly intreated him to appoint such ministers d and officers to ferve under him, as might supply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only business might be to obey P. Constantius encouraged him, and having calmed his fears, gave him leave to wait on the empress, who removed all his apprehensions q. At length, on the fixth of November 355. he was declared Cafar with the usual solemnity, appointed governor of Gaul, and a few days after, by the interest of Eusebia, married to Helena, the empress's fister. We have related above in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched after his promotion. His houshold was changed, and of his former domestics only four were left with him, viz. two youths, his physician, and e his librarian. The latter alone was privy to his fentiments touching religion, as he himself informs us ". He lest Milan on the first of December, as we have observed above ", and arrived at Vienne in Gaul about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already described by us in the reign of Constantius, seem to us altogether surprifing, when we reflect, that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country, and among books, and confequently was obliged to learn the first rudiments of war while he was leading the army to battle . During his stay in Gaul, as foon as he had quitted the field, he betook himself to his studies, especially to that of philosophy, but without neglecting the other sciences, in which he made a wonderful progress, being, according to Ammianus, not only an f excellent philosopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well versed in the Roman and other histories, thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, and pretty well with the Latin, in which he expressed himself with great case y. His two elogies on Constantius, his panegyric on the empress Eusebia, and his discourse in commendation of Salust, which have all reached our times, were the fruit of his studies in Gaul;

His conduct in Gaul.

Julian is de .

clared Calar.

f Basil. ep. 207. p. 122. 

GREG. NAZ. p. 121, 122.

ad Athen. p. 503. Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. Liban. orat. x. p. 235. b Liban. orat. xii. p. 268. 1 Jul.
k Liban. ibid. 1 Julian. ad Athen. p. 505.

\*\*\* LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 268. & Julian. ibid. p. 17. & orat. iii. p. 228.

\*\* Ammian. l. xv. p. 47.

\*\* Ammian. l. xv. p. 49. Chron. Alex. p. 680. Socr. l. ii. c. 34. Julian. orat. iii. p. 230.

\*\* Uide p. 296, 297.

\*\* Julian. ibid. p. 526. LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 236.

\*\* Julian. ibid. p. 509.

\*\* Julian. ibid. p. 180.

\*\* Ammian. l. xvi. p. 62.

a for in the first of these compositions he speaks of his promotion to the dignity of Cajar, and tells us in the second, that he had seen the barbarians on the banks of the Rbine, and the coasts of the ocean, which must have happened in the campaign of the year 358 4. The panegyric on Eusebia was written after that princess had been at Rome, in the latter end of the year 356 2. As Julian took great delight in learning, men of letters flocked to him while he was in Gaul from all parts, especially from Greece, and among the rest the pontiff of Eleusina, with whom he practited in private the abominable mysteries of magic, and consulted the aruspices and augurs; for, tho' he outwardly professed the christian religion, he was a heathen in his heart, and facrificed every morning to Minerva in his closet b. He observed great temperance His frugality. b and sobriety in his diet, remembering, says Ammianus, the saying of Cato the elder, viz. That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue. Having this maxim constantly before his eyes, he would not even suffer his table to be served after the manner prescribed by Constantius, who had given him instructions under his own hand, as we have observed above, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and descended even to his diet, but contented himself with the food of the common soldiers d. As he fed sparingly, he was satisfied with little sleep, reposing on a skin spread on the ground, and awaking when he pleased, which was constantly about midnight: the rest of the night he spent in writing, reading, and visiting before break of day the fentries and guards in their different stations; from this no inclec mency of weather ever diverted him. He never fuffered plays to be exhibited but He hates all on the first day of the year, and then not for his own diversion, (for he hated all storts. forts of sports, even those of the circus) but to comply with an ancient custom, and to humour the populace f. No dancers, comedians, players upon instruments, bustioons, &c. were suffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not suffer the pagan pontiffs to affist at the infamous sports, as he styles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendship with stage-players, dancers, drivers of chariots, &c. or even enter their houses: however, he allowed them to be present at certain combats, which he names facred, and at which no women appeared; but as for the combats, in which men entered the lists with wild beasts, he excluded d from them both the priests and their children 8. The grave and severe life he led in Gaul gained him the esteem and affections of the people there, who looked upon him as a prince sent down to them by heaven, the more because he made it his chief study to ease them of the heavy and insupportable burdens with which they were Studies to ease loaded by the emperor's officers especially by Eleventing present of Gayl, who are the people. loaded by the emperor's officers, especially by Florentius, presect of Gaul, who, on that account, conceived an implacable hatred against him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But Julian, preferring the welfare of the people to his own safety, in spite of Florentius, lessened the taxes, and reduced them from twentyfive pieces of gold a head to seven, which he found sufficient to defray all the expences of the war ; whence he was by all the people in Gaul looked upon as the restorer of e their country, and their common father 1. In what he undertook in favour of the people, he was greatly affilted by one Salust, a native of Gaul, in whom he reposed an intire confidence; which raised such jealousy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to discredit him with the emperor, who was in the end persuaded to remove him, and appoint one Lucianus in his room k. Julian, sensibly affected in feeing himself deprived of the counsels of so trusty a friend, gave vent to his grief in the discourse which he wrote to bid him farewel 1. From that discourse, which is a kind of panegyric on Salust, it appears, that Julian had communicated to him his most secret thoughts; whence some conclude him to have been a pagan, tho' a man of great integrity, and an unblemished character ". The emperor, who was f then in Illyricum, sent him into Thrace; whence he was soon after remanded into Gaul, where Julian lest him in 361. with the character of presect. As Julian was

Julian. or. i. p. 82. & or. ii. p. 103.

\*\*Idem, or. iii. p. 241.

\*\*Dulian. ep. xxxviii. p. 180.

Liban. or. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279.

Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 180, 181.

\*\*Ammian.

l. xxi. & xxv. p. 61. & 292.

\*\*Idem ibid. p. 62.

\*\*Julian. p. 60.

\*\*Liban. or. xii. p. 304.

\*\*Ammian.

Julian. Lib. ibid.

\*\*Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292.

Julian. or. fragment. p. 555.

\*\*Panegyr. xi. p. 223.

Ammian. l. xvi. p. 58.

Julian. ep. xvii. p. 133.

Lib. or. xii. p. 281.

Julian. ep. ad Athen. p. 518.

\*\*Liban. ibid.

Julian. ep. xvii. p. 135.

\*\*Ammian. l. xxi. p. 187.

univerfally esteemed and beloved by the people in Gaul, no wonder that they readily concurred with the foldiery in bestowing upon him the title of emperor in 360. as opened.

After his promotion, he continued for some time to profess a we have related above. outwardly the christian religion, and publicly assisted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feast of the Exiphany in 361°. but threw off the mask soon after; for we are told by Libanius, that he no fooner faw himself master of Illyricum, than he He causes the opened the temples of the gods, offered facrifices according to the ancient rites, and temples of the exhorted all persons to follow his example, and restore to its former lustre the religion of their ancestors P. This happened before the death of Constantius, who died on the third of November 361. Since Gregory Nazianzen supposes him to have known, that Julian had renounced the true religion 4; and Libanius affures us, that before the emperor's death, the Greeks, especially the Athenians, declaring for Julian, had begun to offer facrifices as formerly, and practife the ceremonies that had been long b neglected, which gave occasion to a sedition raised at Athens among the sacred samilies, as Libanius styles them, meaning, no doubt, the families of the pontiss. The same writer adds, that Julian wrote several letters, exhorting them to peace and concord. We have mentioned above, what passed in Gaul and Illyricum, from the time Julian was declared emperor to the death of Constantius; and shall therefore, without repeating the same events, resume the thread of our history from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of Julian's reign. Constantius being dead, the eunuch Eusebius, and some others, who dreaded the resentment of Julian, and the punishment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one falling in with them, Theolaiphus and Aliguldus, both styled counts, were dispatched c Julian acknow- to Julian with the news of the emperor's death, and to assure him, that all the ledged emperor eastern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two messengers found him apon the death at Naissus in Illyricum, employed chiefly in superstitious inquiries into the entrails of of Constantius. victims, and fometimes promifing himself the best, at other times apprehending the worst events. But the death of Constantius delivered him stom all his doubts and apprehensions, and put him in possession of the empire, without striking a blow'. We are told, that when he received the news of the emperor's death, he burst into tears, appeared the fame day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief

> and concern amidst the repeated acclamations of the foldiery, saluting him with the title of Augustus'. He immediately issued orders for a general mourning, and com-

at Constantinopie.

manded all possible honours to be paid to the body of the deceased emperor . Soon after the meffengers, feveral horsemen arrived from Constantinople, affuring him, that the troops in those parts had unanimously acknowledged him emperor w. He there-He is received fore fet out without delay for Constantinople; and being met by almost all the inhawith great joy bitants of that metropolis at Heraclea, he made his public entry on the eleventh of December of this year 361, being attended by the senate in a body, by all the magistrates, and by the nobility in their best apparel, every one testifying with loud shouts of joy the satisfaction they felt in seeing such a promising prince; a prince, who had been born, and some time educated, in their city, who had already performed fuch wonderful exploits, raised to the empire without the least expence of blood e or treasure to the republic x. He was anew declared emperor by the senate of Constantinople; and as foon as that ceremony was over, he caused the obsequies of Confantius to be performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity imaginable. His next care was to form at Chalcedon a court of justice, to inquire into the conduct of court of justice the ministers of the deceased emperor, and to hear the complaints of such as had been to inquire into injured by them. In this court prefided Salustius Secundus, whom Julian had created the conduct of prefided of the cold of the conduct of prefect of the east, in the room of Elpidius, and we must take care not to confound Constantius. with Salust, prefect of Gaul, of whom we have spoken above: to distinguish them, we shall call the former Secundus, following therein Ammianus, and other writers. Julian reposed in both an intire confidence; and the presect of the east, though a f pagan, is highly commended, even by the ecclefiaftic writers, for his prudence, difcretion and compassion towards the christians persecuted by Julian, whose conduct towards them he loudly condemned. With him were joined in commission the two consuls elect Mamertinus and Nevita, the former presect of Illyricum, and the latter an officer in the army, with Arbetio, Agilo, and Jovinus, of whom the latter had been lately created general of the horse in Illyricum, and the two others had served

under

<sup>°</sup> Zos. l. iii. p. 711. Soz. l. v. c. 1. p. 590. Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. P Lib. of Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68, 69. F Lib. of. xii. p. 288. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 200. & Zos. l. iii. p. 713. Lib. of. xii. p. 289. Zos. l. iii. p. 713. \* Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. Socr. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. Lib. of. xii. p. 289. Zos. p. 713. P Lis. or. xii. p. 288. hen. p. 509.

\* Ammian. l. xxi. p. 200. & l. xxii. p. 204.

\* 706. l. iii. p. 712. w Idem ibid.

a under Constantius in quality of generals. Arbetio was universally abhorred on account

of his haughty and imperious behaviour, and was faid to have occasioned the ruin of feveral innocent persons under the late reign: whence the conduct of Julian seemed to all very strange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himself to have been arraigned as a criminal; nay, we are told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands, and that the others were named only for form-fake; which betrayed in Julian, says Ammianus, no small want either of judgment or vigour. Be that as it will, by this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous Paulus Catena, Several of them and the noted informer Apodemus, as the chief authors of all the cruelties committed condemned and in the late reign. The eunuch Eusebius was likewise condemned and executed. These b executions were by all the world applauded as just and equitable; but the death of Urfula, and Urfula, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a stain upon the reputation demned unof Julian, whom he had supplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he justly. was fent into Gaul with the title of Cæfar, but without the necessary appointments to support that dignity. What prompted Julian to put him to death, we are nowhere told; but all authors agree, that he deserved no such treatment, especially at his hands; and therefore charge him with the blackest ingratitude in procuring the death of a person to whom he owed the greatest obligations. Julian, to palliate his ingratitude, cruelty, and injustice, pretended, that Urfula had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but Ammianus himself owns this to be but a c lame excuse b. To atone in some degree for this crying injustice, he ordered great part of the cstate of Ursula, which had been confiscated, to be restored to his daughter, his only child c. Florentius, who was this year conful, and had, while prefect of Gaul, highly disobliged Julian, as we related above, was likewise sentenced to death; but he found means to make his escape, and appeared no more d: whence we must distinguish him from another of the same name, who was taken and beheaded with Procopius in 369. Two officers, whom Julian had discharged, offered to discover Florentius, provided they were restored to their rank; but Julian dismissed them, branding them with the name of informers, and adding, that to perfecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himfelf, was an action unworthy of a d prince. Taurus, Florentius's collegue in the consulship, and prefect of Italy, was banished to Vercellæ, now Vercelli, in Piedmont, for no other reason but because he had sled when Julian entered Illyricum f. With the same injustice were banished another Florentius, who had been magister officiorum under Constantius, Palladius, who had discharged the fame office in the court of Gallus, and many others 8. Julian, not fatisfied with having punished some of Constantius's ministers, deprived the rest of their employments, without distinction, tho' there were among them several persons of unblemished characters, who had disapproved, and even opposed, most of the late measures. As the vast number of officers was become an intolerable burden to the public, he thought He reforms the himself bound to lessen it; and accordingly discharged all useless persons about court, court. preferring the frugality and modesty of a philosopher, says Ammianus, to the vain magnificence of a prince. He reduced among the rest the officers called agentes in rebus, from ten thousand to seventeen, and discharged thousands of cooks, barbers, and such-like vermin, who devoured the substance of the people, and with their large salaries drained the exchequer . Historians relate of him, that having called for a barber, and one appearing in a dress far above his condition, Julian looking upon him, and betraying great surprize, I called for a barber, said he, and not for a governor or senator. The curiosi, whose office it was to inform the emperor of what passed in the different provinces, were all discharged, and that employment intirely suppressed m. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to ease f the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under; which he did, abating He enfer the throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and imposts ". He recalled people by leffenfrom banishment all the orthodox bishops, but with a design, as is observed both by ing the taxes. the pagan and christian writers, to raise disturbances, and sow dissentions in the church.

THE death of Constantius was no sooner known, than deputies were sent from the Deputies sent chief cities of the empire, to present the new prince with crowns of gold, and to from several cities and na-

# Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. # Idem ibid. # Lib. or. xii. p. 298. Ammian. ibid. p. 206, 207. \*\*sulate Julian.

b Idem ibid. # Lib. or. xii. p. 298. # Ammian. ibid. p. 206. # Idem, l. xxvi. p. 328. & l. xxii.

p. 210. # Idem, p. 206. # Idem ibid. h Idem, p. 213. \*\*Lib. or. xii. p. 279. \*\*Ammian.

l. xxii. p. 206, 207. \*\*Idem, l. xxii. p. 213. Zon. p. 21. \*\*Ammian. l. xxii. p. 207, 208. Lib.

Or. xii. p. 302. \*\*P. UMAN. miss. p. 203. p. 210. l. xxii. p. 206, 207.

l. xxii. p. 206, 207.

l. xxii. p. 203.

l. xxii. p. 204.

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l. xxii. p. 205.

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congra-

He invites to court philosophers, magiall parts.

congratulate him on his accession to the empire. Their example was followed by a feveral foreign nations, among which however we find no mention made of the Persians. The deputies of the Goths cavilling about the oaths they were to take, Julian ordered them to return home, and prepare for war; but contented himself with placing strong garisons in the cities of Thrace, and on the banks of the Danuber. Before he left Constantinople, he wrote to the philosopher Maximus, who had first inspired him, as we have observed above, with an aversion to the christian religion, inviting to court both him and another pagan philosopher and magician, named Chrysanthus. The latter, deterred by some bad omens, could not prevail upon cians, &c. from himself to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was received by the emperor at Constantinople with such tokens of friendship and esteem, b as to Ammianus feemed below the dignity of a prince P, tho' highly commended by Libanius 9. The philosopher, puffed up with the reception he met with from Julian, and the respect paid him by others out of complaisance to the prince, grew so proud and haughty, that it was less difficult to have access to the emperor than to him. By him Julian was perfuaded to write a fecond letter to Chryfanthus; nay, he condescended to write privately with his own hand to the philosopher's wife, hoping by her means to draw him to court. But finding him unalterably fixed in his former resolution, he created him high pontiff of Lydia; which office he discharged with great moderation. Forefeeing, without the affistance of magic, what might happen, he did not take upon him, as others did, to rebuild the temples of the gods; but c carefully avoided difobliging the christians, or doing them the least injury: hence the re-establishment of idolatry in that province was scarce perceptibles. The encouragement Maximus met with from Julian, drew to court from all parts swarms of philosophers, magicians, aruspices, and diviners of all denominations, who were kindly received by the emperor, entertained at a great expence, and raised to honourable employments, tho' many of them had in the late reign been branded with infamy for their notorious impostures, and condemned either to languish in prison, or to work in the mines. These were Julian's chief savourites; these the persons in whom he most confided ". But among them Maximus and Priscus bore the chief fway, affuming a port and authority ill fuiting their profession w. Iamblichus d of Apamea was likewise importuned by Julian to come to court; but he chose rather to lead a retired life, as did the great Basil, rejecting with contempt the tender which Julian, who had known him at Athens, made him of his friendship x. The christian writers add, that Julian's court was not only crouded with philosophers and magicians, but with infamous women; a charge not denied by Ammianus himself, who owns, that he was not undefervedly traduced and ridiculed for carrying about with him troops of women 2.

Julian pays great respect to the confuls.

THE next confuls were Claudius Mamertinus and Nevita, or Nevitta, who, on the first day of January, when they entered, according to custom, upon their office, went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor, tearing, fays Mamertinus in the e panegyric he pronounced on this occasion, he should be before-hand with them. Julian no sooner heard they were coming, than he hastened to meet them in the utmost consusion, as if he had been wanting in respect to them, kissed them, received them with the greatest regard imaginable, and would by all means attend them in their chariots, walking before them to the senate mixed with the croud b. His conduct on this occasion is greatly commended by some, and no less blamed by others, among the rest by Ammianus, who looked upon it as too mean, and below the majesty of a prince. It was an usual thing for emperors to accompany the new confuls on that day, but not on foot, it feems, nor blended with the croud. On the third of January, Mamertinus exhibited the circensian sports, when a troop of slaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the consul, according to custom, Julian, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the several magistrates, declared them free himself; but being told, that he entrenched upon the jurisdiction of the consuls, he begged pardon, and condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds weight of gold d. Ammianus observes, that Julian went frequently to

<sup>\*</sup> Ammian. ibid. p. 210. Lib. or. x. p. 245. P Ammian. l. xxii. p. 210. Lib. or. xii. p. 299. Eunap. c. 5. p. 79. Idem ibid. p. 80, 81. Idem, c. 21. p. 148, 149. Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 225. W Eunap. ibid. Basil. ep. 206, 207. p. 225, 226. Y Chrys. in gent. p. 676. Greg. Naz. or. iv. p. 221. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 217. Panegyr. xi. p. 222. Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. Y Chrys. in gent. P. 226. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 218. Or. xii. p. 299. Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. Idem, c. 5. \* Ammian. 1. xxii. p. 209. d Idem ibid. p. 224.

a the senate, and spoke in all debates; whereas Constantius used to command the senators to attend him in the palace, and to fignify to them his will and pleafure, without allowing them to fit down in his presence. This year Julian appointed one Prætextatus governor of Achaia, who is mightily commended both by Ammianus f and Zosimus 8; and Photius quotes a discourse of the sophist Himera on his proconfulship, which office he still held in 364. and 365. under the emperor Valentinian h. Before he left Constantinople, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, He enriches the with many privileges, formed a large harbour to shelter the ships from the fouth city of Confinition to shelter the ships from the fouth city of Confinition to shelter the ships from the fouth city of Confinition to shelter the ships from the fouth city of Confinition to shelter the ships from the ships f wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a stately library, with many priin which he lodged all his books. At length he left Constantinople in the month vileges. b of May, and fet out for Antioch: he passed through Chalcedon, and from thence went He sets ont to Nicomedia, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not for Anticche behold without shedding many tears: he ordered considerable sums for the rebuilding of it, and then pursuing his journey by Nice, he turned out of his way on the borders of Galatia, to visit the famous temple of Cybele at Pessinus, which he enriched with offerings of a great value. He pronounced a discourse on that pretended deity, which he composed in one night, appointed Calixenes priestess of the temple, and then continued his rout to Aucyra, where he was met by the pagan priests carrying with them their idols. As foon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered considerable fums to be distributed among them, and the next day exhibited public sports k. c As he purfued his march, he was met in most places by crouds of people come to lay their complaints before him: he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity, not fuffering himfelf to be prejudiced in favour of those who complained, or against such as had given them occasion to complain 1. As he entered Cilicia, he was met by the inhabitants of a small village, one of whom accused another of aspiring at the empire, alledging, that he had ordered himself a purple habit, which was actually making. Julian heard the informer with great patience, and then told him, that when the purple habit was done, he might supply, if he pleased, the new prince with purple shoes m. The emperor, passing through Cilicia, arrived at length at Antioch, where he was received with the greatest demond strations of joy imaginable. Soon after his arrival, he went up to the top of mount Casius in the neighbourhood of that city, and there offered a solemn facrifice to Jupiter. On his return, Theodotus, one of the chief citizens of Hierapolis, who, it feems, had formerly done fomething to disoblige him, threw himself at his feet, intreating him to forgive him. Julian did not know him; but without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderness, saying, In what you have disobliged me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but be what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whose greatest ambition is to lessen the number of his enemies, and increase that of his friends a. During his stay at Antioch, he employed himself chiefly in hearing and deciding causes; in protecting the innocent, without He administers e distinction of christian or pagan, says Ammianus o; and punishing the guilty, without justice with forgetting his usual lenity and moderation. In the administration of justice, he readily impartality. hearkened to those who seemed better acquainted with the laws than himself, advising constantly with them before he gave fentence P. But notwithstanding his so much boasted equity and moderation, he sentenced to death Gaudentius, one of the late emperor's fecretaries, and Julian formerly vicar, for no other reason but because they had adhered to Constantius with great steadiness and zeal 4; which a generous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than punishment. He treated in the same manner the son of Marcellus, accused of aspiring at the empire; but contented himself with only banishing Romanus and Vincentius, two officers of distinf ction, the convicted of the same crimer. Marcellus had highly disobliged Julian, while he commanded under him in Gaul, as we have observed essewhere. The ecclesiastic writers make long descants on the unheard-of cruelties, and innumerable murders, committed by Julian, during his stay at Antioch'. Gregory Nazianzen represents the Orontes, on which stood Antioch, choaked up with the bodies of such as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the night-time; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, ponds, &c. in the neigh-

The empire afflicted with many calamities.

bourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children a whom he had inhumanly facrificed, hoping to discover future events in their entrails. These abominable practices, and barbarous murders, were kept secret, and carefully concealed, during his life-time, fays Theodoret u; but after his death many chefts were found in the palace, filled with the bones of those he had thus inhumanly sacrificed. It is furprising, that such cruelties should have been known only to the christian writers. Both pagan and christian authors observe, that during the short time Julian reigned, the empire was constantly afflicted by some grievous calamity or other: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; most of the cities of Palestine, Libya, Sicily, and Greece, were overturned w. Libanius writes, that not one city was left standing in all Libya, and but one in Greece; that Nice was utterly ruined, and b Constantinople greatly damaged . The temples of Apollo at Rome and Daphne were about the same time consumed by fire. The sea in several places broke in upon the land, and destroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At Alexandria, the sea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with such violence, that it laid under water feveral towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people y. To these calamities was added a general drought, which lasted till the winter was far spent, and produced an universal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of Julian, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle 2. The ecclesiastic writers observe, that the samine followed Julian from place to place; and that, as he continued longer at Antioch, than in any other c city, it raged there with most violence. Julian, to remedy this evil, fixed the prices of corn, and all other provisions, which increased it beyond measure, the merchants conveying privately their corn to other places. By this means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to fuch miseries as can hardly be expressed a. THE following year, 363. Julian entered upon his fourth confulthip, having Salust,

the prefect of Gaul, for his collegue; and on that occasion Libanius pronounced the panegyric, which is still extant b. Julian, on the first of January, visited the temple of Jupiter, and there performed the heathenish sacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the safety of the empire. As the inhabitants of Antioch were mostly christians, and besides highly provoked against Julian, to whose impiety in wor-dshipping the idols they ascribed the samine, and the other calamities, with which the whole empire was afflicted, they published several lampoons, reslecting on the desects of his person, and exposing him to ridicule on account of his small stature, his forbidding aspect, his long and rough beard, his port and gestures, which were, it seems, somewhat odd and ridiculous. They styled him butcher, by reason of the many victims he was daily immolating; and rallied him, not without reason, says Ammianus, for taking pride in carrying himself the utenfils for the sacrifices, and acting rather the part of a priest than an emperor. The strange and fantastical figures, which he caused to be engraved on his coins, were, and not undeservedly, one of the topics of ridicule d. Julian, highly provoked with the ralleries of the people of Antioch, and severe satires that were daily published against him, and sung publicly in the streets, wrote an ironical invective against the Antiochians, styled The His Antiochian Antiochian or Misopogon, that is, the beard bater; in which he represents them intirely or Misopogon addicted to their interest, abandoned to luxury, pomp, and lewdness, great admirers of plays, farces, and all forts of diversions. And truly, that his reproaches were not groundless, is manifest from the homilies which the famous Chrysostom preached a few years after in that city. However, Ammianus affures us, that, blinded with passion, he mixed with the truth many things that were quite foreign to it. Elias of Crete, as quoted by Gregory Nazianzen, tells us, that, in composing this piece, Julian was affisted by Libanius f. Maximus too had, in all likelihood, a hand in it; f for to his censure Julian used to submit all his compositions 8. The Misopogon was received by some better, by others, especially the christians, worse than it deserved: it is a continued fatire, not without humour; but in many places flat, low, and insipid. He wrote it seven months after his arrival at Antioch, that is, about the

Julian rallied by the Antio-

chians.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Тнеорок l. iii с. 22. р. 659. t GREG. NAZ. ibid. w Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226. Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 639. CHRYS. & GREG. NAZ. 1bid. \* LIB OT. X11. p. 314. 7 AMMIAN. 1. XXIII. p. 240. GREG. NAZ. p. 112. Soz. p. 639. vit. p. 43, 44 & or. x. p. 227. Sock. p. 390. CANGE, Byz. fam. p. 39. ep. xvi. p. 131.

a latter end of January of the present year 363 h. Tho' he had been highly provoked by the fevere reflections, and biting ralleries, of the Antiochians, yet in his Misopogon he folemnly declares, that none of them shall on that score lose their lives, be beaten with rods, arrested, or imprisoned; but threatens to withdraw from a city, which thus requited, with the utmost ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving the citizens, when in the utmost distress. His design was to reside at Tarsus, and with this view he He designs to wrote to Memor, governor of Cilicia, one of his intimate friends, injoining him to leave Antioch, and reside at get every thing ready for his reception against his return from the Persian war, Tarfus. which he was then bent upon k. Libanius tells us, that about the time Julian wrote his Misopogon, ten foldiers, incensed against him on account of his attempting to b re-establish the worship of the gods, conspired to murder him while he was exercifing his troops. But the plot being discovered by the conspirators themselves, when they were intoxicated with wine, they were all arrefted, and brought before Julian, who generously forgave them, tho' convicted of the crime laid to their charge!

Julian had, ever fince his accession to the empire, shewed a strong inclination to He prepares for make war upon the Persians, and try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, the Persian war. who had tor many years haraffed the eaftern provinces in a most miserable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predecessor. Being advised, soon after his arrival at Constantinople, to fall upon the Goths, he answered, that he designed to enter the e lists with a more formidable enemy m. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and foldiers who were to ferve under them. Victor was created general of the foot, and Hormisda of the horse. The latter was the elder brother of Sapor, king of Persia; but having been excluded from the crown, and kept some time under confinement, he sound means to make his escape, and took sanctuary in the court of Constantine in 323 ". Julian, during his stay at Antioch, pursued his preparations for the Persian war, drawing together his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, confulting the oracles, the aruspices, magicians, &c. The oracles of Delphos, Delos, and Dodona, affured him of victory. But the aruspices, and most of his d courtiers and officers, did all that lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition P. But the deceitful answers of the oracles, the confidence he reposed in the magicians, and the defire of adding the Persian monarch to the many kings he had already feen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other confiderations 4. The Persians, according to Theodoret, began hostilities, by making inroads into Mesopotamia. But Libanius tells us, that the king of Persia wrote to Julian, offering to conclude a peace with him upon such terms as he should think just and reasonable; but that Julian, defirous to revenge the many affronts offered to the Romans by that haughty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms s. Socrates Will bearken to speaks of embassadors sent by Sapor with advantageous proposals, but dismissed by no terms.

e Julian with this answer; that ere it was long he hoped to treat with their master in person. Several nations sent deputies to Julian, offering him their assistance, which he refused, saying, The Romans are to assist their allies, but stand in no need of their assistance u. He likewise rejected, and in a very disobliging manner, the offers He disobliges of the Saracens, answering them, when they complained of his stopping the pension, the Saracens. which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that a warlike prince bad steel, but no gold; which they resenting, joined the Persians, and continued faithful to them to the last w. However, he wrote to Arfaces, king of Armenia, injoining him to keep his troops in readiness to execute the orders he should soon transmit to him. Having made the necessary preparations for so important a war, as soon as the f season was fit for action, he dispatched orders to his troops to pass the Euphrates, with a defign to enter the enemy's country before they had the least notice of his march, placing guards for that purpose on all the roads. Before he left Antioch,

he appointed one Alexander, a cruel and passionate man, governor of that city, saying the citizens deserve no better y. He set out from Antioch on the fifth of March, He sets out

and reached the same day Litarba, a village in the territory of Chakis, and about a fifteen leagues from Antioch. The magistrates of that great city, who had attended him thither, wishing him a happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them in a great passion, that he would never visit them again, being resolved to winter at Tarfus'. He had told them before the same thing in the presence of Libanius, who thereupon wrote two speeches, the one, addressed to Julian, in favour of the inhabitants of Antioch, and the other to the inhabitants themselves ". Of these, the first only has reached our times. From Litarba, Julian proceeded to Berea, where he halted a day, and pronounced a speech before the council of the place, exhorting them to adore the gods of their ancestors. He writes himself, that they all heard him with attention, and commended him; but few followed his advice w. At the b The conduct of head of the council was a zealous christian, who had not only difinherited, but turned out of doors, his fon, for renouncing the christian religion. As Julian drew near Berea, the son accosting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had met with from

Berea.

The route of Julian's army.

He sacrifices Carrhæ.

his father, and the motives of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition, bid him take courage, and be under no concern: For I will take upon me, added he, to appease your father, and reinstate you in his favour. Mindful of his promise, the fame day he invited the chief citizens of Berea, and, among the rest, both the father and the son, to sup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midst of the banquet, turning to the father, I do not think it reasonable, said he, to use any violence in point of religion. Allow your son to prosess a religion different from yours, c as I allow you to profess one different from mine, tho' I might easily oblige you to renounce it. What! replied the father, are you speaking in favour of an impious wretch abborred by heaven, who has preserved falshood to truth, and renounced the worship of the true God, to fall down before idols? Injuries and investives, replied Julian, interrupting him, are foreign to our purpose, and therefore I beg you would forbear them: then turning to the fon, It is incumbent upon me, faid he, to take care of you, since your father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf x. He was better pleased with the inhabitants of Batne, the next city he came to; for they had, before his arrival, restored the public worship of the gods. There he offered sacrifices, and having immolated a great number of victims, he pursued the next day his journey to d Hierapolis, the capital city of the province Euphratesiana, which he reached on the ninth of March. He was met at a great distance by crouds of people; but as he entered the city, fifty foldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by the fall of a porchy. At Hierapolis he lodged in the house of one for whom he had a particular esteem and veneration, because he was the fon-in-law of Sopater, the disciple of Iamblichus, and because neither Constantius nor Gallus, who had both lodged in his house, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worship of his idols 2. From Hierapolis, Julian wrote to Libanius, giving him an account of his journey, and of several things he had done at Hierapolis 3; but takes no notice of the death of the fifty foldiers. He lest Hierapolis on the thirteenth of March; e and having passed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats with his army, he came to Batnæ, a small city of Osrhoene, about ten leagues from Hierapolis, and different from the city of the same name in Syria. There fifty soldiers more were killed by the fall of a stack of strawb. From Batnæ he proceeded to Carrbæ, where, in the famous temple of the moon, he performed some ceremonies with his magicians, to the moon at fays Theodoret, which were not known then, but were discovered after his death; for that writer tells us, that he ordered the gates of the temple to be shut, sealed them with his own fignet, and placed guards round the temple, with orders to let no one enter it till his return. But when the news of his death was brought to Carrbæ, the gates were opened, continues the same writer, when, to the great sur- f prize of the whole city, a woman was feen hanging by her hair, with her arms firetched out, and her belly open c. What Theodores writes is not vouched by any other author; but they all agree, that Julian privately facrificed in the temple of the moon at Carrbæ; which ceremony being over, he delivered, as we read in Ammianus, a purple robe to his kinsman Procopius, the only person whom he had admitted to the facrifice, injoining him to seize on the empire, if news should be

EVAGR. 1. vi. c. 11. p. 452. JULIAN. p. 156. AMMIAN. p. 239. Evagr. l. vi. c. 11. p. 452. Julian. p. 170. Gordon p. 157. \* Theod. l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656. p. 156. Socr. l. iii. c. 17. p. 190. w Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 157. \* Theod. l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656. y Julian. ibid. p. 159. Lib. or. xii. p. 311. \* Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 159. \* Idem ibid. p. 160. b Lib. or. xii. p. 111. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 239. 240. \* Theodor. l. iii. c. 21. p. 658, 659. brought " LIB. vit. p. 44. JULIAN. ep. XXVII.

a brought him of his death d. This looks as if the omens had not proved favourable. But on the other hand Libanius writes, that the gods revealed to him, that he was not to die till he had humbled the Persians; and bestows great encomiums upon him for having chosen to hasten his death, rather than to deprive himself of the glory he was to acquire in this ware. While he was at Carrba, news being brought him, that a party of the enemy's horse had broke into the Roman territories, he resolved to leave an army in Mesopotamia to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, while he advanced on the other into the heart of the Persian dominions. This army confifted, according to fome 8, of twenty thousand, according to others, of thirty thousand, chosen troops, and was commanded by Procopius, and Sebastian, a famous b Manichean, who had been governor of Egypt, and had perfecuted there, with the utmost cruelty, the orthodox christians. These two were to join, if possible, Arsaces king of Armenia, to lay waste the fruitful plains of Media, and meet the emperor in Assyria. Julian wrote to Arsaces, acquainting him with his design, but in the most disobliging terms imaginable, treating him as if he had been the meanest of his His conduct toflaves, reviling the memory of Constantius, to whom that prince had been ever wards the king greatly attached, and extolling his own abilities and skill in war. As Arfaces pro- of Armenia. fessed the christian religion, Julian, after having threatened to treat him as a rebel, if he did not, with the utmost punctuality, execute the orders laid upon him, added, And the God you adore will not be able to screen you from my indignation. Thus c Sozomen. There were two roads leading from Carrbe to Persia, the one to the left by Nisibis, and through the province of Adiabene; the other to the right, through Assyria, along the banks of the Euphrates. On both these roads Julian had caused magazines to be erected, but chose the latter; and after having, from an eminence, viewed his army, confifting of fixty-three thousand men, he set out on the twenty- The order of fifth of March for Davana or Dabana in Mejopotamia, and arrived the next day at his march. Callinifus or Callinicum, where he flopt the twenty-seventh to celebrate the feast of the mother of the gods. The day following he proceeded on his march, and encamped the night in the fields near the Euphrales; where he was met by his fleet, confifting of feven hundred gallies, and four hundred ships of burden, commanded by count d Lucillianus, and the tribune Constantianus. From Callinicum he proceeded to Cercufium, called also Circefium, situated at the conflux of the Abora and the Euphrates, and reckoned one of the strongest places in Mesopotamia, having been fortified by Dioclesian, to prevent the sudden irruptions of the Persians, who, in his reign, had even surprised Antioch. At this place Julian passed the Abora with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his foldiers might not be tempted to defert, feeing they could not return home. From Cercujum he advanced to Zaitha, where the tomb of the emperor Gordian was still to be seen. On the seventh of April, a soldier, and two horses, were struck dead by a flash of lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary fize, prefenting himself to the army, was dispatched in a moment by the foldiers with a shower of darts. These omens occafioned great disputes between the philosophers and the aruspices, the latter looking upon them as inauspicious, and advising the emperor not to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to Julian's temper 1. The emperor, after having passed the Abora, which parted the He enters the Roman and Persian dominions, encouraged his men with a proper speech to revenge Persian domithe many injuries and affronts, which of late years had been offered by the haughty nions. enemy to the Roman emperors. When he had ended his speech, he ordered large fums to be distributed among them, a hundred and thirty pieces of filver a man, fays Ammianus. He then proceeded on his march with the greatest order and precaution imaginable. Nevitta led the right wing along the Euphrates; Arintheus and Hormisda were in the lest, with some troops of horse; Julian himself commanded in the centre, and the rear was brought up by Dagalaiphus, Vistor and Secundinus: a body of fifteen hundred horse was appointed to scour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any surprize. To strike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to be widened; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a diffance far more numerous than it really was ... Having

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. pro templ. p. 24. 

\* Ammian. p. 240. 

\* Soz l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. 

\* Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 440. 

\* Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715. Lib. or. xii. p. 312. 

\* Daffed d Ammian. p. 240. \$ Zos. 1. iii. p. 714. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. Zos. l. iii. p. 314. 1 AMMIAN. p. 244-246.

He lays waste Affyria.

He reduces fe-

veral towns

and strong.

bolds.

passed the Abora, he entered Assyria, says Ammianus; but, according to Libanius, 2 he croffed vast deserts before he reached that province, which he found very populous, and abounding with all necessaries of life; but he laid it waste far and near, fetting fire to the magazines, and destroying the provisions which he could not carry with him a. By that means he put it out of his power, which was judged very impolitie, to take the fame rout on his return. Six or feven days after he had paffed the Abora, he came to a fort called Annathan, which capitulated upon the first summons; whereupon Julian preferred the officer who commanded there, by name Puleus, to the rank of a tribune. He ever after ferved the Romans with great fidelity, and was in the end created duke of Egypt. Here was found a Roman foldier, who falling fick when Galerius invaded Persia fixty-fix years before, had been lest in the enemy's country. b Upon his recovery, he lifted himself among the Persian troops, being then in the flower of his age, and had ferved with great reputation. When he was brought to Julian, he affured him, that he had been often forefold, he should live till he was near an hundred years old, and be buried at last in the Roman territories. Ammianus supposes the place to have been by him betrayed to the Romans v. Julian burnt all the places he found abandoned by the inhabitants; but left feveral strong-holds behind him, without attempting to reduce them, upon their promifing to submit, when he had made himself master of the rest of the country?. After the army had repassed the Euphrates, at a place called Baraxmalcha, Hormisda would have fallen into an ambuscade laid for him by the enemy, had he not been luckily prevented by a canal, c which he could not pass, from advancing to the place, where a body of Persians lay in wait for him, under the conduct of Surena r. After this, Julian passed with great difficulty an arm of the Euphrates, which was swelled to an unusual height by the melting of the fnow, and laid fiege to Berfabora or Pyrifabora, next to Ctefifbon the strongest place in Assyria, being fortified with a double wall, and a citadel, and defended by a numerous garifon. But Julian, furmounting all difficulties, reduced it in two days time, in spite of the most vigorous resistance he met with, both from the garifon and the inhabitants, who fought to the last like men in despair. He found in the place great store of provisions, and distributed among his soldiers, who began to mutiny, an hundred pieces of filver a head, having with much-ado pre- d vailed upon them to be fatisfied with that fum s. Having thus pacified the army, and fet fire to the town, he purfued his march, and entered a country, which the enemy, forefeeing he would pass that way, had laid under water; but the soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great resolution, and arriving at Maiozamalcha, a place of great strength, which resused to submit, they drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day, without intermission; but the besieged obstinately held out, till the Romans, by means of a mine, got into the city, while the Persians were busied in defending the walls. Ammianus, who was at this siege, calls Maiozamalcha a great and populous city; and his authority is of more weight with us than that of Libanius or Zosimus, who suppose it to have been only e a castle near a large and populous city named Besuchis. Julian, incensed against the governor for not furrendering the place at the time agreed on, and for calling Hormisda a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plundered by the foldiers. As the army was now within seven miles of Ctesiphon, and Vistor, who had visited all the roads, assured them they had nothing to apprehend, He advances to they advanced to a city, which had been formerly ruined, fays Ammianus, by a Roman emperor, meaning, according to some, Seleucia, ruined by Lucius Verus, and, according to others, Sabata, about three miles from Ctesiphon the great metropolis of the Persian empire ". From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken by assult, after a short, but vigorous resistance, Julian himself having narrowly f escaped being killed by a shower of arrows discharged against him, as he was viewing the walls too near w. Having razed the fort, he allowed his army some time to refresh themselves; and then, causing the canal to be cleansed, which had been formerly dug by Trajan between the Euphrates and the Tigris, he conveyed by that means his fleet from the former to the latter river. After this, he led his army to Coche, a place of great strength, standing on the Tigris over-against Ctesiphon; but we are not told that he attacked it. All we know is, that he passed the river with no

Cteliphon.

B LIBAN. ibid. p. 313. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 263. LIBAN. 0721. xii. p. 312. P Ammian. p. 264. Idem, p. 265. Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715. Manian. ibid. p. 269, 270. 1 Idem, p. 271. LIBAN. p. 316. Zos. p. 721. AMMIAN. Zos. ibid. w Ammian. p. 275.

a less rathness than courage, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, encamped on

the opposite bank, whom he obliged to retire, and shelter themselves within the Puts the Perwalls of Ctesiphon. Some of the Romans pursued them to the very gates of the city, fians to sught, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not Vistor prudently restrained and passes the Tigris. them. The Persians lost on this occasion, according to some, two thousand five hundred, according to others, fix thousand men, and the Romans only seventy or seventy five. Only part of the Roman army passed the Tigris that day, and made themselves masters of the Persian camp. The rest followed the next day, and Julian himself, with his guards, three days after . Julian continued some days encamped before Ctefiphon; but not daring to attack it through fear of being repulsed with b shame, as it was very strong, well stored with provisions, and defended by a very numerous garison, he contented himself with sending Arintheus to lay waste the neighbouring country. In the mean time the king of Persia was assembling, on the most distant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, with a design to fall upon Julian in his retreat. However, he sent deputies to propose terms for an accommodation, being defirous to put an end to so destructive a war. These applied to Hormisda, as their countryman, and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings, as he imagined; but Julian, instead of hearkening to the proposals, ordered Hormifda privately to dismiss the embassadors, He rejects proand give out, that they were only some of his old friends come to see him; for he posals of peace. c apprehended, that both the foldiers and officers would have difapproved of his purfuing so dangerous and troublesome a war, when a peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The embassadors being dismissed, Julian, contrary to the advice of his officers, resolved to advance farther into Persia; but the army had no fooner fet out on their march, than, changing his mind, he began to think it more adviseable to turn back, not by the way he came, the country without makon that side being laid waste, but to take his rout along the banks of the Tigris; ing any atwhich he did accordingly, without so much as attempting to reduce Ctestiphon, tho' tempt upon he had lain several days before it. He marched some time along the Tigris, which Cteliphon. he had on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but d who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of Persia, they persuaded Deceived by him to quit the river, and take a quite different rout, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Hormisda, and all the officers of the army; who, looking upon the guides burns his fleet. as persons sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them into some snare, did all that lay in their power to divert Julian from sollowing their advice; but he, reposing in them an intire confidence, resolved not only to leave the Tigris, but to burn his fleet, lest the enemy should become masters of it. This resolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheless put immediately in execution, only twelve small vessels being spared, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make bridges, if there should be occasion. When the fleet was first set on fire, the army e began to mutiny, and cry out with one voice, That the emperor was betrayed; that the pretended guides were real traitors, sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them to destruction. Julian, to appeale the foldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned themselves to be what they really were, confessing, that, in adviseing him to burn the fleet, they had no other design but to ruin him and the army. Hereupon great care was taken to extinguish the fire, and fave the ships; but the slames could by no means be overcome, till the whole fleet, except the above-mentioned twelve vessels, was reduced to ashes . After this, Julian pursued his march through a country, fays Ammianus, very fruitful in itself, but ravaged and laid waste by the

sometimes in the rear. Julian, not knowing what rout to take in a strange country, Isreduced to and finding his army quite dispirited, summoned a council of all the chief officers of great fireights. the army, when, after many confultations, they refolved to march towards Cordinene,

\* Ammian. p. 278. Liban. p. 319. Zos. p. 726. 7 AMMIAN. p. 281. \* Ammian. I. xxiv. p. 281. LIBAN. p. 301. ZONAR. p. 23.

enemy; insomuch that the Romans were reduced to the last extremity for want of f provisions, and at the same time harasted without intermission by strong parties, who, in a manner furrounding them, attacked them fometimes in the front, and

which lay fouth of Armenia, and belonged to the Romans. Pursuant to this resolution, they set forward on the fixteenth of June; but had not marched far, when they discovered at some distance a very numerous army advancing in full march against

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them.

But diftreffed for want of provisions,

His speech before his death.

This was the Persian army, commanded by the king in person, attended a by two of his fons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The Romans thought it adviseable to return to their camp, where they were, in a manner, besieged the next day by the numerous troops of the enemy. Several skirmishes happened on that and the ten following days, in which the Persians were constantly put to slight. In a sharp encounter on the twenty-second of June, almost the whole Persian army Puts the Per- engaged; but were, after a very vigorous resistance, put to the rout with great tians to flight; flaughter. The Romans remained masters of the field; but found little satisfaction in a victory which could not relieve their wants in a strange country, where no provisions were to be had, the corn, grass, and every thing else, being burnt up by the enemy. Julian himself laboured under the greatest perplexity and uneasiness imagin- b able, finding the Persians were resolved to oppose his march, and attempt all means to distress him, without ever coming to a general engagement. At length, the night preceding the twenty-fixth of June, as he rose, according to his custom, about midnight, and was busied in his tent in reading or writing, he beheld all on a sudden before him, with a countenance full of forrow, the spectre representing the genius of the empire, which had appeared to him, as we have related elsewhere, upon his being declared emperor. He was somewhat terrified at this unexpected fight, and at other omens which happened at the same time, and were looked upon by the aruspices as portending some great misfortune, if he should undertake any thing that day. But Julian, despising, contrary to his custom, the predictions of his soothfayers, as foon as it was day, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer And hara sid able to subsist in the same place. On his march he was attacked on all sides by the on his march by enemy, who, after they had discharged their arrows, which never failed doing great army, and mor- execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of those tally wounded. who fell. In one of these sudden onsets, the emperor hastening, without his armour, to repulse the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm' and fide, pierced his very liver. Those who were about him, concluding, from his finking down upon the neck of his horse, that he was wounded, conveyed him with all speed upon a large shield to his tent, where Oribasus, a celebrated physician, and his intimate friend, attempted in vain to fave him, applying the best remedies his art d and skill could suggest. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms and horse, being desirous to animate his men with his presence; but his strength not answering his courage, as he was greatly weakened by the loss of blood, he was forced to continue in his tent, while his men, filled with rage, and breathing revenge, made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end to the flaughter. Fifty Persian lords of great distinction were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and common foldiers. The Romans lost Anatolius, who was magister officiorum, and generally effeemed an officer of great skill and experience. The prefect Salust was with much-ado faved by his apparitors; but Phosphorius, his vicar, was slain, with many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded. While the fight continued, Julian lay languishing in his tent; and being apprised that his end approached, he addressed those about him, who seemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the following terms: "I am now, my fellow foldiers, called upon to pay the last debt of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful mind, being taught by philoso-" phy, that the state of the foul is infinitely more happy than that of the body. "Upon this confideration, I embrace death as the greatest bleffing: it exempts me " from the many dangers to which my virtue and reputation were daily exposed. I " have lived, first in a private, and afterwards in an exalted state, and have so behaved in both, as not to be conscious to myself of any action, that gives me at " present the least remorse. I have studied to govern with moderation, and being " well apprifed, that the end of all government is the happiness of the people, I have, both in peace and war, endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to render them happy. I have great reason to thank Divine Providence, for not having suffered me to fall by the hand of conspirators; to languish under a long and troublesome "disease; or to die like a criminal, as many innocent and deserving persons have "done. I submit with joy to the eternal and immutable decrees of the gods, tho" in the bloom of my age, being sensible, that he who is fond of life when he ought to die, is as great a coward, as he who desires to die when he ought to live. As " for my successor, I decline naming any, lest, through ignorance, I should pass by a worthy person, or, by naming one equal to so great a trust, expose him to g

a " those dangers, which would inevitably attend his promotion, if it were not uni-46 verfally approved of. I therefore leave the choice to the commonwealth, and, " like a dutiful fon, wish her a worthy governor to succeed me." Having thus spoken, he disposed of his private estate, dividing it amongst his relations and friends; and not seeing Anatolius, inquired after him. Salust the presect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expression then in use; which seemed greatly to affect him; but turning immediately to the philosophers Maximus and Priscus, he began to discourse with them concerning the nature of the soul: then, calling for a glass of cold water, he drank it, and having expressed his desire of being interred at Tarsus in Cilicia, he expired on the twenty-fixth of June, a little before Julian dies. b midnight. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned seven years, and fix months, from the time he had been created Cafar; about three years fince he had taken the title of Augustus, and only twenty months, not quite complete, fince, by the death of Constantius, he became peaceable possessor of the whole empire. Thus is his death related by Ammianus Marcellinus, who served under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote 2. Theodores tells us, that Julian, when he was first wounded, filled his hand with blood issuing from the wound, and threw it up into the air, crying out, Thou hast conquered, O Galilean b. The same thing is related by Sozomen, who is of opinion, that our Saviour, whom he intended to infult and blaspheme with the name of Galilean, appeared to him when he received c his wound. But these, as well as other christian writers, have been led, by their aversion to an apostate from the faith, and a persecutor of the church, to believe and relate many things concerning him, which were unknown to the pagans, and have all the appearance of fables. Libanius writes, that, at the time of his death, a dreadful earthquake happened in Palestine, which intirely ruined several cities d. His body was conveyed by Procopius from Mesopotamia to Tarsus in Cilicia, where it was interred with the usual solemnity :; but afterwards transferred from thence, according to Zonaras and Cedrenus 8, to Constantinople, and deposited, with that of Jovian his fuccessor, in the porch of the church of the Apostles. This translation must have happened after the fifth century, fince Zosimus has not mentioned it. As for the character His character. d of Julian, he was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himself well versed in most branches of literature. Ammianus greatly extols his moderation, and the mildness of his temper, no less opposite to that of his brother Gallus, than the temper of Titus was to that of Domitian. He could never endure the title of dominus or lord, 'tho' common to all princes ever fince the time of Dioclesian, and had even some thoughts of quiting the diadem, which, for many years, had been looked upon as one of the badges of the fovereign power k. He made it his chief study to ease the people, lessening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was absolutely necessary for the defence and support of the state 1. All the cities used, pursuant to an ancient custom, to present e the new prince with crowns of gold, some of which weighed a thousand, and some two thousand ounces, and upwards; but Julian enacted a law, forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above feventy ounces. He would not fuffer his officers or ministers to receive presents from the people, upon any confideration whatfoever; nor the foldiers to injure in the least the subjects or allies of the empire, through whose countries they marched m. Libanius speaks much at length of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chuling worthy magistrates, in clearing the high-ways of robbers, and in relieving feveral cities, reduced by heavy taxes to a most miserable condition ". His bed, says Mamertinus, was as pure and chaste as that of a vestal virgin "; and Ammianus, f that he was an utter stranger to all unlawful pleasures, and a declared enemy to lewdness and debauchery P. He was generous, adds the same author, valiant, sincere in his friendship, and kind to all, especially to such as were in distress, and most wanted his affiftance q. Prudentius speaks of him as a prince who deserved well of the empire,

\* Ammian. l. xxv. p. 287—295. b Theodoret. l. iii. c. 20. p. 658. Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 638. d Liban. vit. p. 458. & orat. xi. p. 258. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 305. f Zonar. p. 24. E Cedren. p. 78. Vide Cange urb. Constantinop. descrip. l. iv. p. 110. h Vict. epit. p. 545. l Ammian. l. xvi. p. 63. & l. xxii. p. 221. h Liban. orat. xii. p. 305. l Ammian. i. xvi. xvii. xviii. p. 63. 90. 114. m Liban. p. 305. l Idem, p. 296—298. Panegyr. xi. p. 230. P Ammian. l xvi. xviii. p. 63. p. 78. Vide Cange uto. Commun.
l. xvi. p. 63. & l. xxii. p. 221.
90. 114. LIBAN. p. 305.
l. xxv. p. 292. 4 Idem ibid. PRUD. apol. c. 4. p. 163.

both as a general and a law-giver. He was not however, even in the opinion of

his admirers, without some faults. Ammianus owns him to have been of a fickle and a changeable temper, ambitious beyond measure of popular applause, elated with the least success, and talkative to such a degree, that his tongue never lay still s. The fame writer accuses him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning Ursula, to whom he owed the greatest obligations; and Libanius, tho' highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been superstitious to excess, inconsiderate on many occasions, and too much addicted to his own sentiments. Ammianus blames the censorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philosopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his misopogon, and his Cæsars, not sparing even the excellent emperor M. Aurelius. The pagan writers themselves, namely Eutropius ", Themistius w, and Ammianus Marcellinus x, own, that his conduct towards the chris- b tians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deferved to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a christian writer of our days seems willing to allow. As for the christian writers of ancient times, they represent Julian as one inclined to, and guilty of, the most enormous crimes; but crastily disguising them with a false shew of the opposite virtues. In these colours the reader will find his portrait drawn by Socrates in his ecclesiastic history, and by Gregory Nazianzen in the oration he wrote a few days after Julian's death 2. But whether the pagans were quite unbiassed by favour, and the christians by prejudice, is what we submit to the judgment of the reader. We will not take upon us to question the truth of what the panegyrists and admirers of Julian have written concerning his other virtues; but, as to his chaffity, we are c not fully convinced, that it deserved those mighty encomiums, which Mamertinus, Libanius, and Ammianus Marcellinus, have been pleased to bestow upon it; for on one fide it is certain, that by Helena, his only wife, he had but one son, whom the midwife, bribed by the empress Eusebia, destroyed as soon as born d. On the other side, Julian himself, in a letter which he wrote in 363, that is, three years after the death of Helena, mentions his children, and the person who was charged with the care of their education. Codin likewise, in his antiquities of Constantinople, takes notice of feveral statues erected to Julian, and his children . His bed therefore, to use the expression of Mamertinus 8, was not perhaps quite so pure and undefiled as that of a vestal virgin. The great Chrysostom describes the court of Julian, d while he resided at Constantinople, crouded with aruspices, astrologers, magicians, young debauchees, and public proftitutes. The latter, at least, were not proper attendants for one, who pretended to rival the purity of the vestals. But we will not lay any stress on the testimony of a christian, and consequently, as may be objected, a prejudiced writer, tho' he folemnly declares, that he himself, and all the inhabitants of Constantinople, to whom he appeals, were eye-witnesses of what he advances h. As for Julian's so much boasted moderation, Ammianus himself acknowledges, that it was sometimes owing more to policy, than to the natural mildness of his temper i. Libanius charges him with want of judgment in the choice of ministers, and of due care in watching their conduct; whence some of them, concludes e that writer, brought no small disgrace upon his government k. Libanius writes, that Julian was apprized of, but winked at, their faults, that he might not feem inconstant in his friendship!. Ammianus owns, that his court was not quite free from bribery and corruption m. In what related to the Divinity, says the same writer, he was rather superstitious than religious, sacrificing daily innumerable victims procured at a vast expence; which proved very burdensome to the state, and at the same time highly prejudicial to the military discipline, the soldiers, with whom he seasted on the victims, returning almost every day drunk to their quarters a. Had he returned victorious from his Persian expedition, continues the same writer, he would scarce have left a bullock alive in the whole empire. We need not therefore recur to the f testimony of the christian writers, to shew, that the many virtues ascribed to him by the pagans, were not without the allay of several vices and impersections. In short, he did not perhaps deserve the bitter reproaches with which he was traduced as the

<sup>\*</sup> Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206. 

\*\* LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 304. 

\*\* EUTROP. p. 589. 

\*\* Themist. orat. v. p. 69. 

\*\* Ammian. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294. 

\*\* Focat. l. iii. c. 21. p. 193. 

\*\* Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 138. 

\*\* Panegyr. xi. p. 230. 

\*\* LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 292. 

\*\* Ammian. l. xvi. p. 292. 

\*\* Admian. l. xvi. p. 292. 

\*\* Codin. antiq. Conft. p. 19. 

\*\* Panegyr. xi. p. 231. 

\*\* Chrys. in gent. p. 676. 

\*\* Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226. 227. 

\*\* Eutrop. p. 589. 

\*\* LIBAN. p. 307. 

\*\* Idem, p. 220. 

\*\* Ammian. l. xxv. p. 294. 

\*\* Idem, l. xxii. p. 225.

a worst of princes by the christians, nor the mighty encomiums bestowed upon him as the best of princes by the pagans.

THE news of his death was received with inexpressible joy by the christians, and with the deepest concern by the pagans. The messenger who brought it to Carrba, was either stoned to death by the populace w, or with much-ado escaped the fury of the enraged multitude x. Several cities placed the image of the deceased prince amongst those of their gods, and paid it the same honours. Libanius, transported with grief when he first heard of his death, determined to lay violent hands on himself, not caring to outlive him; but, upon fecond thoughts, he changed his mind, and chose to live, that he might have the fatisfaction, as he himself tells us, of compiling his b funeral oration. He wrote two discourses on this occasion, the one to express his own griefy, the other to fet forth the praises of Julian 2. From the latter, which contains the whole history of Julian's life, and from the two orations written much about the same time, and on the same subject, by Gregory Nazianzen, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers were strangely biassed and prejudiced, the one in his favour, the other against him. Julian not only renounced the christian religion, whence he was furnamed the Apostate, but betrayed a mortal hatred to those who professed it, traducing them with the name of Galileans, as he impiously ftyled our Saviour the Galilean, debarring them from all honours and employments, c both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach or learn the sciences, which to Ammianus himself seemed inconsistent with the laws of humanity . But we refer our readers to the ecclefiastic writers for a more particular account of the persecution he raised against the church, and of his wild attempt to restore Judaism, and rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, which is said, by Ammianus and others, to have been miraculously defeated by balls of fire issuing out of the earth, and destroying both the work and the workmen. Of the feveral writers who flourished under Julian, the reader will find a succinct account in note (1).

w Zos. l. iii. p. 733. \* Lib. or. xii. р. 330. \* Амміан. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294.

f Lib. or. xi.

\* Idem, or. xii.

(I) Ammianus Marcellinas, in his history of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of Julian's reign, than any other writer. As he was a pagan, he believes great encomiums upon a prince who did all that lay in his power to reflore paganism. However, he was not fo prejudiced in his favour, as not to blame in him what he thought blameworthy. Eunapius, a most zealous stickler for the ancient religion of the Romans, that is, for idolatry, often mentions and highly commends Juthe history of his reign in several books (1); but whether that was a different work from his general history of the emperors, is what we are no-where told. But of Ammianus Marcellinus, and Eunapius, we shall speak at the end of the reign of Valens. Calliflus, one of Julian's officers, wrote in verse, according to Socrates(2), the history of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. Vossias tells us, that Callisus attended Julian in his Persian expedition(3), which must be a conjecture of his own; for we find no such thing in Socrates, the only writer who mentions him. Julian himself deserves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he wrote the history of his wars in Gaul (4), which has been long fince loft; and gives us an account of the most remarkable passages of his life in his Mispagen, in his letter to the Athenians, (of which two pieces we have spoken above) and in the writings which he published in the year 362, the one upon Cybele, the other against a Cynic philosopher (5). He wrote another discourse against the Cynics, particularly against one Heraclius or Heraclitus (6). From that piece it appears, that he was strangely impor-tuned by those philosophers, and that he entertained

no better opinion of them, than of the christian monks, to whom he compares them. His discourse to Themistims is, properly speaking, a letter, in which he answers that philosopher, who had written to him from Conflantinople, magnifying the hopes and expectation of the people, in feeing one raised to the empire, who professed the study of philosophy. Julian tells him in his answer, that when he restects on the duties incumbent on a prince, and the great difficulty of discharging them well, the mighty hopes that the world entertained of him, served rather to dishearten than encourage him (7). This is the whole subject of the letter, which seems to have been written soon after Julian was raised to the dignity of Cafar. In the manuscript copy of this letter are several passages, which seem quite foreign to the purpose, and are thought by some to be fragments of a treatile, containing several instruc-tions, addressed to a pagan pontiss, concerning the duties of his office (8). Petavius is of opinion, that they were addressed to Arjaces, pontiss of Galatia, to whom Julian wrote his forty-ninth letter (9). But the most famous of all Julian's works is that intituled the Casars, which in reality is a satire on all the emperors from Julius Casar to Constantine and his children. It begins with a kind of dialogue (10). From the injurious and abusive manner he speaks of Constantine, we may conclude, that he wrote it after the death of Constantius, or at least after, he had openly declared against him. Socrates ascribes to a vanity unworthy of a prince, his thus ridiculing all his predecessors, without sparing even M. Aurelius (11), whom he had proposed to himself for his pattern (12). Vossius assures us (13), that in the ancient copies this work is styled Saturnalia, and the

<sup>(1)</sup> Eunap. e. g. p. 76, 77. (2) Socr. l. iii. c. 21. p. 195. (3) Voss. bist. Grac. l. iv. c. 18. p. 486. (4) Lib. or. v. p. 178. (5) Julian. or. vii. p. 382. Suid. p. 1248. (6) Julian. ibid. p. 716—718. (7) Julian. all Themist. p. 490, &c. (8) Idem, frag. p. 528. (9) Julian. ep. xlix. p. 202. (10) Idem, Cast. p. 3—5. (11) Socr. l. iii. c. 1. & 23. p. 169, 198. (12) Julian. ad Themist. p. 467. (13) Voss. Vol. N° 5. 4 R barquet;

sophists,

banquet; a title which well fuits it; for it was written during the Saturnalia, or the feafts of Saturn, that is, about the end of December, in 361. or 362. and Julian in the work introduces Romulus entertaining the gods at a banquet in the time of the Saturnalia (14). But Suidas supposes the Casars and the Saturnalia to be two different works, and quotes some things out of the latter, which are not to be found in the former (15). Julian himself speaks of his Saturnalia as addressed to Salust (16), which cannot be faid of his Cafars. He quotes the former work in a discourse, which he wrote on the fun, and likewise inscribed to Salust. This piece he composed in three nights, perhaps about the twenty-fifth of December, when the pagans celebrated the feast of the fun; for Julian honoured that luminary as his chief deity (17). Suidas ascribes two other works to him, the one on the three figures, which he does not explain, and the other on the origin of evils; but both these works, as well as that which he wrote against the christians, have been long since loft. He wrote feveral letters, of which fixty-four have reached our times, not counting those which, by reason of their length, have been ranked among his discourses. Libanius, who pretends to have brought the epistolary style to its greatest perfection, shares that glory with fulian, the elegance of whose letters he greatly commends and admires (18). Under Julian flourished Proereses, a christian sophist, highly esteemed for his learning and eloquence. Eunapius, who was his disciple, gives us the following account of him: He was a native of Armenia, descended of a noble family, but reduced to poverty; exceeding weil-shaped, tho' of a gigantic stature, and resembling a colossus (19). He left his native country when very young, and studied first at Antioch, under one Ulpianus, and afterwards at Athens, where he vras disciple to one Julian, who in dying bequeathed him his house. He likewise succeeded Julian in his employment, and taught eloquence with fuch reputation and applause, that the other professors, jealous of his great credit, prevailed upon the proconful to banish him from Athens (20); but he was soon recalled by the emperor's order, and restored to his former employment. All those who came from Pontus, and the other parts of Asia Minor, or from Egypt and Libya, studied under him (21). Among thele we may reckon the great Bafil, and Gregory Nazianzen; for they came from Cappadocia to study eloquence at Athens, while he taught there. He was afterwards invited into Gaul by Constans, who received him with extraordinary marks of esteem, perhaps because he passed for a christian, says Eunapius (22); but St. Jerom assures us, that he was truly a christian (23). Suidas confounded Constantine with Constans, when he wrote, that Constantine paid him great honours (24). The Gauls, says Eunapius, who were no judges of his genius, nor capable of relifi-ing his eloquent speeches, admired his stature and mien, and, above all, his patience in bearing the cold of their country, tho' he used no shoes, and was only defended against the inclemency of that climate by a thin cloak (25). He was afterwards fent by Constans to Rome, where the senate caused a statue to be erected to him, with this inscription; Rome, the queen of cities, to the king of eloquence. When he left Rome, about the year 349 to return to Athens, Conflans bestowed great revenues upon him, with the honorary title of general of the Roman armies. The Romans, upon his departure, begged

him to fend one of his disciples to teach eloquence at Rome. He complied with their request, and fent them one Eusebius, a native of Alexandria; a person fit to live at Rome, says Eunapius, because well versed in the art of flattery (26). Julian, who had, no doubt, been acquainted with Proceeses at Ashens, wrote a very kind and obliging letter to him, which is still extant (27). When that prince published the famous edict, forbidding all christians to learn or teach the sciences, he excepted Proereses; but he, scorning to accept the favour, refigned of his own accord his professorship; which greatly provoked fulian, who, out of pique to Proereses, heaped great honours upon Libanius (28). The generous conduct of Procreses on this occasion makes us question the truth of what we read of him in Eunapius; viz. that he had recourse to the pontiff of Eleusine, to know whether fulian was to reign long; and that, being assured his reign would prove short, he took courage, and resolved not to renounce the christian religion (29). Eunapius betrays on all occasions such an inveterate hatred against the christian religion, that we cannot give credit to any thing he writes on that head. After the death of Julian, Proceefes was, it seems, re-instated in his professorship, when Eunapius studied under him for the space of five years, and then returned to Lydia, his native country. He owns, that Proereses instructed him with no less care than if he had been his own fon. Proereses died foon after, perhaps in 368, being then about ninety-two years old; for he was eighty-seven when Eunapius began to study under him, in the end of 363. Which was the first of Jovian's reign (30). He left no works behind him, besides his declamations (31). Oribasus, a samous physician, was a native of Pergamus in Asia, according to Eurapius (32); of Sardis, according to Philostorgius (33) and Suidas (34). He studied physic under Zeno of Cyprus, to whom Julian wrote a letter, inviting him back to Alexandria, whence George, the famous Arian bishop, had caused him to be banished (35). When fulian was created Casar, he took Oribasus with him into Gaul, and reposed such considence in him, fays Eunapius (36), as to make him privy to his greatest secrets, that is, to his idolatry; for Oribasus was himself a pagan. The same author writes, that Oribajus was famous, not only for his skill in phytic, but for his other extraordinary talents, which procured the empire to Julian (37); but explains himself no farther. Oribasus, at the request of Julian, abridged, first, the works of Galen, and afterwards those of all the most able physicians. Both these works were inscribed to Julian, as appears from the prefaces, which have been transmitted to us by Photius (38). Photius prefers the second work to the first; nay, and to all the books of physic which had been published till his time. It contisted of seventy books; but only the first fifteen, with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fitch, printed at Paris in 1555. have reached our times Oribajus himfelf, by a second abridgment, reduced his seventy books to nine, which he addressed to his ion Eustathius (39). The reader will find an abstract of this work in Photius (40), who observes, that they may prove very uteful to those who are already acquainted with physic, by refreshing the memory of what they have learnt; but may lead new beginners into great mistakes (41). Oribasus wrote another abridgment of the same nature in four books, which he inscribed to Eunapius, probably the author of the lives of the

(14) Julian. Cef. p. 3-5. (17) Idem, or. iv. p. 291, 292. (15) Suid. p. 1247. (16) Julian. ibid. p. 303. & or. iv. p. 294. (18) Lib. or. v. p. 184. (19) Eunap. c. 1. p. 102. (20) Idem, c. 7. p. 96—101. (21) 14cm, p. 222, 223. (24) Suid. p. 596. (25) Idem, p. 222, 223. (28) Suid. p. 596. (29) Eunap. c. 8. p. 126. (30) Idem ibid. 6. 5. p. 76. & c. 19. p. 139. (33) Philof. l. vii. c. 15. p. 205. ep. xlv. p. 198. (36) Eunap. c. 29. p. 140. (37) Idem ibid. (20) Idem, c. 218. p. 557. (40) Idem, p. 560. (41) Orib (22) Idem, p. 121, 122. p. 96---101. (21) Idem, p. 110, 111. (23) Hier. ad ann. 363. 5. (27) Julian. ep. ii. p. 116.
(31) Suid. p. 596. (32) Eunap. (26) Idem, p. 25. (32) Eunap. (35) Julian. (30) Idem ibid. (34) Suid. p. 329. (35) Julian. (38) Phot. c. 216, 217. p. 556, 557. (41) Oribas. p. 2.

fophists, at whose request he had undertaken it (42). This work is fill extant. To thete Photius adds four other books of physic inscribed to one Eugenius; but so like those addressed to Eunapius, that he suspects them to be a supposititious work (43). Belides the works we have already mentioned, Photius supposes Oribasus to have published seven more same subject (44). He would not have us to mind the style of that writer, because his works, fays he, are abstracts of different authors; and besides, elegancy of style is what we must not expect from a physician (45). Suidas supposes Oribasus to have inscribed to Julian seventy-two books, and to have published, belides four books on the doubts and diffculties of phylicians, a work on royalty, and another on maladies (46). He adds, that Oribasus was created by Julian questor of the city of Constantinople; an employment unknown to other writers. He attended fulian into Persia, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without fuccess. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to the countries of the barbarians (47), or abandoned, to use the expression of Eunapius, to the barbarians, who were most noted for their cruelty (48). However, he was greatly respected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he protessed. At length the Roman emperors recalled him, and restored to him his estate, and all his effects (49). He gave some ease to Chrysanthus in his last malady at Sardes; but could not cure him (50). He was still living when Eunapius wrote the lives of the sophists, that is, about the year 400. Among fulian's letters, there is one to him, written about the year 358 (51). Himeras, a celebrated forhist in fulian's time, was a native of Bithynia, and the son of Aminius, who taught rhetoric at Prusa in the same province (52). Himeras and Proereses, of whom we have spoken above, were at the same time professors of eloquence at Athens, and rivals (53). Photius supposes him to have likewise taught at Corinth (54). Julian invited him afterwards to Con-flantinople, and received him upon his arrival with extraordinary marks of friendship and esteem. He continued in court till the death of that prince, and age, in which he lost his fight, and was besides afflicted with a leprofy. He left behind him several declamations, and other pieces of that nature (56). He was, as plainly appears from his writings, a negan. Furnity commends his style (52), as does pagan. Eunapius commends his style (57), as does likewise Photius, who has transmitted to us abstracts of some of his works (58). In the history of fullian's reign, we have mentioned the philosopher Maximus, who first inclined that prince to idolatry, and the study of magic. He was a native, either of Smyrna, as we read in Eunapius (59); or of Ephelus, as Ammianus will have it (60); and brother to the philosopher Claudianus, who taught at Alexandria, and to the fophist Nymphidianus, professor of rhetoric at Smyrna, and afterward fecretary to Julian. Maximus must have been well versed in polite learning, fince Julian submitted all his compositions to his judgment (61); and Eunapius has placed his life among those of the sophists, tho' he is commonly

styled Maximus the philosopher. Julian invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362, where he behaved, as Eunapins himself owns (62), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philosopher. returned to his native country, as appears from 711lian's letters (62) for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with Prifcus, attended Julian in his Parthian expedition (63). These two were, without all doubt, in the number of those obstinate and ignorant philosophers, who, according to Ammianus, bore great fway at court, and put the emperor upon that wild enterprize, against the sentiments of the officers of the army (64). Hence, when news of Julian's death was brought to Antioch, the people, in the transports of their joy, cried out, Thus are the predictions of the false prophet Maximus fulfilled (65). Eunapius writes, that fovian continued to honour Maximus, and the other philosophers, who had followed Julian (66. Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by Valentinian and Valens, who hated all the friends of Julian; and, above the rest, these two philosophers accused, as they were addicted to the fludy of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both scized about the beginning of April in 364 (67). Priscus however was cleared; but the foldiery and populace were, with much ado, restrained by Sa-lustius Secundus from tearing Maximus to pieces. Having escaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was able to discharge, and kept a close prisoner till the end of the year 365(68); when, by the mediation of Themistius, who recommended him to Valens, in a fpeech pronounced before that prince, and by the interest of Clearchus, a zealous pagan, he was set at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but restored to his estate, and suffered to come to Constantinople, where he was very well received (69). But his harpiness was short-lived; for he was accused, with several other philosophers, as a magician in 371. found guilty of magical practices; and being fentenced to death with the rest, was beheaded at Epbefus the same year (70). Suidas ascribes to Maximus, the master of Julian the apostate, several rhetorical and philosophical pieces, some of which were addressed to Julian himself; but adds, that he was a native of Epirus or Byzantium (71): on the other hand, Socrates warns us not to confound Maximus of Byzantium, the father of Euclid, with Maximus of Ephejus, who induced Julian to embrace the worship of the gods (72). Chrysanthus was a native of Sardes in Lydia, in which city his father was fenator. He studied with Maximus under Edesus of Cappadocia, a Platonic philosopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithstanding the repeated and prosling folicitations of Julian and Maximus, inviting him to court. Julian created him pontiff of Lydia, in which employment he had the prudence not to disoblige the christians, as we have observed already; and therefore was fuffered by the christian emperors to live unmolested (73). He lived to the age of eighty (74). After his death, Eunapius, who was his wife's cousin, and had been his disciple, wrote

(42) Phot. c. 219. p. 561. (43) Idem, p. 564. & c. 216. p. 564. (44) Idem ibid. (45) Idem ibid. (46) Suid. p. 329. (47) Philosoper. l. vii. c. 15. p. 105. (48) Eunap. c. 19. p. 140. (49) Idem, p. 141, 142. (50) Idem, c. 21. p. 160. (51) Julian. ep. xix. p. 135. (52) Phot. c. 165. p. 363. Eunap. c. 12. p. 129. (53) Eunap. c. 8. p. 119. (54) Phot. c. 165. p. 352. (55) Eunap. p. 129. (56) Idem, c. 12. p. 129. Suid. p. 1239. (57) Eunap. p. 129. (58) Phot. c. 165. p. 352. (56) Eunap. p. 129. (56) Idem, c. 12. p. 129. Suid. p. 1239. (57) Eunap. p. 129. (58) Phot. c. 165. p. 352. (56) Eunap. p. 1076. 1144. (59) Eunap. c. 5. p. 67. & 16. p. 137. (60) Ammian. l. xxix. p. 390. (61) Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131. (62) Eunap. c. 5. p. 77. 79. (62) Julian. ep. xv. xvi. xxxviii. (63) Eunap. c. 5. p. 81. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 291. (64) Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245. (65) Theodoret. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659. (66) Eunap. c. 5. p. 82. (67) Zof. l. iv. p. 734. 735. (68) Idem, p. 374. Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Eunap. c. 5. p. 83. Themist. or. viii. p. 100. (69) Themist. ibid. p. 99, 100. Eunap. p. 84—87. (70) Ammian. l. xxix. p. 390. Socr. p. 39. Eunap. p. 87. (71) Suid. p. 92. (72) Socr. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165. (73) Eunap. c. 5. p. 69, 80. & c. 12. p. 144—149. (74) Idem, p. 152.

his life, and frequently mentions him in his history of the sophists, which he had undertaken at his request (75). Suidas likewise speaks of him, but does not inform us whether or no he lest any works behind him (76). Priscus was born in the country of the Molossi, or Thesproti, in Epirus; and studied under Edesus, with Maximus and Chrysanthus. Afterwards he retired to Greece, whence he was invited by Julian to court, and complied with the invitation. He was perhaps more esteemed by that prince than Maximus himself. He attended the emperor to Antioch, and there prevailed upon him to admit Libanius to his presence, and even to receive him in a friendly manner, tho' he was not a little prejudiced against him (77). He followed Julian

into Persia, and was accused, with Maximus, of magical practices under Valens; but discharged, and suffered to return to Greece, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (78); and was killed, with many others, by the barbarians (79), that is, we suppose, by the Goths, who, in 395. or 396. ravaged Greece under the conduct of the samous Alaric. Julian, in his letters, bestows great commendations on one George, a receiver of the public revenues; on the philosopher Eugenius, whom some take to be the father of Themissius; and on Ecebolus, under whom he studied rhetoric (80). As the celebrated sophist Libanius lived long after Julian's time, we shall speak of him in a more proper place.

(75) Idem, p. 153. (76) Suid. p. 1155. (77) Eunap. c. 5. p. 69. Lib. vit. p. 42: (78) Eunap. ibid. c. 81. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 291. (79) Eunap. c. 5. p. 75. (80) Julian. ep. viii. p. 121, 314. ep. liv. p. 218. ep. xviii. p. 135. ep. xix. xliii. p. 136, 196.

## C H A P. XXVII.

## The Roman history, from the death of Julian, to the death of Valens.

THE death of Julian was no sooner known, than the chief officers of the army affembled, and, with one consent, chose Jovian to succeed him b, who was accordingly faluted with the title of fovianus Augustus, the day after Julian's death; that is, the twenty-seventh of June of this year 363. He was the only surviving child of Verronianus, who was a native of Singidunum in Pannonia, or rather in Massia; and had lately refigned the eminent post of comes domesticorum, to lead a private and retired life. He was reckoned one of the best commanders of his time, and the reputation which he had acquired in the army, greatly contributed to the promotion of his fon d. The first thing Jovian did after his election, was to name him for his collegue in the confulfhip against the ensuing year; for Verronianus was said to have been foretold in a dream, that his son should be one day raised to the empire, and he to the consulship; but he died before he had the honour of discharging b that office, or the satisfaction of seeing his son emperor, tho' he had been informed of his promotion. Jovian, or Flavius Claudius Jovianus, as he is styled on an ancient coin, was born about the year 331. and married Carito, the daughter of Lucillianus, a commander of great renown, often mentioned by Ammianus. By her he had, according to Philostorgius f, a fon named Verronianus, who was born about the time Jovian was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention; nay, Zonaras tells us in express terms, that Verronianus was his only child &. As Jovian was not only a true, but a pious and zealous christian, we shall not copy his character from the christian writers, who may be suspected of partiality, but from the pagans, who cannot be thought to have been biassed in his favour. Among these ¢ Eutropius commends his affable, mild, and generous temper; and adds, that no one could, with justice, accuse him of neglect or imprudence in the discharge of his duty . Ammianus Marcellinus i, and Victor the younger k, describe him as wellshaped in his person, of a majestic air, of a gay and agreeable aspect, of an even, affable and courteous temper, naturally inclined to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himself pretty well acquainted with the sciences. From the sew officers he preferred during his short reign, we may judge, adds Ammianus, how

careful

b Ammian. l. xxv. p. 226. C Vict. epit, Ammian. ibid. p. 308. Themist. orat. v. p. 65. Ammian. Themist. ibid. Socrat. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. F Philostorg. l. viii. c. 8. p. 112. Zon. p. 25. Eutrop. p. 589. Ammian. p. 296. Vict. p. 79.

a careful and circumspect he would have been in the distribution of offices, had he lived longer. Themistius bestows upon him still greater encomiums ; but we lay no great ftress upon them, as coming from a panegyrist. On the other hand, Suidas = paints him in quite different colours, following therein, as we imagine, Eunapius, who, by his implacable hatred to the christian religion, was often led into gross mistakes. Ammianus does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women ": The same author observes, that Jovian had a great respect and veneration for the law Jovian's that of the christians o; and truly he had always made an open profession of the christian rader. religion, even in the reign of Julian, despising both his threats and promises P. Sob crates q, Suidas r, and Nice; borus s, tell us, that Julian having ordered all the christian officers in his army, either to renounce their religion, or quit the service, Jovian, at that time tribune, resigned his post without the least hesitation; but Julian would not suffer him to retire, nay, he afterwards employed him in the Persian war; for he was, at the emperor's death, the first among those officers who were styled domeflici. Zosimus writes, that he was raised to the empire by the chief officers, at the request of the whole army "; for Suidas himself owns him to have been an excellent commander, tho', at the time of his election, he was scarce thirty-two years old ... His promotion was no-ways agreeable to the pagans, as appears from the manner in which Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of it. Rufinus x, Socrates y, Sozomen 1, and c Theodoret 2, affure us, that he would not accept the empire, and the command of the army, till all the foldiers had declared themselves christians, and solemnly renounced the impious ceremonies which they had practifed under Julian; on which account he is honoured by Rufinus with the title of confessor. It is not therefore probable, that he paid any regard to the answer of those, who, having consulted, surely without his consent, the entrails of the victims, promised safety, if the army decamped; but inevitable destruction, if they continued in the same place b. The army was, as we have related above, in a strange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, quite destitute of necessaries, and consequently reduced to the necessity of perishing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incensed *Persians*. Jovian, d who was obliged to struggle with two such formidable enemies, did not so much dread the latter as the former; nay, he repulsed the Persians with great slaughter as often as they ventured to attack him, as Ammianus tells us in express terms , which is sufficient to refute what Libanius writes of the great advantages gained over Jovian by the Persians d. But the valour and experience of Jovian was no proof against the The army refamine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole duced to great army, had not heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to use the expression of streights. Ammianus, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at so critical a con-That writer is of opinion, that the Persians, out of mere pity and compassion, set on foot a treaty f; and Libanius cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reason to promise themselves the greatest advantages from the continuation of the war s. The negotiations lasted four days, which proved more insupportable to the Romans, says Ammianus h, than the greatest torments, by reason of the famine which raged in the camp. Besides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, Jovian was apprehensive, and not without reason, of the designs of Procopius, Julian's kinsman i. No wonder therefore that he submitted to a peace upon terms dishonourable, we own, in themselves, but Jovian obliged absolutely necessary to extricate himself, and so many brave men, out of the difficul- to submit to the ties, into which the temerity and imprudence of Julian had led them. A peace was terms proposed by the Persians. agreed on for thirty, or, as Rufinus will have it k, for twenty-nine years, upon Jof vian's promising to abandon and yield up to the Persians the five provinces on the Tigris, which had been taken from them in the reign of Dioclesian, with several castles, and the cities of Nisibis and Singara. To this article was added another, in

itself no less, if not more shameful, which was, not to lend any affistance to Arfaces

k Ruf. p. 177.

king of Armenia against the Persians, tho Arsaces was a faithful friend and ally of the a empire. Jovian however, with much-ado, prevailed upon the king of Persia to fuffer the inhabitants of Nisibis and Singara to withdraw with their effects into the

Persians.

articles with

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Jovian not to be blamed for

Roman territories. The loss of Nisibis, which was the bulwark of the empire against the Persians, chiefly affected the Romans; and Ammianus takes great pains to exaggerate that loss, in order to raise the public odium against Jovian, to whom he is favourable on no occasion. Both that writer a and Eutropius o observe, that, from the foundation of Rome, no conful or emperor had ever yielded to the enemy an inch of ground. But therein they are certainly mistaken; for Adrian abandoned to the barbarians a far greater extent of country than Jovian. Aurelian relinquished all the countries conquered by Trajan beyond the Danube; and Dioclesian an immense tract b towards the borders of Egypt and Ætbiopia, as Tiberius had done long before the large provinces, conquered at a vast expence of blood and treasure by the brave Drusus. 'Tis true, that these countries were not given up in virtue of a treaty, but because they could not be kept without an immense charge. However, if it was thought commendable in those princes to abandon them on that score, we ought not eluded with the to join Ammianus and Eutropius in condemning Juvian for abandoning, even by treaty, provinces, which he could not keep, without exposing to certain death or captivity, the flower of the whole forces of the empire, when the enemy would with great case have conquered more than they acquired by the treaty. His giving up by treaty what others had abandoned of their own accord, does not render the action less necessary, c nor consequently less prudent. Ammianus pretends, that Jovian might have reached the province of Corduene belonging to the empire, in the four days which he spent in negotiations P. But between them and that province flowed the Tigris, which, even after the peace, and when opposed by no enemy, they passed with the utmost difficulty, and not without the loss of many persons, who were carried away by the violence of the stream, as Ammianus himself informs us q. Zosimus supposes them to have passed the Tigris before the treaty; but his authority is of no weight when he disagrees with Ammianus, who served in this expedition. Between the Tigris and Corduene lay a desert seventy miles in extent, destitute of all forts of provisions, even of water, which reduced them to the necessity of feeding upon their horses, and con- d fequently of leaving behind them great part of their baggage and arms'. Libanius owns, that most of them returned without either arms or money. What therefore must have become of them, had they at the same time been incessantly harassed by a formidable enemy? Agathias, who lived two hundred years after, writes, that Jovian, impatient to get out of the Persian dominions, betrayed Nisibisu; but Eutropius, who was an eye-witness of what he writes, does not indeed approve of the peace; but owns, that it was necessary w: and Philostorgius, a christian writer, but an Arian, and consequently no-ways favourable to Jovian, tells us, that there was no other means of faving the army, already reduced to the tenth part x. The only thing Eutropius blames in Jovian, is his faithfully observing the articles, to which c necessity alone obliged him to submit, instead of following the example of the ancient Romans, who never ferupled to break a difadvantageous treaty, extorted from them He observes the by force or fear s. But his religiously executing the articles of of a treaty, however disadvantageous, when he was under no other restraint but that of his oath, reslects no less honour on him, than glory on the religion which he professed. He was not acquainted with the maxim, which, to the great difgrace of our religion, prevails now-a-days with the most christian princes, that no treaties, how solemnly soever entered into, are binding, when the least advantage may be reaped from the breach of them; as if perjury were not a crime of as deep a dye in the greatest prince, as in the meanest of the people. We shall now resume the thread of our history.

Jovian, after the conclusion of the treaty, pursued his retreat; and having passed the Tigris, and the above-mentioned desart, without being in the least molested by the enemy, he arrived at Ur, a Persian fortress between the Tigris and the city of Nisibis, where he was met by Cassianus governor of Mesopotamia, and Mauritius a tribune, with fuch provisions as the army commanded by Procopius and Sebastian could spare them; for he had sent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the

1 Ammian. p. 300. Zos. p. 730. Ruf. p. 177. Greg. Naz. orit. iv. p. 118. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 303. Idem, p. 205. Eutrop. p. 731. Ammian. p. 300. Idem, p. 301, 302. Zos. p. 730. Ammian. ibid. Lib. orat. xii. p. 325. Agath. l. iv. p. 135, w Eutrop. p. 589. Philost. l. viii. c. 1. p. 106. Eutrop. p. 589.

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a extremity to which he was reduced 2. From Ur he dispatched messengers into Illyricum and Gaul, with the news of Julian's death, and his own promotion. At the fame time he appointed Lucilianus his father-in-law commander in chief of the horfe and foot in Illyricum and Italy, and Malericus general of the troops in Gaul, in the room of Jovinus 2. Then, continuing his march, he entered at last the Roman ter- Jovian pursues ritories at a place called Thisalphata, and was there met by Procosius and Sebastian, his march to the Roman who commanded the army which Julian had left in Mesopotamia. The emperor dominions. received them in a very obliging manner, and foon after fent Procopius, who was Julian's kinfinan, to attend the corple of that prince to Tarsus, in the suburbs of which city he was buried, pursuant to the orders he had given a little before he expired. b When the funeral ceremonies were over, Procopius privately withdrew from Tarfus; and, tho' diligent search was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be heard of, till he assumed the purple in 365 b. From Thisalphata the emperor advanced to Nisibis; but encamped without the walls, tho' greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace, as his predecessors had always done. He was ashamed, says Ammianus, to enter a city, which he was about to deliver up to the enemy . The next day Bineles, a Persian lord of great distinction, who attended Jovian in the quality of an hostage, demanded the city to be delivered up to him, pursuant to the articles of the treaty. The inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earnestly entreated him c to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they undertook to do, without putting the public to the least charge, telling the emperor, that they were well acquainted with the fatigues of a siege, and knew how to check the Persian pride. But Jovian insisting upon the faith of the treaty, and the obligation of his oath, Bineses was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took possession in his Nisibis delimaster's name, by setting up the Persian standard. At the same time the inhabit-persians. ants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elsewhere, with what estects they could carry with them. This order occasioned the most melancholy fight, says Ammianus, the sun ever beheld . Chrysostom likewise describes their departure in a very affecting manner f. But the emperor, alledging the fanctity of his oath, was d deaf to their cries, entreaties, and lamentations; fo that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one curling, as they departed, a peace, which had proved more fatal to them than the most bloody wars. All the roads were crouded with these forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry ; but greatly grieved for the lofs of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them. Most of them retired to Amida, and were placed by the emperor in the suburbs of that city, which, by this means, repaired all the losses it had fustained in the time of Constantius, and by degrees became the metropolis of what remained to the Romans in Mesopotamia 8. Jovian did not leave Nisibis, according to Ammianus h, till all the inhabitants were retired. Others tell us, that he e marched away in the night-time, after he had been two days encamped before it; two months, we read in Suidas, which must be a mistake of the transcriber. He then continued his march to Antioch, passing through Edessa, where he was on the twentyseventh of September, as appears from the date of one of his laws k. Zosimus writes, that he was no-where received with the demonstrations of joy usual on such occafions 1. However, it is not unlikely that his arrival was agreeable to the people of Antioch, who hated Julian, and consequently must have been pleased to see his successor arrive in their city. During his stay at Antioch, which was not long, he Jovian revokes revoked all the laws that had been enacted by Julian against the christians, and made all the laws it his chief study to restore the christian religion to its former lustre m. Themistius, a against the pagan philosopher, tells us, that he published a law granting to every one full liberty. pagan philosopher, tells us, that he published a law, granting to every one full liberty to hold what religion he pleased; and, after having bestowed great encomiums upon him on that score, he adds, that he suffered the temples to be opened, and the usual facrifices and ceremonies to be performed in them . On the other hand, Sozomen affures us, that, by a law enacted at Antioch, he suppressed all religions, except the christian, ordered the temples to be shut up, and prohibited, under severe penalties,

Ammian. l. xxv. p. 301. Zos. l. iii. p. 730. Ammian. p. 302.

\* Idem ibid. Idem ibid. Idem ibid. Gent. tom. 1. p. 696. ibid. Zos. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p. 696. Ammian. p. 305. Suid. p. 1844. chron. p. 67. Zos. p. 733. Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. 

the offering of victims, and all manner of idolatrous worship; insomuch that the a

Arians.

pagans were obliged, according to Socrates P, to creep into holes and corners, and those who, in Julian's time, had wore the philosophical cloak, to quit it, and to appear in the common attire. What the two latter authors write, is confirmed by the pagan sophist Libanius, who says, that, after the death of Julian, those were heard with applause, who inveighed against the gods; that the pontiffs and philosophers were dragged to the tribunals as criminals; that they were obliged, by the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, to confess what sums they had received of Julian for the worship of their gods, and forced either to restore what they had received, or to languish in dungeons; that the temples were pulled down. and the sophists, who, in Julian's reign, had been entertained with the greatest b respect by the governors of provinces, were now driven away from their gates like criminals and homicides 9. The emperor was even advised to put Libanius to death, for commending Julian; but a Cappadocian, who had a great ascendant over Jovian, advised him to take no notice of such trisles. As for the christians, Jovian wrote to all the governors of provinces, strictly injoining them to take care, that they were not disturbed in their usual assemblies. He restored to the churches, to the ecclefiaftics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted to them by Constantine and his children; but lately revoked by Julian. He likewise ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by Constantine to the churches, for the support of the poor, to be continued to c them; but as the famine still raged, only the third part of Constantine's donation could be spared. Jovian promised them the other two parts as soon as the samine abated: but he dying in the mean time, his successors did not make good his promise; whence the churches thenceforth received only one third of what Constantine had allotted to them. Jovian likewise restored the labarum, or the standard with the cross, and obliged one Magnus, a comes or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of Berytus, which, by his order, had been burnt; nay, the emperor had commanded his head to be cut off, but was with much-ado prevailed upon by his friends to spare him ". As in Julian's time several sacred virgins had married, some by choice, others by constraint, Jovian, by a law addressed to the present Salustius d Secundus, declares those guilty of death, who shall mention marriage to the facred virgins, or utter a fingle word in their presence repugnant to the rules of modesty w. This law is still extant, and dated from Antioch, the nineteenth of February of the ensuing year 364 x; which is a gross mistake, it being certain, that Jovian was dead before that time, and that he left Antioch before the end of the present year. Jovian He espouses the not only espoused the cause of the christians against the pagans, but that of the orthocause of the or-thodox christidox believers against the Arians; for, by the first law he published after he had ans against the entered the Roman dominions, he commanded the churches to be every-where restored to those, who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of Nice, and recalled all the bishops who had been banished on that score, and Athanasius in particular, e to whom he wrote with his own hand a very obliging and friendly letter y, which has reached our times 2. Some time after he wrote a second letter to him, desiring him to draw up and fend him a rule of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. Athanasius readily complied with the emperor's request, and fent him a creed or rule of faith, supposed to be that which still passes under his name, approved of and subscribed by all the bishops of Egypt 2. Jovian soon after invited Athanasius to court, received him, upon his arrival at Antioch, with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and veneration imaginable, often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was by him thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine defined and established by the council of Nice b. After this, Athanasius took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his diocese. Socrates c tells us, that the emperor no sooner entered the Roman dominions upon his return from Persia, than he was met by the leading men among the Arians, Macedonians, Acacians, and other sectaries, all striving to ingra-

> P Socrat. l. iii. c. 25. p. 205. & c. 24. p. 202, 203. LIB. 07. xii.
>
> Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.
>
> THEODOR. l. i. c. 10. p. 552. & l. iv.
>
> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 25. leg. 2. p. 197. • Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. p. 327. F. Lib. vit. p. 46. Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. Theodor. l. i. c. 10. p. 552. & l. iv. p. 664. Idem, l. iv. c. 19. p. 689. W. Soz. p. 640. Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 25. leg. 2. p. 197. Theodor. l. iv. c. 2. p. 661. Greg. Naz. p. 394. Socr. p. 202. A7HAN. tom. 2. p. 33, 34. Theodor. p. 661. Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Greg. Naz. p. 394. Theodor. l. iv. c. 3. p. 661—664. Epiphan. c. 10. p. 726. Soz. l. vi. c. 5. p. 642. Socr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 202. & c. 25. p. 205. <sup>2</sup> ATHAN. tom. 2. p. 33, 34

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a tiate themselves with the new prince, and preposses him in their favour; but that he received them coldly, telling them, that he was an enemy to contention, and should etteem and countenance those only who promoted unity and concord. However, as Jovian himself openly prosested the faith of the council of Nice, that doctrine was embraced by many, who, till that time, had been very fanguine in opposing it, and was foon after folemnly confirmed in a council held at Antioch this year d. Jovian, after a short stay at Antioch, set out for Constantinople, tho' the winter was already He fets out for far advanced, to prevent the disturbances, which he had reason to apprehend in the Constantiwest. As he passed through Tarjus in Cilicia, he ordered some ornaments to be added nopie. to the tomb of Julian; on which account he is blamed by some christian writers . b From Tarsus he proceeded to Tyana in Cappadocia, where he was informed, that

Malaricus, whom he had appointed general of the troops in Gaul, having declined that post, Lucillianus, the emperor's father-in-law, and general of the troops in Illyricum and Italy, had hastened into Gaul; and taking upon him there, when matters were not yet fettled, to examine the accounts of some officers, one of them, conscious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the Batavians who served in the Roman army; and by perfuading them that Julian was still alive, had so incensed them against Lucillianus as a traitor, that in a tumult they killed him, and a tribune, by Atumult in name Seniauchus, whom he had brought with him into Gaul. Valentinian, after-Gaui. wards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of Lucillianus,

c narrowly escaped undergoing the same sate. This tumult, which happened at Rheims, did not prevent the troops in Gaul, nor their general Jovinus, from declaring for Jovian, and proclaiming him emperor. They even fent deputies to him, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his commands. The deputies met the new emperor at Affona in Galatia, who received them in a very obliging manner, and continued Jovinus in the post of general, charging him not to suffer the death of Lucillianus to go unrevenged. From Aspona Jovian purfued his journey to Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, where he took upon him his first consulship. We have observed above, that he had named his father for his Jovian enters collegue; but he dying in the mean time, he took in his room his own fon, whom, upon but fit confulfing. d tho' then only an infant, he distinguished with the title of nobilifimus, or most noble f.

The discourse which Themistius is said to have pronounced on occasion of the emperor's confulship, has reached our times 8; but Socrates assures us, that he pronounced it fix weeks after at Dadastana, and a second time at Constantinople 1. Jovian, hastening to reach the latter city, left Ancyra, and continued his journey, tho' the cold was then so severe and intense, that some of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at Dadastana, a town on the borders of Galatia and Bithynia, but belonging to the latter province, he was met by Themistius, and other persons of distinction, sent by the senate of Constantinople to attend him. But before he left that place, he was He dies at found dead in his bed, on the fixteenth or feventeenth of February of this year 364.

e after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned feven months, and twenty days i. His sudden death gave occasion to various reports; some ascribe it to the dampness of his chamber, which had been newly plaistered; others say, he was stifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a furfeit; others, that his death was owing to bad and poisonous mushrooms. Socrates tays, he was carried off by an obstruction; and Chrysostom, that he was either poitoned or murdered by his guards. Ammianus likewise seems to have believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of Scipio Æmilianus, who was strangled in his bed; and adds, that no inquiry was made after the death of either of them k. But Jovian had not yet disobliged any man, nor does it appear, that he f had any enemies, except perhaps *Procopius*, who took no advantage of his death, nor even shewed himself on that occasion. The body of the deceased emperor was carried to Constantinople, and there interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the Apostles, where his tomb was to be seen many years after 1. His wife was coming to meet him, according to Zonaras m, with her fon Verronianus, and a retinue worthy of an empress, when she received the news of his death. Cedrenus likewise tells us,

f Ammian 1. xxv. p. 306, 307. MIST. OF. V. p. 71. h SOCRAT. d Idem ibid.

e Idem, l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. Baron. ad ann. 364. f Ammian l. xxv. p. 306, 307. Socrat. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. Zos. p. 733. Zonar. p. 25. f Themist. or. v. p. 71. h Socrat. ibid. p. 205. f Ammian. p. 308. Socrat. ibid. Zos. ibid. Zonar. ibid. k Ammian. p. 308. l Philost. l. viii. p. 113. Zonar. ibid. Du Cange urb. Constant. descript. l. iv. p. 110. m Zonar.

that the never faw him after his promotion ; but Themistius writes, that the fon, and a consequently, in all likelihood, the mother too, was with the emperor at Dadastana; and adds, that by his crying and struggling when he was to be carried, according to custom, in the consular chariot, he seemed to portend what happened soon after, that is, the death of his father. The empress was still living in 380 P, and was buried after her death by her husband 4. Of her son we shall speak hereaster. Jovian is greatly commended by all the ecclefiaftic writers, among whom Theodoret fays, that heaven raised him to the sovereignty to reward, even in this life, his virtue;

but that the world did not deserve to enjoy long so great a blessing r. Jovian being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military, affembled in order to chuse a new emperor, when some proposed Equitius, tribune of the first company b of the shield-men of the emperor's guard; and others Januarius, a kinsman of the deceased emperor, at that time commander of the troops in Illyricum: but the former was rejected on account of his furly and rustic temper, and the latter because he was at too great a distance. Zosimus, ever savourable to the pagans, tells us, that the electors, with one voice, named to the empire Salustius Secundus, presect of the east; a man, fays he, of great worth and long experience in war, by religion a pagan, but no great enemy to the christians. He adds, that Salust, excusing himself on account of his old age and infirmities, they were for naming his fon; but that the father opposed his election, alledging, that he was too young, and consequently not equal to fo great a charge '. At length, after an inter-regnum of nine or ten days, c Valentinian is Valentinian was, by universal confent, chosen emperor; which unanimity Ammianus chosen emperor. ascribes to a particular inspiration from heaven ". The presect Salustius Secundus, Arintheus, one of the generals of the army, Dagalaiphus, general of the horse, and Datianus, a patrician, who had been consul in 358. are said to have been the chief authors of his election w. The latter had been left by Jovian on account of his old age, and the feverity of the winter, in Galatia; whence he wrote to the army, advising

ployments, &c.

them to chuse Valentinian, as a man well qualified for that high station x. This election was made at Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, whither the army that attended His parentage, Jovian had, after his death, removed from Dadastanay. Valentinian was the son of education, em-Gratianus, a native of Cibale in Pannonia: his ancestors were no-ways conspicuous; d but Gratianus himself being admitted into the army on account of his extraordinary strength, and great address at all manner of exercises, raised himself by degrees to the dignity of count of Africa; of which honourable employment he was afterwards deprived, upon a suspicion of his having embezzled the public money. However, he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in Britain; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation. On his return from thence, he withdrew to his estate in the country, leading there a retired life, till it was confifcated by Constantius, incensed against him for having entertained Magnentius as he passed that way, with a design to usurp the empire. But he continued, notwithstanding his disgrace, to be greatly beloved and esteemed by the army z; and the esteem and affection they all had for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of e the fon?. The senate of Constantinople decreed him a statue in the beginning of the reign of Valens b. We do not find, that he had any other children besides Valentinian and Valens, who are supposed to have been both born in the city of Cibale, the birth-place of their father. The former is styled on some medals e Flavius, which prænomen became common to all those who, after Constantius's time, were raised to the empire. Valentinian had by his first wife, named Valeria Severa, the emperor Gratian, born in the year 359. Of his second wife, Justina, the mother of Valentinian II. and of three daughters, we shall speak hereaster. Valentinian was baptized, as we read in St. Ambrojed, and held the doctrine of the council of Nice, tho' that of Arius generally prevailed in Pannonia. He is faid by most writers f to have been altogether illiterate; and Themistius seems to infinuate, that neither he, nor his brother Valens, had any knowledge of the Greek tongue f. But Ausonius allows him some erudition 8. He bettok himself early to the profession of arms, and

R CEDREN. p. 309.

THEMIST. OT. V. p. 71.

P CHRYS. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 463.

ZONAR. p. 25.

THEODORET. l. iv. c. 4. p. 664, 665.

AMMIAN. l. XXVI. p. 310.

P CHRYS. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 463.

AMMIAN. l. XXVI. p. 310.

TOS. l. iii.

AMMIAN. l. XXVI. p. 310.

THEODORET. p. 171.

THEMIST. OT. VI. p. 81.

BIRAG. p. 501, 505.

AMBROS. ep. xiii. p. 204.

SOCR. l. iv. c. 1. p. 210.

THEMIST. OT. VI. p. 71.

AUSON. idyll. XXVIII. p. 339.

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a on several occasions gave remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and experience h. In Gaul he commanded a body of horse, in quality of tribune; but that command was taken from him by Constantius, as we have related in the reign of that prince, upon a false charge brought against him by Barbelio. Philostorgius writes, that while he was in Gaul, it was conjectured from some omens, that he should attain one day to the empire; which induced Constantius to send him into Mesopotamia, to serve there against the Persians. Under Julian he was tribune of one of the bands of the guards, called Joviani, who constantly attended the emperor k. We are told, that being one day obliged, as tribune of the guard, to attend the emperor His steadiness in into a temple, and the minister of the idols sprinkling those who entered with water, the christian which was supposed to purify them. Volentinian who was a zealous christian freiigien, and b which was supposed to purify them, Valentinian, who was a zealous christian, seeing aversion to idea drop of it upon his habit, not only reviled and upbraided the pontiff as an impostor, latry. but struck him, and in the presence of Julian cut out that part of his habit on which it had fallen, and threw it contemptuously on the ground. This provoked Julian to fuch a degree, that he immediately ordered Valentinian either to facrifice to the gods, or lay down his employment: he chose, without hesitation, the latter; but Julian, not fatisfied therewith, confined him, according to Philostorgius, to Thebes in Egypt; according to Sozomen, to Melitene in Armenia, charging him with some neglect of duty, to deprive him of the glory which he was apprifed would accrue to him from suffering on account of his religion 1. If what these authors write be true, c Julian must have recalled him soon after, perhaps to employ him in the Persian war; for he is supposed to have been banished in 362, and on the other hand it is plain from Ammianus Marcellinus m, that, at the death of Julian, he served in the army in quality of tribune. Upon the promotion of Jovian, Lucillianus, father-in-law to that prince, took him with him into Gaul, as one capable of establishing, by his prudence and known abilities, the authority of the new emperor in that province. Lucillianus was killed, as we have related above, in a tumult at Rheims; and Valentinian narrowly escaped undergoing the same sate. Upon his return into the east, Jovian preferred him to the command of the second company of the scutarii, or shield-men of the guard; and left him at Ancyra, when he set out from thence on d his march to Constantinople, with orders to follow him some time after ". Valentinian was still at Ancyra, when Jovian died at Dadastana; and he was chosen, in the manner we have related above, to succeed him. Upon his election, messengers were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with it; and in the mean time, Equitius and Leo ordered to prevent disturbances or tumults in the army. Valentinian, foon after the arrival of the messengers, set out from Ancyra, and reached Nice, where the army then was, on the twenty-fourth of February; but did not appear abroad till the twenty-fixth, perhaps because he was in suspense, whether he should accept the empire or no, as we read in Victor the younger. This, at least, seems more probable to us than the conjecture of Ammianus Marcellinus P, viz. that out of e superstition he avoided transacting any thing on the twenty-fifth, that being the biffextile, and consequently an unlucky day. Be that as it will, orders were given in the evening, by the advice of the prefect Salustius Secundus, that no person, who might, on account of his post or quality, be supposed to aspire at the empire, should, on pain of death, be seen abroad the next morning. As soon as it was light, the whole army was drawn up in a plain near the city of Nice; and Valentinian, appearing at their head, was defired to afcend the tribunal; which he had no fooner done, than he was, with loud shouts, saluted Valentinianus Augustus, and adorned, in the He is saluted fight of the whole army, with all the enfigns of fovereignty, that is, with a purple by the army robe and a diadem q. When this ceremony was over, the new emperor was preparing with the title f to harangue the army, according to custom, and had already stretched out his hand to begin his speech, when he was stopped by a seditious noise of the soldiery, requiring him to take that instant a collegue in the sovereignty, that the empire might not for the future remain, as it had happened twice in a few months, without a head. Valentinian, tho' a man of great resolution and intrepidity, was at first somewhat alarmed; but soon resuming his usual courage, he first reproved, with an air of His summess authority, those who appeared the most forward and seditious; and then, without and intreptdity

tumult in she

h Zos. p. 734. 

PHILOST. l. vii. c. 7. p. 93. 

K THEODOR. 1. iii. c. 12. 

POROS. l. vii. c. 6. 

P. 644. PHILOSTORG. p. 93. THEODORET. p. 650. Zos. l. iv. p. 725. OROS. l. vii. c. 32. Ruf. l. ii. c. 2. 

P. 178. 

M AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 302. 

I Idem ibid. 

VICT. epit. p 545. 

P AMMIAN. p. 312. 

P AMMIAN. p. 312. 1 Soz. l. vi. c. 6. army. p. 170. 1 Idem ibid. Z.os. l. iii. p. 734.

any interruption, addressed himself to the army in the following terms: " It was a " in your power a few days ago to chuse for your emperor whom you pleased; " but fince you have raifed me to that high station, I must tell you, that power " is no longer in your hands: you are not to prescribe laws to your sovereign; it " is my province to command, and yours to obey: I am to judge, and not you, " what may be useful and conducive to the public welfare. However, I do not " fay, that I will not take a collegue; but in an affair of fuch importance, I must " proceed with the utmost care and precaution imaginable, lest both you and I may hereafter have occasion to repent of our rashness." This resolute speech, uttered with all the authority of a fovereign, stopped the mouths of the mutineers; and no one daring to oppose a man, who seemed born to command, he was again, b with a general acclamation, faluted with the title of Augustus, and conducted, or, as Philostorgius will have it, carried on a large shield, to the imperial palacer.

his collegue in the empire.

Valentinian being thus declared emperor at Nice on the twenty-fixth of February of this year 364. left that city on the twenty-eighth of the same month, and set out for Conflantinople. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into Nicomedia on the first of March, and there created his brother Valens prafectus stabuli, that is, according to the modern phrase, master of the horse, with the title of tribune; He declares his and, after his arrival at Constantinople, declared him his collegue in the empire on the brother Valens twenty-eighth of March, according to the most probable opinion. This ceremony was performed at a place called Hebdomon or the feventh, because it was seven miles e diffant from Constantinople. In this place, which was a village, with an imperial palace, and feveral churches, the emperors who fucceeded Valens were commonly crowned, and that prince embellished it with several edifices, and with a stately tribunal or throne; whence it took the name of the tribunals. Ammianus tells us, that Valentinian having summoned a council at Nice, as soon as he was declared emperor, to deliberate about a collegue; and the other officers being all filent, through fear of disobliging the emperor, Dagalaiphus addressing him with great liberty, If you are partial, faid he, to your own family, you will make choice of your brother; but if you love your people, you will prefer some other. Ammianus adds, that when he named Valens, his choice was univerfally applauded, because no one dared to disapprove or d oppose it; which shews, that no great advantages to the state were expected from Va'ens. However, Ammianus, who neither condemns him as a bad prince, nor thinks him worthy of a place among the good ones a, observes to his praise, that he ever kept up a good understanding with his brother; that he undertook nothing without his advice; and obeyed him, not only as his elder brother, but as his fovereign w. Some time after, both princes were feized with a violent fever, which was by some ascribed to the magical practices of Julian's friends, especially of the philosophers Maximus and Priscus, who thereupon were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to Constantinople. Priscus was soon discharged; but Maximus, who was univerfally hated, and supposed to have stirred up Julian against e some of Julian's Valentinian, on account of his zeal for the christian religion, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to lie in prison till he had paid it. Many eminent persons were accused on this occasion; but the prefect Salustius Secundus, with his usual address, prudence, and good-nature, stissed such accusations, and put a stop to all further inquiries x. The two emperors were no sooner recovered, than they lest Constantinople; and passing through Adrianople, where they were on the twenty-ninth of April v, arrived at Philippopolis; whence they proceeded to Sardica, and from that city to Naissus in Dacia, where they were on the third of June, and seem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the same month, partly at Naissus, partly at a castle named Mediana, about three miles from that city 2. As the empire was f threatened with a general invalion from the barbarous nations that furrounded it, He divides the Valentinian, the better to make head against them, thought it adviseable to divide empire with his the provinces between himself and his brother; and accordingly made this famous partition at Mediana, committing to the government of Valens the east, that is, all Asia, with Egypt and Thrace, and reserving to himself Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain,

He punishes

friends.

urb. Const. descript. l. ii. p. 140. \* Zos. l.iv. p. 735.

Britain, and Africa, that is, all the west. After this partition, both princes repaired

a to Sirmium, where they parted, Valentinian for Milan, and Valens for Constantinople:

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In the mean time, the barbarians broke into the empire from all quarters, the Germans into Gaul and Rbætia, the Sarmatians and Quadians into Pannonia, the Pids, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti into Britain, and the Austurians, with other Moorish nations, into Africa. But the latter province was not so much harassed by the barbarians as by Romanus, who had been fent by Jovian to protect it; for the Austurians had in his reign made frequent inroads into Libya Tripolitana, and the neigh-Libya Tripolibouring countries. Romanus surpassed the barbarians themselves in oppressing and tana harraffed pillaging that unhappy province, and even refused to march assists the pillaging that unhappy province, and even refused to march against the enemy, ans and oppreswho, roving up and down the country, committed every-where dreadful ravages, fed by Romab because the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he nus. required, besides immense sums, no sewer than four thousand camels, without which, he said, he could not take the field. The Africans, finding they could have no protection from Romanus, charged the deputies, whom they fent with the usual prefents to Valentinian upon his accession to the empire, to lay before the new emperor Romanus acthe miserable state of their affairs; which they did accordingly, offering to prove cused, but conthe particulars contained in the memorial, which they presented to the emperor; but command, Remigius, who was then magister officiorum, and shared with Romanus, his kinsman and confident, the spoils of the province, by representing things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cause with so much cunning and address, that the emperor, c not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a further inquiry; which Remigius got easily put off from time to time, as there was then a great hurry of business at court. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to Ruricius, governor of Libya Tripolitana; but, by the interest of Remigius, it was foon after restored to Romanus. In the mean while the Austurians came down in greater numbers than ever, laid waste the fruitful territories of Leptis and Oea; from which cities, and that of Sebrata, the province is faid to have been named Tripolis, that word importing three cities. As Romanus continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the barbarians scoured the country without meeting with the least opposition, ravaged it in a most miserable manner, put many persons d of all ranks to the fword, took an incredible number of prisoners, and had even the confidence to lay fiege to Leptis, a strong and populous city, but were not able to reduce it. The noise of these devastations reaching the emperor's ears, he dispatched Palladius to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of Palladius fent the state of the province. Romanus, being immediately acquainted by his friend to inquire into Remigius with the errand on which Palladius was fent, persuaded the principal officers province. of the army, with whom he maintained a good understanding, to present Palladius, whom he represented as a man of great authority at court, with a great share of the money which he had brought to pay them. Palladius accepted the present, and proceeded to Leptis, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was by e them conducted to view the country, that he might be an eye-witness of the miserable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havock the barbarians had made, without being in the leaft curbed or restrained. Palladius, at that fight, could not help exclaiming against Romanus, telling him in plain terms, that he would not fail to acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraiding him with his cruelty and avarice. But Romanus foon stopt his mouth, by upbraiding He is gained him in his turn with converting to his private use the money with which he was to over by Ropay the foldiers, and threatening to let the emperor know he had betrayed his truft. manus. This put Palladius into such a fright, that he agreed with Romanus to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he affured on his return, that the city f of Leptis, and the Tripolitan province, complained without reason; which was believed, Palladius being generally esteemed a man of great integrity, and above all bribery and corruption. Nay, the emperor was by him so missed, and shamefully imposed upon, that he fent him back into Africa to try and punish the authors of the supposed calumnies and false informations brought against Romanus. In the discharge of this scandalous office, he tampered so cunningly with the inhabitants of Leptis, that they disowned the complaints which Jovinus, one of their deputies, had laid before the emperor in their name, maintaining, that they had given him no fuch commission. Jovinus himself, to gain the favour of Palladius and Romanus, and by

His accusers punished,

that means avoid the danger that threatened him, owned he had made a false report a to the emperor, who thereupon ordered him to be put to death, with some of the chief citizens of Leptis, and the governor Ruricius, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought against Romanus. The latter was executed at Stepbæ in Mauritania, and the others at Utica. Erectbius and Aristomenes, two other citizens of Leptis, who had complained of Romanus, were condemned to have their tongues cut out; but they found means to make their escape, and lay concealed till the reign of Gratian, when this scene of iniquity was brought to light b.

THE following year, 365. both princes entered upon their first consulship, the one at Milan, the other at Constantinople. Valentinian seems to have continued at

break into Gaul;

But retire at the approach

Milan till the month of August, and then to have visited several cities of Italy, viz. b Verona, Aquileia, and Luceria . From Italy he passed into Gaul, and was either at or near Paris in his way to that city in the latter end of October, when he received The Germans certain intelligence, that the Germans had made an irruption into that province; and that Procopius had revolted in the east. Of the latter we shall speak in the reign of Valens. As for the Germans, they had fent embassadors to congratulate Valentinian upon his accession to the empire; but Ursacius, then magister officiorum, having received them in a very disobliging manner, and sent them back with far less presents than were usually given them, they had thrown them away with scorn and indignation; and upon their return, stirred up their nation to take arms, and revenge the affront that had been offered them. They broke therefore into Gaul, c and laid waste the country bordering on the Rhine. Valentinian dispatched Dagalaipbus against them, and advanced in person as far as Rheims to support him. But the Germans retiring at his approach, he returned to Paris, and there took up his winter-quarters d. He was for returning into Illyricum to make head there against of the emperor. the rebel Procopius; but his friends, and the deputies that were fent to him from all the cities in Gaul, earnestly intreating him not to leave that province exposed to the inroads of the Germans, he complied with their request, considering, says Ammianus, that Procopius was only an enemy to his family, whereas the Germans were declared enemies to the whole Roman empire. Being therefore refolved not to stir out of Gaul, he dispatched Neotherius, at that time only a notary, but after- d wards, that is, in 390. conful, into Africa, to prevent Procopius from making himfelf master of that province; and at the same time injoined Equitius to cover Illyricum, and watch the motions of the usurper on that side f. St. Jerom writes, that Equitius abused his authority in oppressing and plundering the people whom he was fent to protect 8. Equitius was already comes or count, to which dignity the emperor added on this occasion that of magister or general h.

> believe, that he was by birth a barbarian. As for his collegue, he was the fon of the emperor Valentinian, and then an infant; whence in the dates of the laws enacted e this year he is marked thus NB. P. that is, Nobilifimus Puer. The Germans, who had made an irruption into Gaul the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, as we have observed above, returned this year, 366. and having passed the Rhine on the ice, defeated the Romans in a pitched battle, took the standards of the Batavians and Heruli, and killed the two counts Charietto and Severianus, fays Zosimus, who commanded the Roman forces. That the Romans were defeated, and Severianus killed, is owned by Ammianus k; but Charietto must have escaped, since we find a law dated the seventeenth of May addressed to him; whereas this battle was fought in the depth of winter, when the Rhine was frozen over m. Zosimus adds, that Valentinian, who, according to him, was present at this battle, highly pro- f voked against the Batavians for having given ground the first, ordered them to be cashiered and sold for slaves, but suspended the execution of his orders, upon their promising to retrieve their reputation by some signal enterprize; which they did

THE next consuls were Gratian and Dagalaiphus; the latter was general of the horse, and had been comes domesticorum under Julian: his name gives us room to

The Romans defeated by the Germans.

accordingly, attacking the enemy's camp in the dead of the night, and committing there a dreadful flaughter ". What Zosimus writes touching the Batavians may be true; but as for Valentinian, it is plain from Ammianus, that when this battle was

b Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 316. & 1 xxvii. p. 347-380. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 75. 1. xxvi. p. 315—317.

\* Idem, l. xxvii. p. 334.

\* Idem ibid.

\* Ammian. ibid.

\* Zos. l. iv. p. 740.

\* Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 334.

keg. 1. p. 440.

\* Ammian. & Zos. ibid.

\* Zos. ibid. f Idem ibid. # HIER. ad. ann. 373. 1 Cod. Theodof. l. v. tit. 5.

a fought, he was at Paris; whence he immediately dispatched Dagalaiphus, to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. Dagalaiphus, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in feveral great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and Jovinus, general of the troops in Gaul, was fent in his room; who having carefully informed himself of the motions of the barbarians, fell upon one of their parties at a place called Scarponna, between Toul and Jovinus gains Melz, and cut them all off, without losing one man. Being attended with the like a complete victory over the fuccess against another party, which he surprised, he advanced with incredible expe-Germans. dition against the main body of their army, attacked them, tho' far superior to him b in number, and, after a long and bloody contest, put them to flight. The fight continued the whole day, and the Romans were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden slight of a tribune, named Balchobaudes, who was a great boaster, and consequently, as it generally happens, a downright coward, having disanimated the troops under his command. However, Jovinus, inspiring them, more by his example than by words, with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, preffing with great refolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and betake themselves to a disorderly flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand were killed upon the spot, and four thousand wounded; and of the Romans only two hundred killed, and as many c wounded o. The enemy withdrew in the night-time, but were intercepted in their retreat by several parties sent out by Jovinus for that purpose, insomuch that sew of them had the good luck to escape. Jovinus followed them the next morning with the whole army; but finding he could not overtake them without haraffing his troops, he returned to his camp, where he was informed, that their king, who had been taken by a party fent to plunder their camp, had been hanged in his absence. Being greatly provoked at so base an action, he resolved to punish with death the tribune, who commanded the party; but he found upon examination, that the foldiers had done it in the height of their rage, which the tribune had in vain attempted to restrain P. Valentinian had advanced as sar as Rheims to support Jovinus, as we d conjecture from feveral laws enacted this year in that city, and dated the feventh of April, the feventeenth of May, and the fourteenth of June 1: but he must have returned to Paris before the end of the campaign; for Jovinus marching back to Paris with his victorious army, the emperor, to do him honour, went out to meet him, and for his eminent services named him consul for the ensuing year r. The public joy for the happy successes of this glorious campaign, was greatly heightened by the arrival of messengers from Valens, with the head of Procopius, killed in Asia on the twenty-feventh of May, as we shall relate hereafter. Valentinian was returned to Rheims on the twenty-seventh of Novembers, and seems to have continued there all winter t. He made it his chief study to fortify the banks of the Rhine, causing a Valentinian e great number of forts to be erected on the German, as well as on the Roman fide fortifies the of that river; by which means, and by augmenting his forces, he prevented the Rhine. barbarians, says Zosimus, from ever breaking into the Roman territories during the nine remaining years of his reign. But that writer must be understood of the Alemans; for we shall have soon occasion to speak of the irruptions of Franks and Saxons into Gaul.

THE next confuls were Lupicinus and Jovinus, both generals, the former under Valens in Syria, and the latter under Valentinian in Gaul. Jovinus is by the ablest critics thought to be the same person with Valens Jovinus, general of the horse, who was succeeded in that employment by Theodosius in 370. as we read in Ammianus w. f He was sent this very year into Britain, and attended Valentinian in his expedition against the Germans in 368. Flodard, in his history of the church of Rheims, produces the epitaph of one Jovinus, who had been twice general of the Roman horse and toot, and yet was more illustrious for his piety than his employments y. He was baptized and buried at Rheims, in the church of St. Agricola, now the abbey of St. Nicasius, or St. Nicasie, as the natives call it. The stately tomb, still to be seen there, is thought to have been his? The epitath seems to infinuate, that he was

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<sup>9</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 77. r. Ammian. ibid. E. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. w. Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 369. O AMMIAN. p. 334, 335. P Zos. ibid. Q Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 77. AMMIAN. ibid. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. W AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 369. Liem, l. xxviii. p. 346. Y FLODARD Remenf. ecclef. hift. l. i. c. 6. p. 33. MARLOT. metropol. Remenf. hift. l. i. c. 28. p. 101.

the founder of that church, which, in the last will of the holy bishop Rhemigius, is a flyled the Jovinian church 2. Most authors take this Jovinus to be the consul of this year, which we can hardly believe, since in the epitaph no notice is taken of the confulfhip, a dignity far superior to the others mentioned in it. Besides, we are

Valentinian falls til,

But recovers, fon Gratian emperor.

He divorces Severa, and marries Justina.

no-where told, that Jovinus, the conful of this year, was a christian; nay, from Julian's preferring him to the first employments both civil and military, we may well conclude, that he did not profess the christian religion, at least in that prince's reign. All the laws of this year to the third of June are dated from Rheims b; a plain proof, that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the fixth of August was enacted at Nemæsia, said to have been a place in the neighbourhood of Rheims c. From Nemæsia the emperor removed to Amiens, as appears from a law b dated the eighteenth of August, and addressed to Prætextatus, presect of Rome d. He was probably kept so long at Rheims by a violent distemper, with which he was seized this year. As his recovery was despaired of, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming him a successor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were Rusticus Julianus and Severus, both dreaded on account of their feverity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a most cruel and savage temper, when he was proconful of Africa in 371. and 372. Symmachus is thought to have addressed to him the first fifteen letters of his third book. As for Severus, he was, in the judgment of Ammianus, in every respect preserable to Julianus. But the emperor's unexpected recovery put an end c and creates his to the hopes and intrigues of the courtiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been transacted, resolved to prevent any farther disputes, by raising his son Gratian to the empire. Having therefore before-hand gained the foldiery, he affembled them in the neighbourhood of Amiens; and, with their confent and approbation, declared him his collegue in the empire, vesting him with the purple, and other ensigns of sovereignty, amidit the loud acclamations of the multitude t. Thus was Gratian created emperor on the twenty-fourth of August, 367. at the city of Amiens, for which he is faid to have ever shewed a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359. on the eighteenth of April, or, as others will have it, on the twenty-third of May. Every one was surprised, says Ammianus, at d the emperor's raising him at once to the sovereignty, instead of creating him first Casar, pursuant to the custom, which had prevailed till that time 8. Victor writes, that he was induced thereunto by his mother-in-law and his wife. Of the former, we find no farther mention in history. As to the latter, she was, without all doubt, the mother of Gratian, Valentinian's first wife, called by Socrates, Severah, and styled on some medals Valeria Severa Augustai. That princess was then certainly at court, and in favour; but feems to have been foon after difgraced. We read in the chronicle of Alexandria, that the empress Severa having purchased an estate at a very low rate, the emperor, suspecting some foul dealing, was so provoked, that, not fatisfied with obliging her to restore the estate to the former owner, he drove her e out of the city k. Be that as it will, it is certain, that Valentinian divorced her, and married Justina, a native of Sicily, and the daughter, as is supposed, of one Justus, whom Constantius ordered to be put to death, while he was governor of Picenum, because he had bragged, giving credit to some omens, that he should one day be the father of an emperor. Zosimus writes, that she had been married before to Magnentius, killed in 352 m. She favoured the doctrine of Arius, but crastily concealed her sentiments in the emperor's life-time". She had two brothers, viz. Constantianus, who was raised to the dignity of tribunus stabuli, but killed by a band of robbers in 369. and Cerealis, on whom the emperor conferred the same dignity after the death of his brother o. By Justina the emperor had four children, viz. Valen- f tinian II. Justa, Grata, and Galla, of whom the latter was married to the emperor Theodosius P. Socrates writes, that the empress Severa having taken Justina, upon the death of her father, under her protection, and brought her up at court, the emperor was fo taken with her charms, that he resolved to marry her; but on the other hand, being unwilling to divorce his wife Severa, he caused a law to be pub-

F Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 78, 79. C Idem ibid. Idem ibid. Idem ibid. F Idem ibid. Socr. l. iv. c. 11. p. 219. iv. c. 21. p. 249. GOLTZ. p. 132. R Chron. Alex. p. 702, 704. R RIEIN. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184. \* FLODARD. p. 32, 33.

\* AMMIAN. I XXVII. p. 342.

\* AMMIAN. ibid.

\* Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249.

\* Goltz. p. 132

\* Socr. p. 249.

\* Idem ibid. Jorn. p. 652.

\* Socr. p. 150.

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n Rufin. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184.

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a lished in all the cities of the empire, allowing his subjects to have two wives at a time: he adds, that Valentinian himself being the first who made use of his own licence, married Justina without dismissing Severa 9. Thus Socrates. But as neither Ammianus Marcellinus, who is no-ways tavourable to Valentinian, nor Zosimus, an avowed enemy to all the christian princes, take any notice of such a remarkable law; we cannot help looking upon the account of Socrates as an arrant fable. Jornandes indeed relates the same thing; but he copied it from Socrates, whom, for the most part, he follows. About the close of this year, the city of Mentz was unexpectedly The city of attacked, taken, and plundered, by Rhando, one of the princes of the Alemans, Mentz taken while the emperor, favs Ammianus, was employed in some other expedition as the hard plundered while the emperor, says Ammianus, was employed in some other expedition ; but by the Alemans. b in what expedition, we are no-where told. The same writer observes, that Rhando furprised the place, while the inhabitants, for the most part christians, were celebrating The Romans, to revenge this infult, had recourse to treachery, The treachery a solemn sestival. and caused Vithicabius, a prince of the same nation, to be affassinated by one of his of the Romans. own people, whom they had gained over by their emissaries. Vithicabius was the fon of Vadomarius, king of the Alemans, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in the reign of Constantius. The death of Vithicabius, who was a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution, put a stop for some time to the incursions of the Alemans. Valentinian, soon after the promotion of Gratian, left Amiens, and repaired to Treves, in which city he passed the winter, as appears from the dates c of several laws of this and the following year v. Before he reached that place, he was alarmed with dismal tidings from Britain, viz. that the PiEls, Scots, and other The PiEls and northern nations, had broke into the Roman territories; and having killed Nestaridus, Scots break count of the maritime tract, and Fullofaudes, who is distinguished with the title of man territodux or duke, had committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the province ries. to a most deplorable condition. Hereupon the emperor immediately dispatched into Britain Severus, at that time comes domesticorum; but receiving still worse news of the state of affairs in that island, he soon after recalled him, and sent Jovinus in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, if d a powerful reinforcement both of horse and foot were not sent with all possible expedition to its relief, Valentinian made choice of Theodosius, father to the emperor of the fame name, and committed to him the whole management of this troublesome war. Theodosius, who was an officer of great experience, and known abilities, hastened to Boulogne, and embarquing there, landed at Rutupiæ; whence, as foon as his forces arrived from the continent, he marched to Lundonium or London, which Ammianus styles an ancient city; and there dividing his troops into several parties, he advanced against the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers But are to of them in pieces, obliged them to quit the booty and prisoners they had taken, pulled by and recovered an intire province, which they had seized and held as their own. To e this province, which comprised the southern parts of Scotland, the emperor gave the name of Valentia, perhaps from his brother Valens. Thus was the number of the provinces in this island increased, Valentia being added to the four former, which were Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Maxima Casariensis, and Flavia Casariensis w. Theodofius, at the same time, crushed in its very beginning the revolt of Valentine or Valentinian, who, being banished into Britain, prevailed upon some of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; which Theodofius no fooner understood, than he marched against the usurper, and having got him and some of his confederates into The revole of his power, he delivered them up to the civil magistrates; but would not suffer them Valentine in to be examined concerning their accomplices, lest that should give occasion to new f troubles x. The same year the Franks and Saxons broke into Gaul, but were repulsed with great saughter by Theodosius on his return from Britain 1: it was probably on account of the advantages gained on this occasion that Valentinian assumed the title of the conqueror of the Franks, which is given him in an inscription of the year 369 2. Ammianus, among the other transactions of this year 367. relates several instances of the excessive severity and injustice of Valentinian, who had hitherto with great Inflantes of care concealed the cruelty of his temper. He condemned Diocles, who had been Valentinian's

F JORNAND. reg. c. 40. p. 652. AMMIAN. l. XXVII. p. 349. Idem ibid.
1. p. 81. WAMMIAN. l. XXVII. p. 346. & l. XXVIII. p. 368. USHER. Britannicat.

7 Idem, l. XXVII. p. 346. Socr. l. iv. c. 32. F JORNAND. reg. c. 4. R. Socr. l. iv. c. 32. W AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 340. O. 1. a. Socrala-Gar. antiq. p. 588. X AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 368. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. ecclesiar. antiq. p. 588. \* .

VALES. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 46.

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comes

comes largitionum in Illyricum, to be burnt alive for very inconfiderable faults; and a ordered Diodorus, who had been agens in rebus, to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of Italy, for no other reason but because Diodorus had commenced a fuit against a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, pursuant to their office, summoned him to appear. The memory of Diodorus, and the three apparitors, is still honoured, says Ammianus, by the christians at Milan, who call the place where they were buried the innocents. To this probably the questor Eupbraxius alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another person to be put to death for causing the sentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the christian religion honoured those as martyrs whom he condemned as guilty b. St. Jerom tells us, that this year, in the country of the Atrebates, now the Artois, b wool fell from heaven mixed with rain c. Orofius adds, that it was true woold; and Bucherius, that some of it is still to be seen at Arras, where it is called manna.

Several laws enacted by Valentinian.

Alemans,

ritories of the

Whom he defeats with great slaugh ter.

THE following year the two emperors, Valentinian and Valens, were consuls for e second time. The former enacted this year several excellent laws; and among the fecond time. the rest one commanding all pleaders, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, abusive terms, invectives and injuries, and to content themselves with such sees as their clients shall be pleased to give them, without making any bargain or agreement beforehand: as for fuch lawyers as have been honoured with any public employment, he will have them to be fatisfied with the glory of protecting the innocent, without debasing themselves to accept of any other reward f. By another law, he establishes c a physician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the city of Rome was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this law the physician is allowed to accept what his patient shall think fit to give him, when intirely recovered, but not what he had promised during his illness 8. By a third law, he commands fome foldiers to remove from a fynagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the respect due to a place set apart for the worship of God . Valentinian, having spent the winter at Treves in making vast Valentinian preparations, with a design to attack the Alemans in their own country, took enters the ter- the field on the seventeenth of June; and having assembled all his troops, crossed the Rhine, attended by his fon Gratian, by the two generals Jovinus and Severus, and d by count Sebastian, a man notorious in the ecclesiastic history for his cruelty to the orthodox christians in Egypt, while he was governor of that province. The emperor was, as appears from the date of one of his laws, at Worms on the thirty-first of July i. From thence he advanced into the enemy's country, and marched some days without meeting with the least opposition, though he committed every-where most dreadful ravages. At length he came to a place called Solicinium, where the Alemans had posted themselves on a high and steep mountain, which seemed inaccessible on every side, except that which looked to the north; and thither he sent Sebastian to intercept them in their flight, if he should have the good luck to dislodge them from any other quarter. As he advanced to view their situation, he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade; but being with much difficulty got safe to the main body of his army, he led them on to the attack. The Romans on this occasion behaved with fuch courage and resolution, as can hardly be expressed: they were several times repulsed, the Alemans defending themselves with equal courage and bravery. But the Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the place, and the despair of the enemy, gained at length the top of the mountain, and put all to the sword who opposed them. Some of the Alemans made their escape by the favour of the night; but the far greater part were cut in pieces, either in the fight or the pursuit, Sebastian having cut off their retreat k. This memorable battle was fought, as we have hinted above, at Solicinium, which the modern geographers take to be the city of Sultz on the Neckar, at a small distance from the head of that river, in the dutchy of Vir- t temberg. As the season was already far advanced, after this victory, the soldiers were fent into winter-quarters, and the emperor returned with his fon Gratian to Treves, which he entered in a kind of triumph ". Bucherius describes at length the rout which he supposes the emperor to have taken on his return from Germany 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 345. b Idem ibid. c Hier chron. ad ann. 367. d Oros. l. vii. c. 32. p. 218. c Buch. Belg. p. 349. c Cod. Theodof. l ii. tit. 10. leg. 2. p. 140. & cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 6. leg. 6. p. 187. c Cod. Theodof. l xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p. 34. b Cod Just. l. i. tit. 9. leg. 4. p. 101. C Cod. Theodof. l xiii. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 94. k Ammian. p. 250—242. l Baud. p. 209. m Idem. n Buca. Belg. p. 351—353. l. vii. p. 352.

a We find no laws dated from Treves till the first or the second of December; but one published at Cologne the thirtieth of September o; whence we conjecture Valentinian, on his return from Germany, to have marched against the Franks, who had broken into Gaul, as we have observed above.

Valentinian seems to have spent the greater part of the following year, when Valen- He fortifies the tinian the son of Valens, and Victor, one of that prince's generals, were consuls, in banks of the fortifying the banks of the Rhine with an incredible number of forts, towers and Rhine. castles, from the mouth of that river quite to Rhætia, where it rises P. He even built some castles on the other side of that river in the enemy's country, and one among the rest at the conflux of the Rbine and the Neckar, where the present city of Manb beim stands 1. He likewise ordered a fort to be built on a hill called by our historian Piri ; which Bucherius takes to be the hill of Heidelberg. But the Germans, after having by their deputies intreated the emperor in vain to forbear that undertaking, fell upon the foldiers who were employed in the work, and cut them in pieces, with the two dukes, Arator and Hermogenes, who commanded them. Syagrus, a notary or secretary, the only person who escaped the general slaughter, brought the news of it to the emperor, and was on that account difgraced'; but soon after taken again, it feems, into favour; for we shall fee him conful in 381. The emperor, to animate with his presence the soldiers in carrying on the above-mentioned works for the desence of the Rhine, and the safety of Gaul, passed great part of the present year on c the banks of that river, as appears from several laws of different dates enacted at Marciaticum, which most geographers take to be Manheim; at Altrip between Manheim and Spire, and at Brisac:. This year the emperor caused several senators, gover-several pernors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be put to death for receiving bribes, sons put to and oppressing the people committed to their care, and among the rest the eunuch death by the Rhodanus, his chief chamberlain, whom, upon the complaint of a widow named ders. Berenice, whose estate the eunuch had seized unjustly, he caused to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were assembled to behold the sports ". The next consuls were the two emperors Valentinian and Valens, both the third time. The former continued all this present year 370. as d appears from the dates of several laws, partly at Treves, partly at Alteia, which is

supposed to have been an imperial palace or country-seat near that city. In an inscription of this year, which is still to be seen at Vienna in Austria, we read, that Equitius, general of the troops in Illyricum, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inscription of the following year found near Strigonium or Gran, in Lower Hungary, it appears, that another fort was built by his orders in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the subjects of the empire in those parts ". The emperor caused likewise a bridge to be built this year over the Tiber at Rome, which was then called the bridge of Gratian, afterwards the bridge Cestius, and is by the present inhabitants styled Ponto di S. Bartolomeo, or the bridge of e St. Bartholomew, being near the porch of St. Bartholomew's church z. In the inscrip-

tion it is faid to have been built in the seventh year of the tribuneship, that is, of the reign, of Valentinian and Valens, and the third of Gratian, which was the present year: nevertheless the two former princes are marked there consuls the second time; whereas it is certain, that, in the feventh year of their reign, and the third of Gratian's, they were both in their third consulship. Valentinian and Valens are, in the same inscription, styled emperors for the seventh time, and Gratian for the second, and are all three honoured with the title of conquerors of the Germans, Alemans, Franks, and Goths; which shews, that each of them shared with his collegues the glory of his victories and conquests. Their victories, or rather the victories of Valentinian, over f the Franks, must have been very inconsiderable, since Ammianus takes no notice of

This year is remarkable in history for an irruption of the Saxons, who dwell- The Saxons ing on the coalts of the ocean amongst inaccessible marshes, left their country in great break into the numbers, and landing on the Roman territories, committed there dreadful ravages. empire. Count Nauneinus, who commanded in those parts, endeavouring to make head against them, was dangerously wounded, and put to flight. Hereupon the emperor dispatched Severus against them, who, as he was an officer of great experience and address, so distressed and harassed them, that they were forced to sue for peace;

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Cod. Theod. chron. p. 89. p. 766, 767. Idem ibid. p. 700. Sulb. p. 706, 707.

P Ammian. l. xxviii, p. 966. 

God. Theod. chron. p. 85, 86.

Cod. Theod. chron. p. 85, 86.

GRUTER. p. 160. Baron. ann. 312. w Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 291.

which was granted them, with leave to return unmolested into their own country, a

An army of 80,000 Burgundians on the banks of

the Rhine.

after the Romans had picked out their best men to serve among their troops. But as they were returning, without the least apprehension of any danger, the Romans, fallroufly cut off by ing upon them unexpectedly, cut them all to a man in pieces. Though the Saxons were no-ways on their guard, yet they fought with incredible bravery, and fuch prefence of mind and resolution, that victory for some time inclined to their side x. Ammianus Marcellinus is not ashamed to style this black piece of treachery a successful attempt. But for fuch breaches of the public faith, and violations of the right of nations, practifed by the Romans more frequently under the christian than the pagan princes, we shall see them abandoned by heaven to those very barbarians, whom b they thus treacherously endeavoured to crush, and utterly suppress. The Saxons were thus flaughtered, according to St. Jerom y and Orofius z, on the territories of the Franks, at Deusona, says the former, which was a castle on the other side the Rbine, over-against Cologne, and is now known by the name of Tuits or Duits. The same year the Burgundians, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the Rhine, being invited thither by Valentinian, who maintained a private intelligence with their kings, and had promifed to pass the Rbine, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon the Alemans, with whom they were then at variance on account of fome falt-pits. But the emperor being thus busied in building the above-mentioned forts, and not caring to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promised to do, they put to the sword all the prisoners they had taken, and c returned to their own country, highly enraged against the emperor, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded a. However, Theodosius, general of the horse, to which post he had been raised for his gallant and prudent conduct in Britain, taking advantage of the consternation the Alemans were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a confiderable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and fettlements on the banks of the Pob. Ammianus, in speaking of the Burgundians, informs us of several particulars relating to their government and religion. He seems not to doubt but they were descended from the Romans; and Orosius speaks of them as the descendants of those Romans, who were left by Tiberius and Drusus, the adopted sons of Augustus, in the castles and boroughs of d Germany; nay, he supposes them to have been named Burgundiones, from the Latin word burgus, fignifying a borough c. But from the word burgus they ought perhaps to have been called Burgiones, as Valefius observes d. Pliny the elder takes them to be originally a German nation, sprung from the Vindili; that is, as is generally supposed, of the Vandals. Valesius distinguishes the Burgundiones of Germany from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the east on the banks of the Danube f. The great cru- Ammianus gives us a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practifed this year at elties of Maxi- Rome by Maximinus, or, as others style him, Maximus, a man of a most inhuman minus at and savage temper. He was brother-in law to Valentine or Valentinian, who attempted c to usurp the sovereignty in Britain; but nevertheless of a mean descent, and by birth a barbarian. However, he raised himself by degrees to the first employments in the state. He was made first governor of Corfica and Sardinia, and afterwards of Tuscia or Tuscany. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employment of præsecus annonæ at Rome, whose province it was to supply the city with provisions; which he did at first with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a most cruel, inhuman and revengeful temper, which he began to do on the following occasion: One Chilo, who had been vicar to the prefects, and his wife Maxima, having accused Sericus, Asbolius, and Campensis, three persons of mean condition, before Olybrius, prefect or governor of the city, for having, by magical prac- t tices and inchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, Olybrius began to inquire into this matter; but he falling fick, the complainants, impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cause might be referred to the presectus annona, who readily undertook it, being glad of any opportunity that offered to satisfy his cruel temper, no more capable of pity or moderation, says Ammianus, than that of a wild beaft let loose upon the prey. He had scarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable persons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Hereupon the emperor,

Rome.

Z Oros. p. 219. a Idem. d Vales. rer. Francic. p. 48.

a who was himself naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed Maximinus vicar to the prefects in the room of Aginacius, and impowered him by an edict to put such persons, if thought necessary, to the rack, as had been by other princes exempted from it on account of their rank, or only subjected to it in cases of treason. With Maximinus he joined in commission one Leo, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raised to the dignity of magister officiorum. He was by birth a Pannonian, of mean parentage, but no less blood-thirsty, according to Ammianus, than his collegue Maximinus #. These two implacable judges executed their commission with that cruelty which every one may imagine: persons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal, tor- persons of all tured without mercy, and either executed like public malefactors, or stript of their rank vortured b estates, and sent into banishment. Among the former were Marinus, a samous and executed. pleader, Cethegus, Paphius, and Cornelius, all three senators, and many other eminent persons of both sexes. Alypius, a young nobleman of great distinction, was, for a very small fault, sent into exile. Lollianus, the son of Lampadius, who had been governor of Rome in 366. and prasectus pratorio under Constantius, being accused of having copied, when he was yet very young, a book of magic, his father, finding Maximinus inclined to condemn him to banishment, advised nim to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly: but Valentinian having reterred the cause to Phalangus governor of Batica, who surpassed Maximinus himself in cruelty, the youth was by him fentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As c Maximinus continued raging without distinction of fex, age or condition, the fenate dispatched deputies to the emperor, earnestly intreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent subjects, to revoke the power he had given to Maximinus. Valentinian complied with their request, which put an end for the present to those bloody executions. Miximinus was called to court, and received with great marks of esteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him presect of Gaul, in which office he continued at least three years (for he was still prefect in 376.);

but foon after put to death by Gratian, with fome of the ministers of his cruelty h. THE following year, when Gratian and Sex. Petronius Probus were confuls, the Laws enacted emperor enacted several remarkable laws, and among the rest one dated the eleventh by Valentinian. d of February, and addressed to Viventius prefect of Gaul, enacting, that such players and comedians as should have received at the point of death the sacrament of baptism, should not be obliged, if they should recover, to act again on the stage '. From this law it appears, that the profession of a player, always deemed infamous among the Romans, was, under the christian princes, thought inconsistent with christianity; and likewife, that it was not free and voluntary, but fervile, and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the feventh of September, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players shall not be obliged to follow the profession of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling fo as to deferve a good character 1. By a third law, dated the twenty-ninth of May, and addressed to the senate, he e allows the free exercise of the pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twentyeighth of June, several privileges are granted or restored to the pagan pontiffs, and the same honour and respect is ordered to be paid to them as to the comites or counts 1. It is surprising that an emperor, who is said to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous christian, should have thus favoured the pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law dated the seventeenth of May, he exempts from all civil offices such as had been admitted among the clergy before his time; but obliges the rest to discharge them, notwithstanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to all ecclesiastics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of June, are dated from Treves, whence he removed to Cantionacum, a place unknown to geograf phers, but which must have been but at a small distance from Treves, since the emperor was in that city on the twenty-eighth of June, and the very next day at Cantionacum, where he staid till the sisteenth of August. On the fixth of September he was at Meniz, probably on his march into the country of the Alemans; for this year he undertook an expedition against them, hoping to surprise Macrianus their king, He attempts to a brave and resolute prince; but he, having received timely notice of his approach, surprise the faved himself by flight; and the emperor, greatly concerned for his disappointment, Alemans. returned to Treves, after having laid waste the country round Mentz belonging to

Ammian, l. xxviii. p. 358—360. h Idem ibid. p. 363. leg. 1. p. 301.

h Idem, p. 361-366.
1 Idem ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7.

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strangle them-

Romanus,

the Alemans called Bucinobantes, to whom he gave one of their own nation, by name a Fraomarius, for king, who foon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of fome of his countrymen then quartered in Britain. Valentinian was returned to Treves, with his two generals, Severus and Theodofius, on the fixth of December 11. Other instances Ammianus Marcellinus "and St. Jerom observe, among the transactions of this year, of his severity. that Ostavianus, who had been proconsul of Africa under Julian, having concealed himself, while he was pursued by the officers of justice, in the house of an ecclesiastic, the magistrates commanded the ecclesiattic to deliver him up; which he refusing to do, was by the emperor's orders beheaded at Sirmium. The same year Hymecius, who had been vicar of Rome under Julian, and raised by Valentinian to the proconfulfhip of Africa, being accused of evil practices, (our historian explains himself no b farther) was brought to Ocricolum, about thirty miles from Rome, to be tried there by Ampelius governor of that city, and his vicar Maximinus. A letter was produced against him, written with his own hand to a pagan priest, named Amantius, desiring him to offer facrifices to the gods, that the cruel and avaricious emperor might in the end be reconciled to him; for part of his estate had been already confiscated for some real, or, as Ammianus believed, supposed crime. When this letter was produced, Hymecius, well apprised of the cruelty of Maximinus, appealed to the emperor, who referred the whole affair to the senate, by whom Hymecius was banished to the island of Boas on the coast of Dalmatia. The emperor was highly distatished with the fenate for not fentencing him to death; but did not think it adviseable to make the c least alteration in their decree P. The next confuls were Modestus and Arintheus, during whose administration nothing happened in the west, which authors have thought worthy of transmitting to posterity. From the dates of several laws it appears, that the emperor passed the whole year, partly at Treves, and partly at Nazonacum, which stood at a small distance from that city 4.

> year Maximinus was created prefect of Gaul; and the first against whom he exerted his new authority, was a person guilty of no less enormous crimes than himself, viz. Remigius, who, being magister officiorum, had screened his kinsman Romanus from the punishment due to the many cruelties, murders and extortions which he had com- d mitted in Africa, as we have related above. Leo, upon his return from Rome, where he had been joined in commission with Maximinus, being raised to the post of magister officiorum, Remigius, who held it before him, retired to his estate in the neighbourhood of Mentz, his native city, to lead there a retired life. But Maximinus, despising him now that he was out of power, seized and put to the rack one of his domestics, by name Cæsarius, in order to make him discover the evil practices of his

THE next consuls were Valentinian and Valens, both for the fourth time. This

master, and what sums he had received of Romanus to defend and support him at Remigius and court. This Remigius no sooner understood, than, overcome by sear, he strangled himself, to avoid a public and more ignominious death . Palladius, who was no less guilty than Remigius, had been, it feems, disgraced before, for some other misdemeanour, tho' he ascribed his missortune chiesly to his having imposed upon the emperor in an affair of fuch importance. Of this Valentinian had fome fuspicion, and therefore ordered him to be arrested; but while the foldiers who guarded him were passing the night (no doubt the eve of some sestival) in a church, he ended

his life in the same manner as Remigius had done his. Romanus himself was then under arrest, for having, by his unaccountable conduct, driven Firmus, a Moorish prince, to revolt. Theodofius, who was fent to suppress the rebellion, had seized Romanus, with all his domestics and papers, among which were found some relating to the affair of Leptis. Upon this Palladius had been arrested; but both he and

Remigius having laid violent hands on themselves, Romanus was some time after set f at liberty, and the matter dropped for the present, but resumed under Gratian, when Romanus was convicted of high misdemeanours; but nevertheless, by the interest of Merahaudus, allowed to come to court to plead his own cause before the emperor :. What we she issue of this affair, we are no-where told. Firmus, whom we have mentioned above, was the son of Nubel, the most powerful of all the Moorish princes,

who looked upon him, though subject to the Romans, as their king and sovereign.

m Ammian. l xxix. p. 397. & l. xxx. p. 398. Cod. Theod. p. 89. l. xxix. p. 396. 
Mier. chron. 
Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 359. 4 Cod. Theod. chron. Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381. & l. xxix. p. 399.

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a He left feveral fons behind him, and among the rest Firmus and Zamma. The latter being privately murdered by his brother Firmus, Romanus, with whom Zamma lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incense the emperor against Firmus, being backed therein by his kinsman Remigius, then magister officiorum. Hereupon Firmus, apprised of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and infolent behaviour of Romanus, and the officers of the army, resolved to revolt in his own desence; and accordingly, having animated the other Moorish nations to shake off the yoke, under which they had long groaned, he affumed the purple, and the other enligns of royalty, with the Firmus revolts title of king, a Roman tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon in Africa. b the head of the new king, instead of a diadem x. Some antiquaries will have this to be the Firmus, who, on an ancient medal, bears the title of Augustus y; but their opinion is rejected by others. Firmus, finding himself in a short time at the head of a confiderable body of Moors, who flocked to him from all quarters, ravaged the

provinces of Africa and Mauritania without opposition, and even made himself master of Cæsarea, now Alger, the metropolis of Mauritania Cæsariensis, where he found a con-Takes Cæsarea, fiderable sum belonging to the exchequer, but lest in the hands of the magistrates of places. that city. The officers of the treasury sued the magistrates for the money which had

been left with them in trust; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the prosecution, Clemens, bishop of the place, having prevailed upon him to iffue that order, c and by that means faved his country from certain ruin 2. The famous Symmachus, of whom hereafter, wrote on this occasion to Titianus, then vicar of Africa, pretting him to cause the order which the bishop had obtained to be put in execution i. Firmus took likewise the city of rucata, betrayed to him, as was believed, by the bishop of the *Donatists*, upon his promising not to molest any of that sect b. The Donatifis looked upon Firmus, not as an ulurper, but a lawful prince; whence they

were in those parts styled Firmianic. The emperor was no sooner informed of the revolt of Firmus, than he dispatched against him Theodosius, the best general of his Theodosius is time, with the troops that were quartered in Pannonia and Upper Mæsia, and a detach-sent against ment out of those that attended the court, and were thence called comitatenses. Theo-him. d dosius embarqued at Arles in the latter end of the year 372. or the beginning of 373. and having had a favourable paffage, landed foon after at a place called Igilgitanum in Mauritania Sitifensis. His first care, upon his arrival, was to arrest Romanus, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had, as it were, forced the

Moors to revolt. Firmus in the mean time, hearing that so renowned a commander Firmus prewas sent against him, began to despair of success; and thereupon dispatched deputies tends to submit. to Theodosius, declaring, that he had been, in a manner, forced to revolt; that he did not pretend to justify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to submit, and quit the enfigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forget his past conduct. Theodofius, thinking it adviseable to admit of his submission and excuse, affured him of his pardon, upon his delivering up to him fome of the chief men among the Moors, by way of hostages. This Firmus promised to do; but as he put off from day to day the execution of his promise, Theodosius, suspecting his sincerity,

marched from Panchariana, the place of the general rendezvous, to Tubusuptius, in the neighbourhood of mount Ferratus, where Mascezel, brother to Firmus, lay encamped with a confiderable body of *Moors*. He was there met by a fecond embaffy from Firmus; but as the deputies brought no hostages along with them, he would not so much as admit them to his presence, but fell unexpectedly upon the Tyndenses Theodosius and Majimffenjes, two Moorish nations, commanded by Mascezel; and having defeated defeats some them with great flaughter, he laid waste the country, razed the castle of Petra, liance with f which had been lately built, and made himself master of another strong-hold, which Firmus. he made choice of for a magazine, storing it with all forts of provisions, that they might be nearer at hand, in case he should think fit to penetrate farther into the

country. In the mean time Mascezel, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a second engagement, in which he was attended with no better success than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himself narrowly escaping. Hereupon Firmus sent at last the promised hostages, and with them some bishops to Firmus preintercede with Theodosius in his behalf. The Roman general received them with the fends anew to

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<sup>\*</sup> Idem, l. xxx. p. 429. Oros. l. vii. c. 33. Zos. l. iv. p. 744. У Spanh. l. vii. p. 599. Сод. Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. Symmach. l. i. epift. 58. p. 39. Sym. ibid. Аидият. ер. 164. p. 286. Idem in par. l. i. c. 10, 11.

utmost civility and respect, and upon their promising in the name of Firmus, that 2

But prepares for war.

Theodosius gains great auvantages over his confederates.

Firmus abandons his army. and flies to the Itatlenfes,

the booty and prisoners he had taken should be restored, and the Roman army supplied with provisions, he granted a general pardon to him and all his followers; which so encouraged the Moor, that he came in person to wait on Theodosius; and bewailing his folly and rashness, promised to make amends for both by his suture conduct and fidelity. Theodosius received him in a most obliging manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or defired, and dismissed him, extremely pleased with his reception. Firmus, at his departure, left some of his relations behind him for hostages; and two days after delivered up to the Romans a place called Icosium, with the prisoners, military enfigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence Theodosius advanced to Tipasa, where he was met by the embassadors of the Mazices, a nation inhabiting the eaftern parts of Mauritania Casariensis, who had joined Firmus in his revolt. They came to submit in the name of the whole nation, and to beg pardon for their revolt; but Theodosius returned them no other answer, than that their perfidy deserved to be punished with the utmost severity. From Tipasa he proceeded to Cafarea, now Alger, which Firmus had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his foldiers. There he received certain intelligence, that Firmus was preparing under-hand for war; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the Romans; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them at the best advantage. Hereupon Theodofius, leaving at  $C\alpha$  area the first and second legions, who were to repair the  $\epsilon$ fortifications, and fecure it in the best manner they could against any farther attempts of the enemy, marched to Sugabarri, a town of Mauritania Cafarienjis, where he furprised a Roman cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death; but contented himself with condemning the common soldiers to the meanest offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country; and having made himself master of Gaionatis and Tingitanum, two places of great strength, he passed the mountain Ancorarius, and entering the country of the Mazices, gained a fignal victory over them. They made at first a vigorous resistance; but were at length utterly defeated, and almost all put to the sword. But, notwithstanding this victory, the Moors poured down upon him from all quarters in such multitudes, that d he thought it adviseable to retire, rather than to penetrate farther into the country, his army being only three thousand five hundred strong. But the enemy, apprised of his design, not only harasted him incessantly on his march, but, by stopping up all the passes, cut off his retreat; infomuch that the whole army must inevitably have perished, had not the Moors unexpectedly betaken themselves to flight, and left the passes open, at the fight of a great body of their own countrymen, whom they mistook, observing some Roman deserters at their head, for a reinforcement coming to relieve Theodosius. The Romans, having thus, by a happy mistake, escaped death or flavery, retired in good order to Muzucanum, and from thence to Tipata; where, Theodosius, reslecting on the posture of his affairs, resolved to manage the war after e another manner, and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promises, prevail upon the nations in alliance with Firmus to make a separate peace, and deliver him up to the Romans. With this view he dispatched embassadors to the several nations that had joined him; which Firmus, who was well acquainted with the fickle temper of the Moors, no fooner understood, than, dreading the iffue of fuch negotiations, he abandoned his army; and taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately to the mountains called Caprarienses, which, by reason of the rocks and precipices, were deemed inaccessible. The multitude, struck with amazement at his unexpected flight, and now without a head, foon dispersed; and Theodosius, seizing their camp, made himself master of the neighbouring countries without the least opposi- f tion, placing fuch governors over them, as had given him evident proofs of their fidelity. He then marched without delay in pursuit of Firmus, who, as he was informed, had taken fanctuary in the country of the Isastenses. That warlike nation refusing to deliver him up, several battles were sought, in one of which Mazaca, Firmus's brother, was taken prisoner; but died the same day of the wounds he had received. Evalus, a person of great authority among the Ijastenses, and his son Florus, sell likewise into the hands of the Romans; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cause of Firmus, they were both, by Theodosius's orders, burnt alive. The Ro-Who are defeat- mans, overpowered with numbers, were often reduced to great streights; but haved by Theodo- ing in the end utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which lasted from morning to g night,

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a night, some nations, that had joined the Isastenses, began to be weary of the war, and defert them. Hereupon Igmazen, prince of the country, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and no-ways in a condition to make head against the Romans with his own forces alone, privately agreed with Theodosius to betray Firmus into his hands, and accordingly ordered him to be secured, while he was preparing to make his escape. But Firmus, to avoid the disgrace of the punishment, which he apprehended from the Romans, strangled himself while his guards were asleep, to the great Firmus grief of Igmazen, who had proposed to ingratiate himself with the Romans, by car-strangles himrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately fent the body to Theo-felf. dosius, who received it with great joy, and soon after returned to Sitisfis, which city b he entered in a kind of triumph. The several Moorish nations, that had sided with Firmus, sent deputies to sue for peace; which Theodosius readily granted them, upon

their delivering up to him some of their leading men, whom he caused to be put to death q. In this war Gildo, one of Firmus's brothers, took party with the Romans, and gave fignal proofs of his fidelity; but afterwards revolted under Honorius, and was attended with no better success than his brother. When the war was ended, Theodosius wrote to Symmachus; but in his letter he spoke only in general terms of his victory, referring him to public fame for a more particular account of it. Symmachus, in his answer, commends his modesty, which to him feemed the more worthy

of praise, as Theodosius was no less qualified for writing than fighting r.

THE following year, when Gratian was conful the third time with Equitius, many eminent persons of both sexes were cruelly racked and put to death by Simplicius, Cruelties exervicar of Rome, who being raised to that employment by the interest of Maximinus, cife at Rome put, under various pretences, all those to death to whom his patron bore the least grudge, and among the rest Aginacius, a patrician of an illustrious and ancient family, who had been confular or governor of Byzacene under Julian, and vicar of Rome in the present reign. He was accused of adultery; and tho' the informer could not make good the charge, yet he was fentenced to death, and executed with Anepsia, a lady of great distinction, who being accused of the same crime, had impeached Aginacius, hoping by that means to ingratiate herself with Simplicius, and escape the d danger that threatened her'. As for the emperor, he passed the winter at Milan, as appears from the dates of several laws, but was again at Treves on the twentyfirst of May, and the twentieth of June'. From thence he marched into Germany; and after having ravaged the country bordering on the Rhine, returned to Basle, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named Robur: from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of July ". While the emperor was encamped there, news was brought, that the Quadi had with great violence broken into Illyri- The Quadi and cum, upon the following provocation: Valentinian, perhaps over-careful in fortifying break into the borders of the empire, had ordered some forts to be built beyond the Danube, Illyricum, in the territories of the Quadi, who, alarmed thereat, prevailed upon Equitius, then

e general of the troops in *Illyricum*, to suspend the work till he received further orders from the emperor, to whom they had fent some of the chief men of their nation to complain of that violence. But in the mean time, Maximinus, presect of Gaul, upbraiding Equitius with cowardice and irrefolution, bragged that, in spite of the Quadi, the forts should be soon finished, provided his son Marcellianus, tho' yet very young, was but created duke of Valeria, a province of Illyricum. Marcellianus being accordingly advanced to that dignity, upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, ordered the work, which had been for fome time discontinued, to be carried on anew, without taking the least notice of the complaints of the Quadi. Hereupon Gabinius, their king, came in person to wait upon him, intreating him, with the greatest modesty f and respect imaginable, not to give any motives of jealousy or misunderstanding

between his people and the subjects of the empire. Marcellianus received him in a Gabinius, king very obliging manner; and pretending to hearken to his just remonstrances, invited of the Quadi, murdered by him to a banquet, during which he caused him, without any regard to the facred the Romans. laws of hospitality, or the right of the nations, to be inhumanly murdered. This black piece of treachery alarmed and incensed both the Quadi, and their neighbours the Sarmatians, who flying to arms, passed the Danube in the utmost rage; and falling upon the reapers, it being then harvest-time, cut most of them in pieces, laid

9 Ammian. 1. xxix. p. 398—408. Zos. 1. iv. p. 744. xxviii. p. 363—366. t Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 93, 94. F Sym. 1. x. epift. 1. p. 389. B Idem ibid. l. xxviii. p. 363-366.

The Ouadi invade Pannonia, and commit dreadful ravages.

waste the country to a great distance, and returned loaded with an immense booty. a In this confusion, Constantia, the daughter of Constantius, who was then passing through Illyricum, in order to be married to Gratian, had fallen into their hands, had not Messala, governor of the province, who attended her, put her into a chariot in great haste, and conveyed her with all possible speed to Sirmium w. Constantia was born after the death of her father, and therefore was at that time in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of her age x. She is styled on the ancient coins Flavia Maxima Constantia. Probus, the prefect of Illyricum, resided then at Sirmium; but as he was a man of no courage, tho' descended of an illustrious family, he was so alarmed at the report of the many murders and unheard-of cruelties committed by the incenfed enemy, that he had already provided himself with swift horses to make his escape; b but being with much-ado prevailed upon to ftay, more out of regard to his own fafety, than the public good, he took all imaginable care to put the city in a condition to withfland the efforts of the barbarians; who thereupon, inflead of laying fiege to it, refolved to pursue Equitius, whom they looked upon as the chief author of the murder of their king. He had fled into Valeria, and thither they followed him, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they passed. In their way they met two legions, the Pannonian and the Masian, who had been sent to oppose them, and were of fufficient strength to restrain their fury, had they not fallen into an unfeafonable contention about precedency, each of them claiming the honour of charging the first. The barbarians, apprised of their disagreement, without waiting c for the fignal of battle, fell first with great fury upon the Masian legion, before they They defeat two had time to put themselves in a posture of defence; and having cut most of them in Roman legions pieces, attacked, and in like manner put to the fword, the other legion, only a small number of them by flight escaping death or captivity y. Thus all the open country was abandoned to the barbarians, the Romans remaining masters only of the fortified places, where they committed, fays Zosimus 2, as great diforders as the barbarians themselves in the other parts. But the Sarmatians, having entered Upper Masia, were The Sarmatians repulsed with incredible flaughter by Theodosius, afterwards emperor, but at that time very young, and only duke of Massia. The barbarians, who were infinitely fuperior to him in number, thought to have overpowered him; but he, with a cou-d rage and conduct far above his years, made fuch a dreadful havock of them, as to fatiate with the bodies of the flain, to use the expression of Ammianus, the birds of prey, and the most ravenous among the wild beasts a. The Sarmatians, despairing of fuccess against so brave a leader, sent deputies to sue for peace; which they obtained, and for some time observed, being kept in awe by some troops, which Valentinian had fent into Illyricum upon the first notice of the irruption of the barbarians into that province. He was for leaving Gaul, and marching in person against them; but as the autumn was already far spent, and Macrianus king of the Alemans, with other princes, feemed ready to break into Gaul upon the departure of the emperor, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to put off his march to a more convenient feafon. However, as he was determined to leave Gaul early in the spring, and march into Illyricum, he invited Macrianus, whose valour he chiefly dreaded, to an interview in the neighbourhood of Mentz. Macrianus complied with his invitation, and tho' at first he betrayed a great deal of pride in seeing his friendship thus courted by the Roman emperor, yet in the end he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered him, and continued to his death a faithful friend to the Romans b. He was in the end killed by Merobandes king of the Franks, whose dominions he had invaded . Valentinian, having thus concluded a peace with the brave king of the Alemans, returned to Treves, where he passed the winter d; and the following spring set out from thence for Illyricum, attended by his wife Justina, and Valentinian her eldest fon. f into Illyricum. Gratian was left at Treves, with a numerous body of troops, to keep the German nations in awe. The present year 375. is marked in the fasti thus; the year after the third consulship of Gratian, and his collegue Equitius. St. Jerom writes, that no confuls were named this year, on account of the disturbances raised in Pannonia by the Sarmatians c. The emperor was still at Treves on the ninth of April f; but left that city foon after 8. He was met on his march by embassadors from the Sarmatians,

The emperor concludes a peace with the Alemans,

defeated by

Theodofius.

And marches

W Ammian. l. xxix. p. 408, 409. Zos. l. iv. p. 745. Chrys. at Mian. & Zos. ibid. Zos. p. 745. Ammian. p. 410, 411. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 64. Hier. chron. \* Chrys. ad vid. junior. p. 463. 7 Am-410, 411. b Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418. f Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94-8 Ammian. l. xxx. p. 418.

a who throwing themselves at his feet, earnestly intreated him not to give credit to the

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reports that had been spread abroad concerning the ravages and cruelties said to have been committed by those of their nation; they assured him, that, upon examination; he would not find them guilty of the crimes that were by their enemies urged against The emperor answered, that he would determine nothing for the present; but suspend his judgment till his arrival in those parts which had most suffered by their late irruption. Having thus dismissed the embassadors, he pursued his march; and arriving in Illyricum, took up his quarters at Carnuntum, once a flourishing city, but then in decay. Most geographers take it to be the city of Hainburg on the Danube in Austria, about thirty-three miles east of Vienna. The emperor chose it, as b being most conveniently situated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition against the Quadi and Sarmatians. He was still at Carnuntum on the twelfth of August. Ammianus blames him for not inquiring how Gabinius king of the Quadi came to be murdered, nor punishing those, who, through treachery or cowardice, had abandoned the defence of the frontiers; both which things were expected from a prince of his exactness and severity k. Probus the prefect was the only person against whom he shewed any resentment; for he, to satisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to Ammianus, oppressed the people committed to his care in a manner hardly to The prople of be expressed, putting to death, banishing, or condemning to dungeons, the most Illyricum opc wealthy among them, that he might feize their estates; insomuch that all the perfons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and unheard-of cruelties of their governor, had privately disposed of their effects, and abandoned their country. All this the emperor learnt of a philosopher, by name Iphicles, who had been sent by the Epirots his countrymen, to thank Probus for his prudent and mild administration. The emperor, informed of the errand on which he was fent, asked him, whether his countrymen were really satisfied with their governor? and whether their thanks and commendations were fincere? They thank and commend him, answered frankly the philosopher; but with tears in their eyes, and fore against their will. Hereupon Valentinian made a strict inquiry into his conduct, and finding him guilty of most d enormous extortions, and unheard-of barbarities, resolved to depose him; but was prevented by death from putting his defign in execution 1. Thus Ammianus. But St. Jerom writes, that Illyricum was plundered, and tyrannically oppressed, by Equitius, without so much as mentioning Probus m; and Ammianus himself owns, that Leo, then magister officiorum, exasperated the emperor against Probus, hoping to be made prefect in his room ". Probus was descended from one of the most illustrious An account of families in Rome, and reckoned amongst his ancestors the emperor Marcus Aurelius. the family of The families of the *Probi*, of the *Anicii*, and of the *Olybrii*, were, according to St. Jerom O, Ausonius P, and Prudentius 4, the most conspicuous in Rome. Probus, who had embraced the christian religion, with his whole family , lived in great intimacy e with St. Ambrose, the celebrated bishop of Milan. When the latter was by the emperor appointed governor of Liguria and Æmilia, Probus, in taking his leave of him, gave him the following memorable advice: Acquit your self in your office, not like a governor, but like a bishops. St. Ambrose was then by profession a pleader or advocate. Probus was first proconsul of Africa in 358. afterwards sour times presect of Italy or Gaul, and in 371. Gratian's collegue in the confulship. He was no less famous for his wealth, than his birth and employments; for he is faid to have owned immense possessions in all the provinces of the empire . Paulinus Diaconus tells us, that two Persian lords of great distinction, being come to Milan to visit St. Ambrose, went from thence to Rome, on purpose to behold the grandeur and pomp in which f Probus lived . He died, as appears from Claudian, before the end of the year 394. being then in the fixtieth year of his age w, after having received the facrament of baptism; and was buried in a magnificent monument near the church of St. Peter at Rome, of which monument some remains were still to be seen in the time of pope Nicolas V x. Several letters written to him by Symmachus have reached our times y, and a poem addressed to him by Ausonius in 372. Ammianus commends him in

h Idem ibid. k Ammian. p. 425. 1 Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94. 1 Idem ibid. m HIER. n Ammian. l. xxx. p. 424, 425. ym. l. i. p. 221. r Idem ibid. • Hier. ep. 8. p. 63. • Ambrof. vit. p. 79. P Auson. ep. 3. p. 422. 9 PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. AMMIAN. I. XXVII. Ambrof. vit. p. 83. \* Baron. ad F. 352. w Claud, de consulat. Olyb. & Prob. p. a. ann. 395. y Sym. l. iii. epitt. 50-55. p. 36.

feveral places of his history, but more frequently taxes him with great vices, perhaps a because he professed the christian religion 2. Claudian, tho a pagan as well as Ammianus, highly commends him; but it is in a panegyric on his children 2. Both writers agree in extolling his generosity. His wise Proba, named in the ancient inscriptions Anicia Faltonia Proba, was no less esteemed on account of her birth and extraordinary qualities, than her husband, being adorned with every virtue becoming her sex, and descended from the Anician samily, equalled by Cassiodorus 3, St. Austin 4, St. Jerom 4, and St. Ambrose 4, to the imperial samilies. Some of her ancestors bore the first employments in the times of the republic; and one of them is said to have been honoured with a triumph for reducing Illyricum 5. Ammianus 8 and Zosimus 4 take notice of their immense wealth; and St. Jerom, writing to Demetrias b the grand-daughter of Probus, says, that it was the peculiar prerogative of her family to possess in the first Roman senator that embraced the christian religion 1. Ammianus observes, that, in the reign of Constantius, the Anicians bore the chief sway in Rome m.

Faustinus exe-

Valentinian ravages the country of the Quadi.

He dies suddenly.

Several omens preceding Valentinian's death.

in Rome m. But to resume the thread of our history: Valentinian, during his stay at Carnuntum, caused Faustinus, nephew to Viventius, a few years before prefect of Gaul, to be first inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, being accused of magical practices, and of having answered one Nigrinus, desiring him in jest to make him a notary, Make me first emperor. They were joking; but the joke cost both of them c their lives. From Carnuntum the emperor dispatched Merobandes and count Sebastian, with a party of foot, to lay waste the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to Acincum, now Gran, or, as others will have it, Buda in Lower Hungary. There he passed the Danube, and having ravaged the enemy's country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, he returned to Acincum, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being desirous to find out some convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to Sabaria, now Servar; but that place not answering his expectation, he pursued his march along the Danube to Bregetio, which some take to be a village now called Bregnitz, and others a place in the isle of Schut, where the present city of Komare stands, or a d little below that of Markelbaz o. There he gave audience to the embassadors of the Quadi, come to fue for peace; but while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he all on a fudden fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by those who attended him, where he was seized with convulsion fits, and violent contorsions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the seventeenth of November of this year 375. in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned twelve years, wanting an hundred days P. Villor writes, that he died of a furfeit 9. St. Jerom ascribes his death to a violent vomiting of blood r. Socrates tells us, that being affronted at the meanness and beggarly appearance of the embassadors of the Quadi, he asked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear e before him? They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a great passion, upbraiding their whole nat on with arrogance, for presuming to insult the majesty of the Roman emperor and people. He delivered this with fo much heat and violence, that, his veins bursting, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood s. The reader will find in Socrates part of the speech which he made, or is supposed to have made, to the embassadors. His death was prefaged, according to Ammianus, by feveral omens: A blazing star, which, in the opinion of that writer, ever forebodes the death of some great personage, had appeared a few days before: at Sirmium the palace, court and forum were confumed by lightning: the night before he died, he saw, or imagined to see, his wife, then absent, f fitting by him in a melancholy posture, and in a mourning dress, with her hair dishevelled. This Ammianus takes to have been his genius for saking him ". On the

<sup>\*\*</sup> Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352, 353. l. xxviii. p. 362. l. xxxii. p. 423, 424. \*\* Claud. ibid. \*\* Cassiod. l. x. ep. 12. p. 162. \*\* August.ep. 179. p. 305. \*\* Hier. ep. 11. p. 162. \*\* Amber. 33. p. 263. \*\* Auson. p. 422. \*\* Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. \*\* Zos. l. vi. p. 828. \*\* Hier. ep. 8. p. 68. \*\* Sym. p. 299. \*\* Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. \*\* Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. \*\* Vide Baudr. p. 55. \*\* Vide Sans. & Baudr. p. 129, 130. \*\* Ammian. l. xxx. p. 427. Vict. epit. Philost. l. ix. c. 16. p. 130. \*\* Vict. epit. \*\* Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. \*\* Sogr. p. 248, 249. \*\* Idem ibid. \*\* Ammian. p. 426.

a day he died, his horfe, while he was about to mount, rearing with great fury, his firster or equery, firwing to place the emperor in the faddle, happened to give him a blow; which he refenting with his usual brutality, ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off; but Carealis, tribunus stabuli, or master of the horse, put off the execution of to cruel and unjust an order at the peril of his own life w. The year before, the Tites overflowed its banks, and laid all the lower parts of Rome under water, the inhabitants being obliged to fave themselves upon the hills, where they had perished with banger, had not Claudius, prefect of the city, fent them a feafonable supply of penvisions in bosts. These overflowings of the Tiber were generally looked upon as the forerunaers of some public disaster. The body of the deceased emperor was emb balmed, and fent to Constantinople, to be interred there amongst the other christian princes. It arrived in that city on the twenty-eighth of December of the enfuing year 376. but was not buried till the twenty-first of February of the year 382. when Theodofius paid it that last duty . Some pretended in 1174. to have discovered his body at Anderseach on the Rhine; but it is evident from history, that he was buried at Constantisople. As to his character, Ammianus taxes him with several vices. He was, accord- His character. ing to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelcy, punishing even the smallest faults with the atmost fewericy, and fuffering his ministers, or rather encouraging them, to exercise unheard-of crueities. He was coverous to a great degree, using all posfible merhods to raise money; which however some excuse in him, as he found, on bis accession to the empire, the exchequer quite exhausted by his predecessors, especially by Julian, who had spont immense sums in the Persian Aar. He had a mighty opinion of his own accomplishments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, skill in the military art, or any other prerogative; nay, even such as had a genteel fancy in dress. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheless, on several occasions, betrayed more fear than was becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms; infomuch that his ministers, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a passion, and they could by no other means appeals him, used to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the barbarians were up in arms, and ready to break into the empire; d which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to use the expression of Ammianus, as mild as ever was Antoninus Pius v. He suffered himself to be firangely imposed upon by his ministers, reposing an intire considence in those who described it the least; whence the provinces were often oppressed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, mifled and deceived by those about him, believed they enjoyed an intire happiness z. Had he not been deceived in the choice of his ministers, fays Vistor, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked after his death amongst the best princes. And truly he was, even according to Ammiamany excellent qualities; well acquainted with the military art, and no less with the art of governing; careful in protecting the subjects of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians; an exact observer of the military discipline; enured from his intancy to hardships, and no-ways biaffed by favour in disposing of the great offices. Tho' he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother Valens, whom he affumed for his collegue, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainments he was splendid, but not profuse; in his person comely, and well-shaped; in his conversation agreeable; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution, knowing well how to accommodate himself to all times and occasions b. He suffered no places to be bought or fold during the whole time of his reign; and tho' he was t' often mittaken in the choice of his officers and ministers, yet his intention was to prefer only the most deserving, and for that reason he neglected his own relations. He abated the taxes, and eased his people, as far as the state of his affairs would allow, of the heavy burdens laid upon them by his predecessors. He was an utter tranger to debauchery and unlawful pleasures, which he endeavoured to restrain by several excellent laws 4. As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions, which at that time divided the world, he inviolably adhered to the orthodox faith; but, avoiding all disputes, he allowed to the rest of his subjects, even to the pagans, an

\* Idem, р. 433. Макс. ehrop. 

\* Амміан. l. ххх. р. 431, 432. 
ibid. 

\* Амміан. р. 433. 

\* Idem, р. 423. 

\* Vict. p. 651. P. 349. a Idem ibid.

intire liberty of conscience. He is blamed by the ecclesiastic writers, for suffering a his brother Valens to persecute the orthodox christians; but some alledge in his defence. that the condition of his affairs would not allow him in prudence openly to oppose Valens, fince that perhaps might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to Ammianus, with such excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with the mixture of the above-mentioned vices, especially with that of cruelty, he had been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors Trajan and M. Aurelius. Amongst his other laws he enacted one addressed to Maximus vicar of Rome, relating to the stature or fize of fuch as were to be admitted into the army, which was not to be under fix foot feven inches d.

WE shall now proceed to the history of the reign of Valens in the east, which, to

The reign of Valens in the east.

avoid confusion, we have thought proper to deliver separately, there being no other connection, but that of time, between the reigns and transactions of the two princes. After the division of the provinces made at Mediana in the neighbourhood of Naissus in Dacia in 364. Valens returned to Constantinople, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-fixth of December, forbidding the messengers of good news to exact, according to the abuse which then prevailed, or even to accept any thing of the people; but allows them to receive what persons of rank and fortune shall think proper to offer them of their own accord. The following year 365. Valens was still at Constantinople on the nineteenth of March ; but soon after set out for Syria, the Persians e being in motion, with a defign, as was apprehended, to break the peace which they had lately concluded with Jovian. Being informed, as he entered Bitbynia, that the Goths were ready to invade Thrace, he dispatched messengers to his officers in those parts, warning them to be upon their guard, and pursued his march to Casarea in Cappadocia, where he was on the fourth of July, and continued there till the latter end of the summer 8. During his stay in that city, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in most provinces of the empire, and overturned several cities in Sicily, Palestine, and above all in the island of Crete, where the shock was most violent h. When Valens was upon the point of departing from Casarea, news was brought him of the revolt of Procopius, who, after having paid the last duty to the d body of his kinsman Julian, had privately withdrawn, through fear of Jovian, into Cherfonesus Taurica; but not trusting those barbarians, and finding himself destitute even of the necessaries of life, he left that inhospitable country, and returning in disguise into the territories of the empire, he reached undiscovered the city of Chalcedon, where he was received by one Strategius, his trufty friend, and by him carefully concealed at his country-house. From thence he went frequently in a mean dress to Constantinople; and finding that the people there were generally dissatisfied with the present government, on account of the cruelties practised by Petronius, whose daughter, Albia Dominica, the emperor had married, he resolved to improve that diffatisfaction to his own advantage. Having therefore gained over an eunuch e of great wealth, by name Eugenius, lately difgraced by Valens, and some of the officers who commanded the troops that had been fent into Thrace against the Goths, and were then quartered at Constantinople, he boldly ventured to discover himself, and lay before the people and foldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly And is acknow- related to Julian. Hereupon the officers, whom he had gained before-hand, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest, following their example, saluted him with the title of Augustus, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days several persons of distinction joined him, and at length the whole city of Constantinople. The news of this revolt struck Valens with such terror and dismay, that f he was for quitting the imperial purple, and refigning the empire; but being, with powerful arguments, persuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached some troops against his new rival, hoping to crush him before he was in a condition to make any refissance. This detachment met Procopius at Mygdus in Phrygia, attended by a promiscuous multitude of fugitive slaves, deserters, and perfons of desperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put

ledged by the city of Constantinople.

themselves in a posture of defence. But Procopius, distrusting their courage, while

d Cod. Theod. l. iii. de tyrnonib. Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. 11. leg. 1. both . 2

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a both parties were ready to engage, stept boldly forward, as if he designed to challenge one of the adverse party to a single combat; and taking Vitalianus, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly upbraided him and his fellow-foldiers, for fiding with a Pannonian robber against one allied to the samily of Constantine the Great. His fpeech made such a deep impression upon them, that they immediately passed over He is joined by to his party, and with loud acclamations saluting him emperor, carried him in a party of the . triumph to the imperial pavilion k. This defection brought a very feafonable accession from of strength to Procopius, who thereupon detached a strong party, under the conduct of Rumitalea a tribune, to feize on Nice; which they did accordingly, without the loss of a single man 1. Valens, alarmed at the usurper's unexpected prob gress, dispatched Vadomarius, formerly king of the Alemans, to recover that important place, while he went in person to lay siege to Chalcedon, from which city one of his laws is dated the first of December "; but he met with so vigorous a resistance, that he was obliged to give over the enterprize, the besieged insulting him from the Valens obliged walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of Sabaiarius, that is, Beer-fiege of Chaldrinker, sabaia being a kind of small drink made of barley, and common in Panno-cedon. nia, where Valens was born. Rumitalca, who commanded in Nice, being informed of his retreat, fallied out with great boldness, and bearing all down before him, had utterly defeated the emperor, had not Valens, upon timely notice of his approach,

taken a quite different rout by the lake Sunona, and the windings of the river Gallus ". • Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon Bitbynia to the enemy, and retire with all expedition to Ancyra, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which Lupicinus was leading out of the east to his affistance. In the mean time Arintheus, one of his chief commanders, an officer of great prowess and renown, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by one Hyperechius, formerly an apparitor, and scorning to enter the lists with such a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, Hyperechius's own men to bring to him in chains their vile and despicable leader; which they did accordingly, struck with the awful and majestic mien of that renowned commander. But in the mean time Procopius, being informed, that the money Procopius fei-allotted for the pay of the foldiers who ferved in the east, was lodged in the city of zes on Cyzid Cyzicus, hastened thither, laid siege to the place, and in the end reduced it, though cus, and the defended with great resolution and intrepidity by Seronianus, at that time comes treasure lodged

domesticorum, who found means to make his escape, as Zosimus informs us P; but there. was afterwards taken in Lydia, carried prisoner to Nice, and there by Marcellus, governor of the place, put to death. Procopius being, by the reduction of this place, become master of the Hellespont, he appointed Ilormisda governor of that province, with the title of proconsul. He was the son of Hormisda, brother to Sapor king of Persia, who, as we have related elsewhere, had, in the year 323. taken refuge in the court of Constantine the Great, and ever after served the Romans with great fidelity. Procopius spent the best part of the winter in endeavouring to draw e over to his party the cities of Afia; but his deligns were in great measure defeated by Clearchus vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he all on a fudden grew He grows 19. proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces that had submitted to him ramical. with exorbitant taxes, tho' he knew, that their aversion to Valens was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people against him, than his commanding the house of Arbetio to be stripped of the moveables of inestimable value, and of the immense riches, which that ancient and brave commander had amassed under Constantius. He gave him this unseasonable proof of his indignation, tho' he had formerly lived in great friendship with him, upon his declining to wait f upon him, on account of his great age, and the infirmities attending it q. The following year 366. Valens, upon the arrival of the troops from the east under the command of Lupicinus, left Galatia, whither he had retired from before Chalcedon, and marched into Lycia, with a defign to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As the foldiers of Procopius were greatly animated by the presence of Faustina, Constantius's widow, and her little daughter Constantina, whom Procopius carried about with

k Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 322, 324. 1 Idem, p. 32 mian. ibid. Socrat. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. 2 Amm Eunap. c. 5. p. 84. Themist. orat. vii. p. 92—99. 1 Idem, p. 315. m 16. • Ammian. ibid. m Cod. Theod. chron. p. 75, 76. Am-id. P Zos. p. 328, Ammian. p. 327.

him, and often exposed to the view of the army, Valens, to defeat that artifice, pre-

vailed upon Arbetio, who had commanded the forces under Constantius, and was

beloved

Procopius abandoned by Some of his chief officers.

Defeated, taken, and put to death.

beloved by the foldiery, to join him, not doubting but the prefence and interest of a one of that prince's chief commanders, would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not therein deceived; for the presence of Arbetio, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, quite turned the hearts of Procepius's men; which Gomoarius, one of his chief commanders, being well apprised of, thought it adviseable to abandon the tyrant, and submit to Valens r. This happened, according to Zosimus, in the neighbourhood of Thyatira in Lydia, in the heat of a battle, while Valens was in imminent danger of being utterly defeated by the courageous behaviour and prudent conduct of young Hormi/da'. We question whether this can be reconciled with what we read in Ammianus. After this, Valens advanced to Sardes, and from thence to Nicolia, a city of Phrygia, where he gave the rebels battle, the iffue b whereof continued doubtful, till Agilo, by nation a German, one of Procopius's chief commanders, with many others, went over to Valens; which so disheartened Procopius, that, quitting his horse, he sled into an adjoining wood, attended by Florentius, and Barchalbas a tribune. There they wandered about, till the moon shining out with great brightness, they began to apprehend they might be discovered. Hereupon Procopius's two companions, seizing him to save themselves, carried him bound to the emperor, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off, and sent it to Valentinian, then in Gaul. Florentius and Barchalbas were likewise put to death by the emperor's orders; but, in the opinion of Ammianus, contrary to the rules of justice and equity: for had they betrayed, says that writer, a lawful prince, their e treason had deserved to be punished with death; but as he was a rebel and usurper, they had great reason to expect another fort of reward for their scasonable service v. Philostorgius writes, that the army cauf d Florentius to be burnt alive, for his cruekies to those of their party at Nice w, he having been appointed by Procopius governor & that city; but from Ammianus it is evident, that Marcelus, of whom anon, and not Florentius, was governor of that city. What Socrates writes \* of the cruel death to which the emperor condemned Procoj ius, and likewife his two generals, Agilo and Gomoarius, tho' they had abandoned him before his defeat, deserves no credit, since Ammianus, who never spares Valens, in displaying with great minuteness his other cruelties, takes no notice of this; nay, he tells us in express terms, that Aranes, d father-in-law to Agilo, by his interest obtained his pardon, tho' he had been prasecus pratorio to Procopius y. Such was the end of this usurper, in the forty-second year of his age, after he had borne the title of emperor for the space of about eight months. He was put to death, according to Idatius and Socrates, on the twenty-feventh of May; but on the twentieth of June, according to the chronicle of Alexandria. He His birth, pre- was born of an illustrious family in Cilicia, and nearly related to the emperor Julian. He was, tho' a pagan, employed by Constantius on account of his integrity, and raised by Julian to great employments, and diffinguished with the title of count. When that prince fet out on his memorable expedition against the Persians, he invested him and count Sebastian with the command of a body of thirty thousand chosen men, who were to remain in Mesopotamia, and cover the empire on that side against any sudden irruption of the enemy z. Zosimus writes, that he delivered up to Jovian the purple robe, which Julian was faid, as we have related above, to have given him, charging him to assume it, if he should happen to die before his return from Persia. That writer adds, that thereupon Jovian gave him leave to retire with his family to Casarea in Cappadocia, and lead there a retired life. Be that as it will, it is certain from Annianus, that he was fent by Jovian to attend the corps of Julian to Tarfus; and afterwards withdrawing, he kept himself concealed, till he assumed the title of emperor, which occasioned his ruin. He was, according to Ammianus, a man of few words, close and reserved; of no mean presence, tho' he went somewhat stooping, with his eyes ever fixed on the ground, which proceeded from his gloomy and melancholy temper; yet he was always averse to the shedding of blood, which, in the opinion of Ammianus, was a thing to be wondered at, considering the moroseness of his disposition b. Marcellus, governor of Nice, and kinsman to Procepius, hearing of his death, ordered Serenianus, who was kept close prisoner in the place, to be immediately dispatched, saving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, says Ammianus; for as he was noted for his cruelty, and had a great afcendant over Valens,

ferments, and character.

<sup>\*</sup> Zos. Liv. p. 739.

L xxvi. p. 329.

\*\* Puilost. p. 123.

Zos. l. w. p. 736. # AMMIAN, p. 927, 328. t Ammian. p. 329. Peneost. l. vii. c. 9. p. 123. \* Амміан. l. exvii. p. 335. & l. xxvl. p. 329. \* Амміан. l. xxvi. p. 329. 
\* Idem ibid. \* SUCRAT. I. iv. c. 5. p. 214. MMIAN ibid.

a whose countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of Procopius's party, he would have induced the emperor, too much inclined of himself, to revenge, and occasioned the destruction of many persons, innocent as well as guilty. After this bold execution, Marcellus being informed, that a body of Goths was marching to the affiftance of Procopius, and not doubting but he should be able to draw them over to his own party, feized on the city of Chalcedon; and being affifted by fome, whom poverty and despair had driven into rebellion, he assumed the purple, and Marcellus re. caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. But Valens, upon the first notice of his volts; revolt, dispatched without delay a party of chosen men against him, who coming upon him unexpectedly, seized him, and having loaded him with chains, dragged But it taken, b him to the public prison; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with and tortured to his accomplices, tortured to death d. Themistius, in his panegyric upon Valens, written a few months after the death of Procopius, tells us, that he used his victory with great moderation, punishing only the chief authors of the revolt. But Ammianus f and Zosimus 8 assure us, that he proceeded with the utmost severity against fuch as were but barely suspected of having favoured the rebels. His ears were open to all complaints and informations; and few who had the misfortune to be accused, were so happy as to escape death, banishment, or confiscations, till the emperor had glutted himself with blood, and filled his own coffers, and those of his friends likewise. He ordered the city of Chalcedon to be difmantled, pursuant to an oath he had taken; but the inhabitants of Nice, Nicomedia, and Constantinople, interceding in behalf of a city, of which the walls were its chief beauty and ornament, to comply at the fame time with their request, and his own oath, he caused only part of the walls to be

demolished, which he immediately rebuilt with smaller stones, ordering the others to be conveyed to Constantinople, where they were made use of to build a public bath, called the Thermæ, or Hot baths of Constantius, if Socrates is not mistaken ; for it is certain, that Valens built at Constantinople a public bath, bearing the name of his daughter Carosa, which were ended in 375. This year the empress Albia Dominica was, on the eighteenth of January, delivered of a son, named Valentinian, and surnamed Galata, no doubt because he was born in Galatia, where Valens passed the first

d months of this year, as we have observed.

THE following year 367. Valens, hearing that a body of three thousand Golbs, Valens resolves who were come to the affiftance of Procopius, and had marched back upon the news to make war of his death, had not yet passed the Danube, sent a strong detachment against them, "pon the Goths. who, cutting off their retreat, obliged them, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners k. Hereupon Athanaric, at that time king, or rather judge of the Goths, named Thervingi, (for he seems to have declined the royal title) dispatched embassadors to Valens, earnestly intreating him to set the prisoners at liberty, and suffer them to return to their own country, fince they had been fent by their prince, a friend and ally of the e Romans, to the affiftance of a Roman emperor. The embaffadors, after having delivered this message, produced a letter from Procopius to their master, wherein he affured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinfman of Constantius, and the heir of the great Constantine's family. Valens returned, it seems, no answer to the embassadors; but sent Victor, then magister equitum, or general of the horse, to complain in his name of Athanaric, for affitting a rebel against his lawful fovereign. The Goths answered, that they had looked upon Procopius as the kinsman of Constantine, and the heir of his family, adding, that it was not their business to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and that, if they were therein deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, fince their counsels had been influenced by what f appeared to them just and equitable. They could not however obtain the deliverance of their prisoners, Valens, who had no other enemy at that time to divert him, being desirous to humble that powerful nation 1. Ammianus thinks he had justice on his fide m; but Eunafius will not take upon him to decide whether he had or no n. This war was likely to prove very dangerous, the Goths being then very powerful, and besides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over the neighbouring nations, if Jornandes is to be credited o, who feems to have been but indifferently

\* Idem, l. xxvi. p. 325. d Idem, p. 326, 327. \*THEMIST. OF TAL. VII. p. 84. F AMMIAN. p. 330.

\* Zos. l. iv. p. 739. b Socr. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. AMMIAN. p. 614. Chron. Alex p. 704.

\* Zos. l. iv. p. 740. Eunap. de legation. p. 18. AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 340. Eunap. p. 18. 7.0s.

p. 748. Jorn. fer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. Mamian. p. 338. Eunap. p. 18. Jorn. ibid. C. 3. D. 642, 643. Vol. VI. Nº 5.

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acquainted with the history of his country, since he takes no notice of the present a war. Valens, being bent upon war, and well apprifed of the strength and power of the enemy, made vast preparations during the winter, with a design to fall upon the enemy early in the spring. Before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order He is baptized to render heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the facrament of baptism, by the Arians. but, out of complaifance to the empress, at the hands of Eudoxius, then bishop of Constantinople, a leading man among the Arians, who, in administering to him that facrament, obliged him to swear, that, to his death, he would adhere to the doctrine of Arius, and look upon those who opposed it as enemies to truth; which oath he but too strictly observed, as the reader may find in the ecclesiastic writers of those b times. He had before shewed no small partiality to the Arians; but thenceforth he became their great patron, and a cruel persecutor of the catholics. But to return to the war: the emperor being informed, that the Goths, apprised of his design, were affembling a mighty army, in order to attack him the first, took the field before the winter was over; and having fent strong detachments to guard the banks of the Danube, he encamped with the rest of the army in the neighbourhood of Marcianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Massia, where he raised Auxonius to the dignity of pretect, in the room of Salustius Secundus, no longer able to discharge that office, on account of his great age. He was still at Marcianopolis on the thirtieth of May, as appears from the dates of some laws P; which we will not take upon us to reconcile with what we read in Ammianus 9 and Zosimus, viz. that in the beginning of the spring he lest that city, and having assembled his troops, he passed the Danube at a place called Daphne, and spent the whole summer in ravaging and laying waste the lays waste the enemy's country, without meeting with the least opposition, the Goths having fled, upon the approach of the Roman army, to the neighbouring mountains, called Serri, inaccessible to those who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the Roman territories, and was on the twenty-fifth of September at Dorosterum in Masia, and on the thirty-first of January of the enfuing year 368. at Marcianopolis's, where, without all doubt, he passed the Great disorders winter. This year the Isaurians, who had continued quiet ever since the year 359. over-ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages, but towns, and d advancing as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia, where they amassed an immense booty. Mujonius, vicar of Afia, endeavoured to restrain them; but, as he was quite unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces, with all his men. Musonius had taught rhetoric at Athens, from which employment he was raifed to the dignity of proconful of Achaia, and afterwards to that of vicar of Asia. However, the Isaurians were in the end furrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and, their retreat being cut off, obliged to submit, and quit the booty they had taken. Their lives were spared, upon their promising to give no molestation to their neighbours for the future; and accordingly they kept their word till the year 376. that is, for the space of ten years . Germanicopolis was their chief city, and in the fifth century an episcopal see; but not at this time, for a bishop could find no employment among persons who were robbers by profession. The following year 368. Valens was still at Marcianopolis on the ninth of March ", and heard there his panegyric pronounced by Themistius, upon his entering the fifth year of his reign. The orator mentions in his speech an eastern prince, who had quitted the dominions of his father, tho' very confiderable, to have the honour of ferving under Valens w. Some writers conjecture this prince to have been Para, the son of Arfaces king of Armenia, who came to implore the affiftance of Valens against the Persians, and continued some time at Neocasarea in Pontus; but he cannot be said to have served under f Valens. One Bacurus, styled king of Iberia, served under Valens at the battle of

the Haurian robbers.

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Theod. chron. p. 79. 4 Ammian. p. 340. Zos. p. 741. Cod. Theod. Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 248, 349. Eunap. c. 8. p. 125, 126. Cod. Theod. cr. orat. 711. p. 433. Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 460. Ruf. l. i. c. 10. p. 166. P Cod. Theod. chron. p. 79. \* Cod. Theod. chron. p. So, " Cod. Theod. chron. p. Sr. w Themese, orat. viii. p. 433.

Adrianople x, as he did afterwards under Theodosius y; and him perhaps Themistius meant. From Marcianopolis the emperor marched early in the spring to Carpi, a village, as is supposed, of Masia, with a design to ravage, as he had done the year before, the enemy's country; but he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to cross the Danube, which continued swelled beyond measure all that summer. He therefore returned to Marcianoũ

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a polis, where he took up his winter-quarters?. One of his laws is dated from that place the twelfth of November, and another the thirteenth of December . This year is remarkable for one of the most dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of Nice was utterly ruined, and in that of Germa in the Hellespont only a few houses left standing b. The following year 369, the emperor was still at Marciano-polis on the third of May; but at Noviodunum in Lesser Scythia on the third and fifth of July, where he passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, and advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. Zosimus tells us, that the He invades Goths fallying frequently out of their woods and marshes upon the Romans, the anew the counemperor dispatched against them the servants who attended the army, promising Goths. b them a certain fum for each head they should bring. Hereupon such numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marshes where they lurked, that the rest, finding no-where a safe retreat, sent embassadors to sue for peace d. Thus Zosimus. But Ammianus, whose authority is of greater weight, informs us, that Valens, having attacked the Greutbungi, a warlike nation, at a confiderable distance from the Danube, after feveral encounters, gained a great victory over Athanaric, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him . After this victory, Valens returned The Goths deto Marcianopolis, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. feated, sue for But in the mean while the Goths, weary of so destructive a war, which had lasted peace, and obalready three years, and reduced them to the utmost distress, sent embassadors to c sue for peace; which Valens at first resused to grant them upon any terms, but was in the end, with much-ado, prevailed upon by the senate of Constantinople to hearken to their proposals. Thus Themistius, who was at the head of the Constantinopolitan deputies f. Valens, having at their request dismissed the embassadors with a favourable answer, approached the Danube, and named Vistor and Arintheus to treat with the Goths. After some conferences, a peace was consuded upon the following terms, highly honourable for the Romans; viz. 1. That the Goths should not for the future Articles of the pass the Danube, nor set soot on the Roman territories. 2. That the trade which treaty. they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with what cities of the empire they pleased, should be restrained to two only, situated on the Danube. 3. That d they should not for the future claim nor expect the pensions that had been annually paid them by other emperors; but nevertheless, that Athanaric's pension should be continued to him 8. This was the first peace, concludes Themistius, which the Romans had in our memory granted to, and not purchased of, the Goths. When Valens and Athanaric were to meet, in order to ratify and fign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to pass the Danube, pretending, that his father had obliged him folemnly to swear never to tread on Roman ground. On the other hand, Valens, thinking it below the majesty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes should meet in boats in the middle of the river; which they did accordingly, and ratified the peace to their mutual satisfaction h. Themistius, who was prefent at this interview, describes it much at length, but more like an orator than an historian. He pronounced his speech in all likelihood at Constantinople, whither he retired after the conclusion of the treaty; for, according to the code, he was at Marcianopolis on the second of December, and on the thirtieth of the same month at Constantinople k. This year dreadful disorders were committed in Syria by the inhabitants of a large village near Apamea, called Maratacupris, who, roving about the country, robbed all they met, and had even the boldness to enter some cities in the nighttime, and plunder the houses of the most wealthy inhabitants. Hereupon Valens sent severity of Vaa party of foldiers against them, with orders to set fire to their village, and put them lens to some all to the fword, without distinction of sex or age; which was done accordingly with robbers. f the utmost rigour, the soldiers being in express terms injoined not to spare even the fucking children 1.

THE following year 370. Valens, leaving Constantinople, set out for Antiocb; but he had scarce reached Nicomedia, when he received news of the death of Eudoxius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, in whose room the Arians, with his approbation, placed one Demophilus. The catholics too chose their bishop, and raised to that see Evagrius; but the emperor sent a party of soldiers from Nicomedia, with orders to

b Hier. chron. Socr.l. iv. c. 11. e Ammian. p. 341. f Themist. e Ammian. p. 341. 1 Тнеміят. огат x р. 132, 133.

drive him out. The Arians, thus countenanced by the emperor, raised a cruel per-

Valentinian,

provinces, and Paiciline into

three.

fecution against the catholics, who thereupon had recourse to Valens, sending eighty ecclesiastics to lay their grievances before him; but the emperor, instead of redressing them, ordered Modestus, who had been raised this year to the dignity of presect in the room of Auxonius, to put them all to death. Modestus, fearing the public exeeighty orthodox cution of so many ecclesiastics might occasion great disturbances, put them all on be put to death. board a vessel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be sent into banishment; but when the vessel was at some distance from land, the mariners set fire to it, as had been agreed on before-hand, faving themselves in their boat. The ship was driven by a strong wind into a harbour called by Socrates, Dacidazus, and there confumed, with all who were in it. This cruelty, fays that writer, was punished by b heaven with a dreadful famine, which obliged most of the inhabitants of Phrygia to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief m. Some unforeseen accident must have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to Antioch; for he was, as appears from the dates of feveral laws, on the tenth of June at Cyzicus; on the twelsth of December of this year, and during the months of January, February, and April of the enfuing year, at Constantinople "; which he left after the fifth of Mayo, and let out for Syria, advancing flowly, and administering justice in all the cities through which he pass d; which would have gained him the affections of the inhabitants, had he not at the same time made it his chief study to establish every-where the herefy of Arius, and betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to the catholics P. He c passed the winter at Casarea in Cappadocia, where, to his unspeakable grief, his only fon Valentinian Galata died. Gregory Nazianzen writes, that, during his malady, the his only son, dies emperor had recourse to the prayers of St. Basil, who was then at Casarea, and promised to restore the child to health, provided Valens would suffer him to receive the facrament of baptism at the hands of an orthodox bishop; which condition he not agreeing to, but, on the contrary, ordering him to be baptized by the Arians, the Cappadocia di- young prince immediately died 4. This year the emperor divided Cappadocia into two provinces, appointing Tyana the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda, as Cafarea was of Cappadocia Prima. At the same time he divided Palestine into three provinces, viz. Palæstina Prima, Palæstina Secunda, and Palæstina Salutaris. Cæsarea was d the metropolis of the first, Scythopolis of the second, and Petra of the third. The latter city, with the greatest part of Palastina Salutaris, was dismembered from Arabia, as were several cities in the two other provinces from Phanicia. The governor of Palæstina Prima was honoured with the title of confular; but those of the other two were only styled presidents. At what time Lycaonia, which had Iconium for its metropolis, was made a separate province, and those of Cilicia, Syria, and Phanicia divided into two, and Arabia into three, we will not take upon us to determine. These divisions of provinces proved very burdensome to the people, and raised quarrels and disputes among the metropolitan bishops, as appears from the ecclesiastic historians, and the letters of St. Basil.

Sapor begins new troubles in Armenia and Iberia.

THE following year 372. Valens left Cæsarea in Cappadocia early in the spring; for he was at Seleucia on the fourth of April, and on the thirteenth of the same month at Antioch . Soon after his arrival in that city, Libanius pronounced in his presence part of a speech composed in his praise, the other part, as it was exceeding long, being put off to another time. The emperor heard him with great pleasure, if the orator himself is to be credited; but the remaining part of his speech was never pronounced. Valens was come to Antioch to watch the motions of the Persians; for Sapor laying claim to Armenia, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Persia, but not caring openly to invade it, lest the Komans should espouse the cause of their allies, after having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretend- f ing great friendship for Arfaces their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unwary prince to be seized; and having put out his eyes, sent him in chains to a castle, called Agabana, where he was soon after put to death ". This in all likelihood is what gave occasion to the long account we read in Processus of the captivity of Arsaces king of Armenia, taken prisoner by one Pacurus king of Persia w; an account which has all the air of a romance. Sapor, having thus trea-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>m</sup> Socr. l. iv. c. 15. p. 226. n Cod. T p. 7+2. q Greg. Naz. orat. xx. p. 351. n Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87-89. o Idem ibid. F Hier. quæft. Hebr. p. 212. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p 171.
Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.
PROCOP. bell. Perf. l. i. c. 5. p. 15-17. notice c. 1. p. 3. Noris, epoch. p. 401, 402.

Ammian, l. xxv. p. 300. & l. xxvii, p. 353. Liban. vit. p. 48.

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a cheroufly dispatched Arfaces, gave the government of Armenia to Cylax and Artabanes; both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his interest. Then, driving out Sauromaces, whom the Romans had created king of Iberia, he put one Appacuras in his place, cousin-german to Sauromaces, honouring him with a diadem, which the Romans had refused to the other x. Olympias, the daughter of Ablavius, one of Constantine's chief officers, and given by that prince in marriage to Arfaces, was no sooner informed of the captivity of her hufband, than she took refuge with her son Paras in a strong fort called Artogerassa, where the king's treasures were lodged. Cylax and Artabanes were immediately ordered by Sapor to lay fiege to the place; which they did accordingly: but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and the young prince; b they agreed with the befieged to abandon the Persians to their fury; who were accordingly almost all to a man cut off in a fally made by agreement in the night-time, while the guards themselves in the camp were asleep, Cylax and Artahanes having given out, that the befieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to confider on the terms that had been offered them. The queen, thus delivered from the present danger, sent her son Paras to implore the affistance of the emperor, who caused him to be entertained for some time at Neocæsarea in Pontus, in a manner fuitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to affift him openly, at the request of the nobility of Armenia, he charged Terentius, who commanded on the borders of that country, with the title of comes or count, to conduct him into his c father's kingdom, which he fuffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the enligns of royalty, lest the Persians should look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace. Sapor was no fooner informed of what had passed in He feixes and Armenia, than, transported with rage, he sent a strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into that king- destroys several strong body of troops into the several strong several strong body of troops into the several strong several several strong several strong several strong several several strong several strong several severa dom, who, committing every-where dreadful ravages, obliged Paras, no-ways in a Armenia. condition to oppose them, to take refuge, with Cylax and Artabanes, among the inaccessible mountains between the Roman territories and Lazica. The Persians in the mean time, after having taken and burnt several strong-holds, sat down at length before Artogerassa, which, after several attacks, they took and destroyed, carrying away with them the wife and treasures of Arsaces. Sapor, finding he could not get d Paras into his power, had recourse to his usual artifices, in which he seldom miscarried; and by private messages to the young prince, whose cause he promised to espouse, prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of Cylax and Artabanes, who, he faid, were rather his governors than ministers, and fend them to him into Persia v. Valens, who had hitherto declined fending troops into Armenia, lest he should be Valens fends charged with a breach of the peace, was no sooner informed of these proceedings, troops to the than he ordered Arintheus, one of the best commanders of his age, with a powerful affiliance of army, into that kingdom, which by that means was preserved, the Persians not the Armenians. daring to fend more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the Romans. Hereupon Sapor dispatched embassadors to Valens, complaining of his sende ing troops to the affiftance of the Armenians, which, he said, was a manifest breach of the treaty concluded between him and Jovian. Valens, without regarding the complaints of the Persian king, sent a new reinforcement of troops to Arintheus, and at the same time dispatched Terentius, with twelve legions, into Iberia, to restore Sauromaces, driven out of his kingdom by the Persians. Terentius was met, as he drew near the river Cyrus, by embaffadors from Aspacuras, whom the Persians had created king of Iberia, desiring, that he and his kinsman Sauromaces might reign jointly, fince he could neither refign, nor take part with the Romans, by reason his son was detained as an hostage in the Persian court. The emperor, being acquainted with his proposal, and willing to settle the affairs of Iberia without bloodshed, consented Iberia divided f to a partition of the country, affigning to Sauromaces that part which lay fouth of the into two kingriver Cyrus, and next to Armenia and Lazica, and the remainder, bordering upon "oms. Albania and Persia, to Aspacuras . This highly incensed Sapor, who loudly complained, that the Romans, contrary to the treaty of peace, had fent troops into Armenia, and, despising his embassy, had, without his knowledge or consent, divided Iberia. Being now refolved to make open war upon the Romans, he affembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and fpent the winter of this year 372. in vast preparations. However, he could not, it seems, put himself in a con-

\* Ammian. p. 353-355. y Idem ibid. \* Idem, p. 355. THE MIST. orat. xi. p. 143-149. Vol. VI. Nº 5. appeared.

dition to act this year; for we do not find, that he attempted any thing, or even

appeared in the field. As for Valens, he advanced to the banks of the Euphrates 2 and the Tigris; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conspiracy was, it seems, formed against Valens, but seasonably discovered; and this is all we find in history concerning it. The following year Sapor fent a confiderable army towards the borders of the Roman empire, where they were met by Trajan, an officer of great experience, and Vadomarius, formerly king of the Alemans, at the head of a numerous and chosen body of troops. The Roman generals had orders not to attack the Persians the first, that the emperor might not be charged with a breach of the treaty; but the Persians falling upon them, they gained a complete victory. However, Valens readily consented to a truce; which was no sooner b concluded, than he returned to Antioch, and Sapor to Ctesiphon; for both princes had advanced as far as Mesopotamia, to support their respective generals b.

The Perfians defeated.

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of Theodorus.

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THE following year, while Valens was passing the winter at Antioch, many of all ranks and conditions were accused of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the person who was to succeed Valens in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared, that Theodorus, the emperor's fecond fecretary, was the man whom the stars feemed to have destined to the empire. Theodorus was descended of an illustrious family in Gaul, or, as others will have it, in Sicily, endowed with extraordinary accomplishments, and in every respect worthy of the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aspiring at it, c and endeavouring to raife himself, by unlawful means, to that high station; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practices of the magicians. Ammianus, who, it feems, was then at Antioch, or at least in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particular and diffinct account of what passed on that occasion, which it would be too tedious to transcribe. Theodorus was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conspired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in Ammianus, whose authority is of more weight with us than that of Sozomen, who writes, that he was burnt alive. As Theodorus, and the others concerned in this conspiracy, were pagans, Libanius endeavours to extenuate their crime; pay, d he is not ashamed to tell us, that Theodorus was condemned unjustly, though both Zosimus 8 and Ammianus h own, that he aspired at the empire; that by his own letters he was convicted of treason; and that the emperor narrowly escaped being affaffinated. No one would have complained, if only Theodorus and his Many innocent accomplices had suffered; but innumerable innocent persons were, on that occasion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or fent into banishment: a diligent fearch was made, not only after those who had been privy to the conspiracy, but after such as were only suspected of practising magic, or using magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accused and seized, that the public prisons could no longer contain them, and few of those who were apprehended, had the good luck to escape & death or banishment. Diogenes, formerly governor of Bithynia, was publicly executed; and Salia, treasurer of Thrace, sell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was supposed, by an apprehension of the torture he was to undergo. Bassianus, whom some writers suppose to have been the son of Bassianus Casar, brother-in-law to Constantine the Great k, was saved by the powerful intercession of his relations, who were all persons of great distinction; but stript of his estate, and all his effects. The two brothers Eulebius and Hypatius, brothersin-law to Constantius, who had been consuls in 359. were accused of having aspired at the empire; and tho' the charge could not be proved, yet they were banished, and condemned to pay a great fine, but soon after recalled with great honour. f Eutropius, proconful of Afia, was accused of having been privy to the conspiracy of Theodorus; but the philosopher Pasiphilus, who was brought as an evidence against him, having suffered all the torments cruelty itself could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was dismissed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to Festus the historian, who discharged it for the space of five years with the utmost cruelty. Alypius, formerly vicar of Britain, and employed by

C AMMIAN. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. c. 35. f Liban. vit. p 69. 8 Zos. p. 74. am. I Ammian. l. xxix. p. 392. 8 Zos. p. 743.

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a Julian in rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, was accused with his son Hierocles, the disciple of Libanius, as a poisoner; the father was stript of his estate, and banished; and the fon condemned to death, but faved, as Ammianus writes, without explaining himself any farther, by a favourable accident. But the most rigorous inquiries were made after the pagan philosophers, who were, generally speaking, addicted to the study of magic. The most considerable among them were publicly executed, viz. Hilarius, who was burnt alive, Patricius, Andronicus, and Cæranius: Maximus, Miximus and the famous master of Julian, was carried to Antioch to be examined there, and after-other philippowards fent back to Epbesus, where Festus ordered his head to be cut off, tho' he to death. was then so ill, that he must have ended his life in a few days, without the interb vention of the executioner ". Zonaras writes, that the philosopher Iamblichus, by a draught of poison, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands. Valens expected, and greatly defired, to find Libanius in the number of the guilty; but nothing was alledged against him, though, as to magical practices, he was, as he himself owns, not free from all guilt; but as to the conspiracy of Theodorus, he solemnly protests,

that he was altogether a stranger to it P. A diligent search was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, where-ever discovered, were committed to the flames, with those in whose possession they were found. These inquiries extended to all the provinces subject to Valens; and from the most remote parts were daily brought to Antioch numbers of people to be tried as magicians, c because books of magic had been found in their custody. Amnianus tells us, that

the officers themselves, out of spite or malice, often conveyed privately among the other writings, fome charm or inchantment; upon which the perfons, to whom they were supposed to belong, were immediately seized and condemned, and their estates confiscated. Hereupon persons of all ranks were seized with such dread and terror; that they burnt their libraries, lest, amongst their other books, any should be found unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts. On this occasion Festus, proconful of Festus practi-Afia, distinguished himself above the other ministers of the emperor's cruelty, tor-fes great cruturing with the utmost inhumanity, and putting to death, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, such as were convicted or only suspected of having used any kind d of charms or inchantments: he tortured the philosopher Caranius till he expired,

for no other crime but because in a private letter to his wife he had used a proverbial expression, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' she had before been sent for, with his knowledge and confent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with fuccess: a young man being observed in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breaft, to repeat the feven vowels, which he fancied was a prefent remedy against a pain in the stomach, Festus caused him to be immediately seized, tortured, and executed 1. At Antioch, a person being accused of having written a book of e magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: but this did not fave him; for though the book could not be produced against him,

yet he was, after a short hearing, condemned and publicly executed. A few days after, St. Chrysoftom, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a com- st. Chrysopanion to visit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the strand: his stomin danger. companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up, and, led by his curiofity, began to read it aloud, when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the fame time observed, not without dread and horror, a soldier at a small distance, fo that they neither dared tear it, nor throw it again, as they had defigned at first, into the river, lest the soldier should suspect and seize them. However, Chry-

f fostom's companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they had both the good luck to escape without being searched, tho' every soldier was impowered to fearch all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been discovered, they must both have inevitably perished; but they found means of throwing it again into the river, without being observed r. Socrates writes, that an oracle having answered those, who came to inquire who should succeed Valens, that the first part of his name was Theod, the emperor, acquainted with that answer, caused not only Theodorus to be put to death, but all those whose names began with

those letters, such as Theodulus, Theodotus, Theodosius, &c. among these was, according a to that writer, one Theodosiolus or Theodosius, a Spanish lord of great distinction. Ammianus and Zosimus give us a very minute account of the other cruelties of Valens, without taking the least notice of this, which makes us question the truth of what Socrates writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary severity which Valens exerted on this occasion against magicians, aruspices, astrologers, and diviners of all denominations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the christian writers'. If Valens looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, without being inconsistent with himself, strive to prevent their being accomplished: and truly, in spite of all his cruelties, he was succeeded by Theodosius, whose name began B with the letters, which, if Socrates is to be credited, he so much dreaded. This fire, to use the expression of Libanius v, continued raging till the emperor was diverted

by another, which the Goths kindled three years after in Thrace. This year is likewife remarkable for the death of two princes, both treacherously murdered by the Romans, viz. of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, in the west; and of Paras, king of Armenia, in the east. Of the former we have spoken in the reign of Valentinian: as to the latter, he had in some degree submitted to the king of Persia, as we have observed above, but afterwards renewed, it feems, his alliance with the Romans, and was by them acknowledged king, fince Ammianus gives him that title; but feveral persons, at the head of whom was count Terentius, having transmitted to court disadvantageous c accounts of his conduct and administration, the emperor sent for him, as if he designed to advise with him about the prosecution of the Persian war. Upon his arrival at Paras, king of Tarjus in Cilicia, he was commanded to wait there till further orders; but being in the Armenia, mean time informed, that the emperor's design was to arrest him, and send another detained at to be king of Armenia in his stead, he resolved to make his escape, with the affist-Tarius. ance of three hundred of his own subjects, who persuaded him to it, and privately provided horses for that purpose. They set out in the dusk of the evening; but were He makes bis foon purfued and overtaken by a whole legion, fent on purpose to prevent their elcape. escape. At their approach, Paras faced about, and charged them with such resolution, that they made more hafte to fly from him, than they had done to overtake d him. After this he travelled night and day till he reached the Eupbrates, which he passed upon barrels joined together, and pursued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his escape, dispatched a thousand archers, under the command of two principal officers, to bring him back. These being well acquainted with the country, to which Paras was altogether a stranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided their forces, and seized on two passes, three miles distant from each other, through one of which they took for granted he would pass. But being informed of his danger by a traveller, and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he escaped the ambuscade, and got safe to his dominions, where he was received with inexpressible joy, while the Roman officers, who had long waited for him, were by all e derided and ridiculed upon their disappointment. This incensed them to such a degree against Paras, that, in order to hasten his ruin, they made the credulous

Is treacherously his house, during which he caused him to be barbarously murdered by a rustian hired murdited.

for that purpose w. The death of Paras gave great uneafiness to Safor, who had

hoped to gain him over in the end to his interest. He was therefore no sooner informed of his misfortune, than he dispatched embassadors to Valens with proposals

emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to consume and waste by degrees a man's body, though at never so great a distance. This so alarmed the emperor, that though Paras, forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the Romans, yet his death was resolved on, and orders sent to Trajan, who commanded the Roman forces in Armenia, to dispatch him by private treachery, if he could not by open force. The manner which Trajan chose to put this base and inhuman command in execution, was no less base and inhuman, than the command itself; for he having gained the young prince's confidence, by fre-f quenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from Valens, filled with the most tender expressions of kindness, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at

<sup>5</sup> Socr. 1. iv. c. 15. p. 229. \* Soz. 1. vi. c. 35. p. 694. Socr. 1. iv. c. 15. p. 229. \* Lib. vit. p. 58. \* AMMIAN. l. XXX. p. 412-415.

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The remaining part of this year was spent in negotiations, a for an accommodation. but without success, the emperor, who was then at the head of a numerous and welldisciplined army, being desirous of retrieving the glory of the Roman arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with Jovian. But in the mean time, Thrace being threatened with a general invalion of the Gothish nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the Persians, but upon what terms we know not, The following year, 375. Valens was alarmed by an embaffy from the Goths, who being driven out of their own country by the Hunns, defired leave to fettle in Thrace. But before we speak of that embassy, and the memorable events attending it, we must take a cursory view of what happened in the west after the death of b Valentinian, who, as we have related already, died at Bregetio on the seventeenth of November of this year. He left two fons, viz. Gratian, born in 359. and by his Gratian fuefather created emperor on the twenty-fourth of August 367, and Valentinian born in ceeds his father Valentinian. 371. As Gratian was at a great distance from the army when his father died, having been left, as we have observed above, at Treves, the great officers of the court, uncertain what such an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, especially among the Gauls, who served in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the Quadi beyond the Danube, dispatched a messenger with private intelligence of the emperor's death to Merobaudes their leader, who thereupon fent imme-

diately out of the way, pursuant to his instructions, count Sebastian, an officer greatly c beloved by the foldiery, and then marched back to the camp at Bregetio. Upon his arrival, it was resolved in a general council of all the chief officers both civil and military, that Valentinian, the fecond fon of the deceased emperor, then a child but four or five years old, should be declared emperor. He was therefore sent for without delay from a village, named Murocinela, about a hundred miles distant from Bregetio, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor with the usual solemnity Valentinian II the fixth day after the death of his father. This step they took to prevent any proclaimed em sudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that Gratian, officers of the who was then but seventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraor-army.

dinary mild temper, and an uncommon understanding, would acquiesce to the mo-d tives, which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or consent. Gratian at first complained of their taking such an extraordinary step before they had made him privy to it, but immediately confirmed their election, Gratian conand ever after treated young Valentinian more like his child than his brother \*. Victor y firms their and Zosimus will have Equitius and Merobaudes to have been the chief authors of election, this election, which by Rusinus is ascribed to Probus 2. Merobaudes was, according to Victor, related to young Valentinian, probably by marriage; for he feems, fo far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by Gratian, and foon after by Valens, the western provinces were divided between the two brothers: young Valentinian had for his share Italy, Illyricum, and e Africa; and Gratian, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This division was made, not by Gratian, who was yet too young, as Zosimus pretends b, but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein confult Valens, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephews c. Notwithstanding this partition, Gratian alone governed the western provinces to his death, Valentinian not having been capable of acting on account of his age, so long as Gratian lived. The first thing Gratian did after the death of his father, and the promotion of his brother, was to recal to court his mother Severa, who had been divorced and banished by Valentinian, and restore her to her former honours d.

THE following year, 376. Valens was conful the fifth time, and young Valentinian f the first. This year Gratian, being informed of the unheard-of cruelties practifed by the famous Maximinus both in Italy and Gaul, caused him to be publicly executed; Maximinus and named one Antonius, prefect of Gaul, in his room. Simplicius, who had been and his accomvicar of Rome in 374. and Doryphorianus, who had succeeded him in that office, plices put to. underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the forther was beheaded in Illyricum, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of Severa, says Ammianus, in Gaul, whither he was conveyed from the Tullian prison in Rome.

ж Амміан. І. ххх. р. 433, 434. Zos. l. iv. р. 746. Socr. l. iv. с. 31. р. 249. У Zos. ibid. « Eunap. legat. р. 19. ех. р. 704. Амміан. І. ххvіії, р. 366. « Амміан. І. ххvіії, р. 357. Alex. p. 704. Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 366.

As these three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, put a a

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great number of fenators to death, Gratian, by a declaration published this year, established the method of trying senators, which was read by Symmachus in the senate on the thirteenth of August 8. To the above-mentioned executions St. Jerom no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year feveral persons of distinction were executed . Maximinus, Simplicius, and Dorypborianus, had long deserved the doom The celebrated which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but the death of the renowned count Theodo-count Theodofius, one of the greatest officers and best men of his age, is a stain on the character of Gratian never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in Britain and Africa, we have spoken at length in the reign of Valentinian; but notwithstanding the eminent services he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at Carthage, after he had triumphed over Firmus, and with his prudence and industry restored Africa to its former tranquillity. His death was owing, if St. Jerom', Orosiusk, and St. Ambrose, are to be credited, to the malicious suggestions of certain persons at court, who envying him the mighty reputation he had deservedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealousies and suspicions, and by that means compassed the ruin of a person worthy both for his valour, and unblemished conduct, of the greatest honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earnest request, baptized just before he died; so that his death was no less exemplary, than his life had been glorious ". Socrates writes, as we have observed above, that, on occasion of the conspiracy of Theodorus, all those were by c Valens put to death, whose names began with Theod; and among the rest of the names one Theodofiolus, who was, fays he, a man of great courage, and descended from an illustrious family in Spain, meaning perhaps count Theodofius; at least Baronius ", Jornandes o, who for the most part follows Socrates, and Flechier, in his life of the emperor Theodosius, are of that opinion. But Theodosius was put to death at Carthage, and not in the east, where Valens reigned. Besides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of Socrates as a fable, to which he too easily gave credit, fince neither Ammianus nor Zosimus, who seem to take particular pleasure in displaying the cruelties of Valens, make no mention of such a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting several persons of distinction to death merely for the sake of their names. d Sozomen indeed speaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps because he had read it in Socrates P. Be that as it will, statues, and other extraordinary honours, were decreed to Theodosius some years after his death by the senate of Rome; and several inscriptions, setting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our Young Theodo- times 9. His son, named likewise Theodosius, who being duke of Massia in 374. had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province against the incursions of the barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the storm, and retire to Spain, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by Gratian, and raised to the empire. As Ammianus takes no notice of these remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chasm in e this part of his history, the more because he had promised elsewhere to speak in a more proper place of the death of Maximinus and his accomplices, of which however no mention is made in such of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the western provinces, from the death of Valentinian I. that is, from the year 375. to 378. This year Valens fent the celebrated philosopher Themistius, with the character of embassador, to Gratian, then in Gaul; but what was the subject of his embassy, we know not. The philosopher, on his return to the east, came to Rome, complying therein with the request of Gratian, desiring the Romans might have the pleasure and honour of seeing so great a man. It was at Rome, and before the senate of that great metropolis, that Themistius pro- f nounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philosopher, nay, of any person who pretended to the least gravity'. However, he bestows great encomiums upon Gratian; extols his liberality, and generous temper; and observes, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactors of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmost confusion, because the instruments of their malice and cruelty had, by

> f Cod. Theodos. p. 96. 8 Symm. l. x. ep. 2. p. 390, 391. h Hier. in chron. <sup>1</sup> Ambros, div. 3, p. 125. <sup>m</sup> Oros, ibid. <sup>n</sup> I
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> \*\* Soz. 1. vi. c. 35, p. 694. <sup>q</sup> Vide Rein
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> \*\* P. 366. \*\* Themist. or. xiii. p. 163—168. \* Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. \* BARON. 2d ann. 370. 6 Jor. de reg. fucc. c. 40. p. 652. P. S. p. 412. AMMIAN. l. XXVIII. p. 366. 9 Vide Rein. p. 326. Gruter. 163-168. Idem ibid. p. 178.

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a the prince's orders been confumed in the flames ", alluding, no doubt, to what we read in Ausonius, viz. that Gratian remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the An instance of time of his father's death, and caused all the papers relating thereunto to be burnt Gratian's genethroughout the provinces that were subject to him w. Themistius writes, that he found rosing. Gratian not far from the ocean; that is, in Gaul; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, during the months of March, April, May and September, at Treves; and we have no proof of his being elsewhere this year. By a law dated from Treves the twenty-third of May, he raises the fularies of all public professors in the metropolitan cities of Gaul, especially in the most illustrious city of Treves, as it is styled v. From this law some pretend to infer, that Spain and Britain were at this b time governed, not by vicars, but proconfuls, independent of the prefect of Gaul. However that be, it is certain, that vicars were foon after re-established in both provinces. By another law dated the feventeenth of the fame month, which was an answer to Artemius vicar of Spain, and several bishops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the spot by a synod of the diocefe. By a diocefe is meant the district within the jurifdiction of a vicar. By a third law, addressed to Nitentius, Gratian forbids all heretics, especially the Donatists, to He enacts laws hold affemblies; and commands the places where they shall affemble to be confif-against herecated, except the churches, which he orders to be restored to the catholics 2. From 2115. feveral monuments of this year, it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to

c the pagans, than to the Donatists, Arians, and other heretics. WHILE these things passed in the west, a dreadful storm was raised in the east by the Hunns, a nation till this time quite unknown to the Romans. They dwelt on the east side of the Palus Mæotis, now the sea of Zabache, and were near neighbours to the Goths, as Sozomen styles them a, or rather to the Alans, who inhabited the country bordering on the opposite side of that marsh, which both nations looked upon as a deep fea, and were therefore altogether unacquainted with each other, till a hind, purfued by some hunters, or, as others will have it, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some Hunns followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable and fruitful than their own b. What d we find concerning the Hunns in Ammianus Marcellinus, the most ancient author that speaks of them, and most worthy of credit, is, that they first broke into the country of the Alans, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, the boundary between Europe and Asia; and having obliged that nation to enter into an alliance with them, they fell, thus re-enforced, upon the Goths, called by Ammianus, Greuthongi, and by for- The Goths nandes, Oftrogoths, and spread every-where such terror among them, that Ermenric, driven out of or, as fornandes calls him, Ermanaric, their king, the' a martial prince, laid vio-their country lent hands on himself, to avoid by that means the dreadful calamities that threatened by the Hunns. The Hunns were headed, according to Jornandes, by one Balamir, by him styled king, probably because he was the most powerful man of their nation; for, e according to Ammianus, they had no kings, but several chiefs, whose authority was very precarious. Vithimir, created king of the Greuthongi or Oftrogoths, in the room of Ermenric, attempted to make head against the Hunns; but was killed in a battle. Alatheus and Saphrax, governors to his son Vitheric, apprehending all their efforts would prove unsuccessful against the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, abandoned the country, and withdrew into the plains between the Borystbenes and the Danube; that is, into the present Podelia. Athaniric, king or chief of the Thervingi, who had affisted Procopius in his late usurpation, resolved to stand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but the Hunns, falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, obliged him to retire in disorder, after he had lost f great numbers of his men. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, purfued him but flowly, he improved the fhort respite they allowed him, in fortifying himself by a wall, which he carried through the country of the Taifali from the Gerasus, or the Pruth, to the Danube d. The other Goths, who had the good luck to escape the dreadful

havock which the Hunns made of their nation, found no other resource, but to aban-

don their country, and fave themselves within the Roman dominions. They there-

fore approached the banks of the Danube, to the number of two hundred thouland

W Auson. 2d Grat. proconf. p. 406, 407. \* Thi <sup>8</sup> Idem ibid. p. 175. w Auson. ad Grat. Y Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 39, 40. p. 696. b Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 644. \* Themist. orat. xiii. p. 163. 225. \* Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 696. b Jorn. r d Ammian. p. 440, 441. c Ammian 1. xxxi. p. 435-440. John. ibid. p. 645.

men, most of them the subjects of king Athanaric, and those whom Jornandes calls a

They demand to Visigoths. From thence they dispatched embassadors to Valens, who was then at Anbe admitted in- tioch, begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into Thrace, where they promised to live peaceably, and to serve, whenever called upon, in the Roman armies c. At the head of this embaffy was their bishop Ulphilas, who, on this occafion, out of complaifance to Valens, became a profelyte to the doctrine of Arius, and infected with the tenets of that herefiarch, not only such of his nation as already

professed the christian religion, but those too who promised to embrace it, provided proper persons were sent to instruct them f. The demand of the Goths occasioned great debates in a grand council held at court foon after the arrival of their embaffa- b dors; but Valens in the end resolved to grant them their request, several sycophants

plies with their about him flattering him, and extolling his good fortune, which had unexpectedly request.

brought him a perpetual supply of excellent soldiers, with which he could be furnished at his pleasure, and by that means save the expence of new levies, to the great benefit of his treasury; nay, their demand was thought so advantageous to the empire, that some Roman officers having cut off a party of Goths, who attempted to pass the Danube before the return of the embassadors, whom both their nation and the gover-

nor of Thrace had fent to Antioch, they were cashiered as good officers, but bad politicians e. Valens, upon the imaginary prospect of the great advantages that would accrue to the empire from such an increase of people, ordered them to be immediately transported, to be plentifully supplied with provisions, and lands to be affigned c

them to cultivate. He took however therein such precautions, as would perhaps have prevented the disturbances which soon followed, had they been duly observed; for, according to the inftructions which he fent to his officers and minifters, the children were to pass the first, and be sent into Asia, where they were to be kept as

hostages; and as for the rest, they were not to be suffered to land on the Roman side, till they had quitted their arms. But the heads of the nation, by presenting the Roman officers with sums of money, with beautiful women, and robust slaves, pre-

vailed upon them to neglect both these orders ". Thus the Goths, in this year 376. They enter Thrace. abandoned to the Hunns the country, in which they had dwelt for the space of one hundred and fifty years. We are told, that great numbers of them were drowned d

in their passage, the river happening to be greatly swelled at that time . Ammianus writes, that the Roman officers defigned to have counted them as they passed, but could not, by reason of their numbers, which that writer compares to the sparks which at that very time iffued out of mount Æina, and to the fands of the Lybian shore.

They were under the conduct of Alavivus and Fritigern, who are styled kingsk. Vitheric, king of the Greuthongi, with his governors Saphrax and Alatheus, and another chief named Farnobius, being likewise driven out of their country by the Hunns and the Alans, flocked in swarms to the hanks of the Danube, and, encouraged by the reception which their countrymen had met with from Valens, dispatched embassadors e

to him, begging, that they too might be admitted within the Roman dominions; but the emperor not thinking it confiltent with the fafety of the state to comply with their request, they continued for some time on the banks of the Danube, which they passed in the end, in spite of the Romans, as we shall relate hereaster. As for Alba-

naric, he retired with his people to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named Caucalanda, having driven from thence the Sarmatians and the Taifali. The latter people followed and joined the Greuthongi. A numerous body of Goths had been admitted some time before, on what occasion we are no-where told, and were at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, under the command of their

two chiefs Suerid and Colias: perhaps Valens had fent for them on occasion of his t intended expedition into Persia; for Ammianus assures us, that he hired troops of the Goths 1. The following year 377. when Gratian was conful the fourth time, with

Merobaudes, Valens was, as appears from the dates of several laws, at Antioch on the fourth of April; at Hierapolis on the fourth of July and the ninth of August; and again at Antioch on the twenty-fourth of September. The Romans ought in policy to have immediately led the Goths away from the Danube; for by that means they would have got them into their power, and, remaining masters of the river, pre-

vented their receiving any affiftance from their countrymen, encamped in great num-

e Idem ibid. JORN. C. 25. p. 646. legat. p. 19. Sock. l. iv. c. 34. p. 252. 1 Idem, l. xxx. p. 416.

f Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 697. 

8 Ammian. ibid. Eunap.

h Ammian. ibid. 

1 Idat. fast. 

k Ammian. p. 443.

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a bers on the opposite bank; but, instead of that, Lupicinus and Maximus, who commanded in Thrace, the former with the title of count, and the latter with that of duke, fuffered them to continue long in that neighbourhood, pretending scarcity of provifions, in order to impose upon them, and oblige them to buy necessaries at extravagant rates. The Goths, thus pinched with hunger, and provoked by other outrages, began to mutiny; which Lupicinus perceiving, he ordered them to begin their march, The Goths, and remove from the neighbourhood of the Danube, charging the foldiers who guarded provoked by the the banks of the Danube, to drive them on, and take care that they committed no dif-Romans, muorders in the countries through which they passed. The Greuthongi, finding the tiny. banks of the river unguarded, laid hold of that opportunity to pass it, sollowing at b some distance Fritigern and Ablavivus, who were advancing at the head of the Thervingi to Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Mæsia. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, Lupicinus, who resided there, invited the two chiefs to a banquet; but at the same time placed guards at the gates, to prevent their troops from entering the city, tho' they defired to be admitted as friends, only to buy the necesfary provisions, of which they stood in great need. Hereupon the Thervingi, who were in a starving condition, falling upon the guards, cut most of them in pieces; which Lupicinus no sooner heard, than, by way of retaliation, he commanded the attendants of the two chiefs to be affaffinated in the height of their mirth. The Thervingi without the walls, provoked at the treachery and cruelty of the governor, c vowed revenge; but nevertheless wisely forbore for the present all hostilities, and dissembled their just resentment, lest the Romans should offer any affront to their chiefs, or detain them as hostages. This Fritigern himself apprehended, and theretore begged leave of Lupicinus to go with Ablavivus, and shew himself to his men, who were ready to mutiny, upon a false report, that they had both been killed with the rest. Lupicinus, who by this time was so intoxicated with wine, that he knew not what he did, complied with his request; and the two chiefs, being received with great joy by their countrymen, immediately mounted their horses, declared them- Declarethemselves enemies, and began to plunder the open country. Lupicinus marched out selves enemies, against them the next day, with the few troops he had with him; but the Golbs, and plun d falling upon him with great resolution and intrepidity, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged him to fly back into the city. We have observed above, that a considerable body of Goths was encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. These, upon the news of the revolt, and the victory gained by Fritigern, continued quiet in their camp, without betraying the least inclination to join him; but when they received orders to pass without delay over into the Hellespont, and the chief magistrate of Adrianople, incensed against them for some damage they had done at his countryseat, instead of supplying them with the necessary provisions for their march, ordered the people of the country to fall upon them, they likewise began to mutiny, put to flight the disorderly multitude that offered to attack them, and joining Fritigern, They are joine e laid siege to Adrianople; but not being able to reduce it, they left a sufficient force by a body of to block it up, and ravaged all Thrace, growing daily stronger by the accession their country. of incredible numbers of Gothish flaves, flocking to them from all quarters; nay, men encamped many Romans, not able to pay the exorbitant taxes with which they were loaded and oppressed, took part with them, and it is not to be doubted but Vitheric with his Greuthongi joined them soon after; for they too sought against the Romans in the memorable battle of Adrianople, of which hereafter. Valens, who was then at Antioch, watching the designs of the king of Persia, upon the first notice of these dangerous commotions, dispatched Vidor to the Persian court, with the character of embassador, charging him to conclude a peace with that king, upon the best terms he f could obtain; and at the fame time ordered the two generals, Trajan and Profuturus, to march with the utmost expedition against the Golps, at the head of the legions that were quartered in Armenia. Gratian, alarmed at the danger that threatened his uncle's dominions, fent to his affiftance Richomeres, with a confiderable reinforcement out of Gaul; but the foldiers deserted in great numbers on their march, solicited to it, as was reported, by Merobaudes, who apprehended the barbarians might take advantage of their ablence to break into Gaul. As Profuturus and Trajan were commanders of more courage than conduct, instead of securing the passes, and shutting up such multitudes in the province of Thrace, where they must inevitably have foon perished with famine, they ventured to engage them at Salices, a city of Leffer Scy- The battle of thia. The battle lasted from morning to night, both armies fighting with such obsti-Salices. Vol. VI. Nos. 5 E

hacy and resolution, as can hardly be expressed. Victory continued doubtful to the a

The Romans to the Goths.

ed with great flaughter by Frigerid.

Gratian grants feveral ex. mptions to the clergy.

The Goths block up Con-Stantinople. for that city.

Trajan reproaches the emberor with great freedom.

last; but the Romans having, lost more men in proportion to the small number of their forces, thought it adviteable to retire to Marcianopolis. Thus Ammianus, whom we have all along followed m. But Theodoret n, St. Jerom n, and Orosius p, write, that the Romans were deseated, and put to flight. This battle was sought in the latter end of the summer of this year 377. Trajan and Profuturus, being afterwards reinforced by a considerable body of troops sent by Valens, under the command of Saturninus general of the horse, they attempted to shut up the enemy in certain narrow places, and intercept their provisions; but the Alans and Hunns themselves hastening in great numbers to their relief, the Romans were obliged to retire, and suffer bandon Thrace them to ravage and lay waste all Thrace, without daring to oppose or molest them. b At a place called Dibaltum, they fell upon a tribune, who was stationed there with his own legion, and some other forces. As the tribune, by name Barzimeres, was an old experienced officer, he drew his men up in a close body, and, endeavouring to make his way through the enemy's squadrons, cut great numbers of them in pieces; They cut off a but was at length overpowered, and put to the fword, with all his men q. Ani-Roman leg on; mated with this fuccess, they went in quest of Frigeria, who commanded in Illyricum, and had been ordered by Gratian to march from thence to the affistance of Valens. The Goths, under the command of Farnobius, met him near Berea, a city in Thrace properly so called, and attacked him with great resolution. But Frigerid, who was an officer of great experience, tho' perhaps over-cautious, and thence by c fome reproached with timorousness, stood his ground, and, after a long and obsti-But are defeat- nate dispute, killed their leader on the spot, and put the rest to the sword, excepting a very small number, who, throwing down their arms, were spared, and sent captives into Italy, where they were employed in tilling the ground about Mutina, Rbegium, and Parma. With this battle, which was fought in the latter end of the autumn, ended the campaign of this year 377 r. As for Gratian, he was on the twenty-seventh of February at Treves, where he had

passed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of July at Mayence, perhaps on some expedition against the Germans not mentioned in history; for Ausonius tells us, that he took some Germans prisoners, and brought them with him into Gaul's. He was d returned to Treves on the seventeenth of September. By a law dated the fifth of March, and addressed to Cataphronus vicar of Italy, he grants several exemptions to the clergy, comprising under that name, not only bishops, priests and deacons, but likewise sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, and janitors or door-keepers u. A dreadful plague raged this year in most of the western provinces, and swept off incredible numbers of people w. The following year 378. when Valens was conful the fixth time, and young Valentinian the fecond, the Goths, from Thrace, advanced into Macedon and The state, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay, they approached Constantinople itself, plundered the suburbs, and kept the city for some time blocked up. Valens therefore, having first sent a body of Saracens to drive them from the neigh-Valens fers out bourhood of that metropolis, fet out from Antioch, in order to head his army in perfon, and arrived at Constantinople on the thirtieth of May, where he found the people highly diffatisfied with his conduct, in admitting the Goths into Thrace, and by that means giving rife to the present war. Soon after his arrival, he displaced Trajan general of the foot, and put count Sebastian, a brave and experienced commander, in his room . Theodoret tells us, that Trajan, who was a professed enemy to the Arians, and a zealous defender of the *Nicene* faith, hearing himfelf reproached by the emperor with cowardice, as if the loss of the late battle had been owing to want of courage in him, answered boldly, that heaven, justly provoked at his driving out the orthodox bishops, and putting the infamous followers of Arius in their room, had declared f for the Goths; and consequently that he ought to blame not his generals, but himself, for the losses he had hitherto sustained, and for the far greater calamities that would foon overtake him, unless he altered his conduct. The generals Arintheus and Vistor declared, adds Theodoret, that they were of the same opinion, and begged the emperor not to refent their speaking, as his true friends, their fentiments without disguise y. The piety of Trajan is greatly commended by the ecclefiaftic writers, especially by

m Ammian. p. 447—449.

n Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.

l. vii. c. 33. p. 219.

q Ammian. p. 452.

Todd. Theod. chron. p. 97, 98.

Cod. Theod. chron. p. 97, 98.

Cod. Theod. chron. p. 97, 98.

Ammian. p. 458.

Theodore. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.

Theodore. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.

Theodore:

BOOK beful to the e l number of anus, whom ui, write, ght in the Safterwards command of n certain natnkiveshaft**en**re, and hotter molest them. ed there with arzimeres, was ideavouring to hem in piers ; men 4. Anianded in Eyis he affithance of Berea, a city in But Frigeria, and thence by c long and obliword, excepting t, ant lien cap-Mars, Roecer and of the , where he had perhaps on lo**me** ias teils us, that Garla. He was I ated the fifth of al exemptions so and deacons, but si. Adrestid increasible nomthe first time, 10 Marie 19d madad Captare ne blocked up. from the neight: ng a my in pafound the people race, and by that displaced from d commender, in ng to the Aries, ed by the empeo mari: of courage g out the orthoon, had declared i erals, bu himfel mities that would inidery and little negged the emperithout distant

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Chap. 27.

a Theodoret and St. Bafil, with whom he lived in great intimacy. But it is no eafy task to reconcile with his extraordinary piety the death of Paras king of Armenia, whom, it the account of Ammianus be true, he caused to be murdered with the utmost treachery and barbarity, as we have related above. Valens continued but a very short time at Constantinople; for he left that city on the eleventh of June, highly exasperated against the inhabitants, who had insulted him as the author of the prefent war, and threatening, if he came back fafe, to turn their city into a defert . From Constantinople he marched to Melanthias, an imperial castle, about eighteen Valensmarches miles distant from the city; and thence detached Sebastian with a body of chosen against the troops against Fritigern, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. b Sebastian, coming upon the enemy unawares, cut off feveral of their parties, who were

roving about the country, without the least apprehension of danger, and recovered the booty with which they were loaded. Hereupon Fritigern, having fent orders to all the parties that were dispersed about the country, to join him without delay, retired upon their arrival to the city of Catyle, of which geographers can give no account a. Zosimus tells us, that Sebastian engaged to force the Goths either to quit the Roman territories, or submit to Valens, with two thousand men only, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their provisions; but that Valens, defirous to equal, by some memorable action, the glory acquired this year by Gratian in the samous battle of Argentaria, rejected his proposal, and leaving Melanthias, advanced to the neighc bourhood of Adrianople, with a defign to give the enemy battle. He was at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, commanded by officers of great renown, and among the rest by Trajan, whom he had restored to his former post. While he lay at Adrianople, Richomeres arrived there with letters from Gratian, acquainting him, that he was on full march with his victorious army to join him, and earnestly intreat- Gratian ing him not to hazard a battle till his arrival, nor make that victory doubtful, which marches to the the conjunction of their forces would render certian and indisputable. Hereupon a affiliance of Valens. council of war being immediately fummoned, Vistor, who commanded the horse, and was both a brave and prudent officer, advised him by all means to wait the arrival of his nephew, and the reinforcement of the Gaulish troops; but Sebastian was d for giving battle without delay; and his opinion the emperor preferred to that of *Vistor*, and almost all the other officers, being induced thereunto by his flatterers, telling him, that he stood in no need of the assistance of his nephew, and therefore

ought not to allow him any share in the victory, and the glory attending it. At the same time Fritigern sent deputies to him, at the head of whom was a christian priest, offering to conclude a peace upon very reasonable terms, which most of his officers advifed him by all means to embrace, remonstrating, that an honourable and certain peace was preferable to an uncertain victory; but he, deaf to all their remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon engaging before the arrival of his nephew, leaving the great But Valens reofficers of the court, with his treasures, in Adrianople, and all the baggage of the folvesto give battle before bir e army near that city, with a strong detachment to guard it, set out with the rest in arrival. quest of the enemy, whom he discovered about noon in the neighbourhood of Nice, about fifteen miles from Adrianople. The Goths, commanded by Aletheus and Saphrax, were encamped at a confiderable distance from the rest. Messengers were therefore immediately dispatched to them; and in the mean time, to amuse the emperor till they arrived, embassadors were fent to him, with proposals of peace, to which the emperor gave ear; but infifted upon their delivering up to him some of their chief men as hostages. At the same time Fritigern, further to amuse the emperor, acquainted him by a private letter, that he was ready to bring all his forces over to him, provided fome persons of distinction were sent to him as hostages. Valens, overjoyed at f this proposal, named first Equico his kinsman for one of the hostages; but he, as he

had been taken prisoner by the Goths the preceding year, and had made his escape, begging to be excused, Richomeres offered himself of his own accord; but, before he reached the enemy's camp, Bacurius, prince of the Iberians, and one Cassio, who commanded a party of archers, falling upon the Goths, gave beginning to the battle, The battle of

which was fought with great obstinacy and resolution on both sides. Ammianus gives Adrianople. us a long but confused account of this memorable engagement. According to him, the foot in the left wing of the Romans, having advanced too far, and separated themselves from the main body of the army, and from the cavalry that was to sup-

<sup>\*</sup> Ammian. l. iii. p. 456. Soor. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. \* Vide Band p. 142.

The Romans utterly defeat-

The death of Valens variously related.

Said to have been portended aigies.

port them, were furrounded by the enemy, which inspired the barbarians with great a courage b. St. Jerom and Socrates write, that the foot was abandoned by the cavalry; and Sozomen e, that Valens, being in too great hafte to engage, did not allow himself time to draw up his men as he ought. Libanius says, that he sought with more courage than prudence or conduct f. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Romans were utterly defeated; that two thirds of their army were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly slight. The Roman writers themselves own this to have been the greatest overthrow their state had ever received fince the battle of Cannæ. Their foot did all that men, whose native courage was emboldened by despair, could do; but were in the end overpowered with numbers, and obliged, in spite of their utmost efforts, to yield to an b enemy, who was not only infinitely superior to them in numbers, but equalled them in courage and bravery. Among many other eminent persons, fell in this action the brave generals Trajan and Victor, with Valerian the tribunus stabuli, or master of the horse; Equico the emperor's kinsman, and magister palatii, or great steward of the houshold; and Potentius, a youth of extraordinary hopes, and by all greatly respected, in regard of his father Ursicinus, so famous in the reign of Constantius 8. But nothing has rendered this battle more memorable in history, than the unhappy end of Valens himself, who perished on this occasion, as all authors agree, tho' they differ in their accounts of his death; for some write, that he was killed upon the spot; and others, that being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a c countryman's house, which his attendants made good against the barbarians, till they, not suspecting the emperor to be there, set fire to it, which consumed the house, and all who were in it, except a youth, who having made his escape, first out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him prisoner, gave the Romans an account of the emperor's unhappy end . Both these opinions are related by Ammianus; and the former was adopted by Libanius, as more proper for a panegyric; but the latter, which is generally thought the most probable, by Victor i, St. Jerom k, Rufinus , Orofius m, Zosimus n, and Socrates . Sozomen P and Philostorgius 4 follow the same opinion; but add some circumstances, which seem quite improbable. St. Chrysostom speaks of the death of Valens perishing in the slames, as a memorable instance of the vanity of all human grandeur r. Theodoret follows the fame opinion; but was certainly mistaken in supposing Valens not to have been prefent at the battle's. Ammianus observes, that before Valens lest Antioch, it was become a common curse or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, May Valens be burnt alive. The fame writer pretends that unhappy end to have been porby several pro. tended by several prodigies, as a punishment inslicted upon him by heaven, for having caused Paras king of Armenia to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent persons to death, on occasion of the conspiracy of Theodorust. The reader will find in Zosimus the description of a spectre, which, says he, was seen by Valens, and all his court, when he marched out of Constantinople against the Goths ". To this e perhaps Ammianus alludes in a passage, which seems to us very obscure w. Theophanes takes notice of some other prodigies, and affures us, that some of the emperor's officers owned after his death, that he had suffered the aruspices to be consulted concerning the iffue of this war x. Ammianus, and other writers, tell us, that near the place where the emperor died, was discovered, agreeable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an ancient Macedonian captain, by name Mimantus . All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the least remains of it, were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obsequies. Ecclesiastic writers look upon his death as a judgment from heaven, for his perfecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the herefy of Arius, which flourished and increased in his reign, more t than it had done under any of his predecessors. With him perished in the slames, according to the modern Greeks, his great chamberlain, a zealous patron of the Arians, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers 2. Such was the end of Valens, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and

> b Ammian. p. 460—462. 703. f Lib. vit. p. 58. d Socr. l. iv. c. 38, p. 255. c Soz h Idem, p. 462. i Vict. epit. e HIER. in chron. e Soz. l. vi. c. 40. \* Ammian. p. 463. h Idem, p. 462. Vict. ep 4. m Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. n Zos. p. 750. HIER. 1 Ruf. l. ii. c. 13. p. 184. O Soca. chron.
> 1. iv. c. 38. p. 255. P. Soz. l. vi. c. 40. p. 705.
> ad vid. p. 464. Theod. l. iv. p. 704. Ammian. p. 435. Zos. i. iv. p. 700.
> b. 435. Theoph. p. 55. Ammian. p. 465. Zonar. p. 27. Cedren. p. 314. P Soz.l. vi. c. 40. p. 703. PHILOST.L. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132. EOD. l. iv. p. 704. AMMIAN. p. 425. Zos. l. iv. p. 748. r CHRYS. w Ammian. 2 Menas

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a some days . He was quite a stranger to every branch of literature, and no better His charafter. acquainted with the military art, than with the liberal sciences. He did not so much as understand the Greek tongue, tho' he had reigned so many years in the east among the Greeks. He found out no expedients of himself; but, when they were proposed by others, he had discernment enough to know which was the best and most proper b. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averse to business, which was owing to the easy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expose himself to any danger. To this disposition most authors ascribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother Valentinian c. Themistius commends his b chastity d; and Ammianus, a writer no-ways biassed in his favour, does not reproach him with any kind of lewdness or debauchery. He was constant and faithful in his friendship, whereof several instances are related by Ammianus. He raised such only of his relations as were persons of merit, and, generally speaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the disposal of employments. He kept a watchful eye over his ministers, exacted the military discipline with great rigour, not suffering his soldiers to do the least injury to those through whose countries they marched, and shewed himself on all occasions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured subjects s. He seems to have discharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes as the ministers of their cruelty. He was thoroughly acquainted with c the state of his finances, and therefore did not suffer himself to be imposed upon, as most of his predecessors had done, by those who managed them '. Tho' he was quite unacquainted with the liberal sciences, yet he is said to have composed some speeches, with the affiftance of one Heliodorus, a man of a mean descent, and infamous character, as we read in Ammianus, who complains of the emperor, for obliging persons of the first rank to attend his funeral k. Themistius styles him the father of the provinces, by reason of the great care he took in easing them, by all possible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. Ammianus owns, that he could not with more care confult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his subjects; and that the eastern provinces had been under no prince d happier than under him m. However, all authors agree, that he had a strong biass to avarice and cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and suspicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent persons, and seize on their estates. The least suspicion of treason rendered him inexorable, says Ammianus, and his ears were open to all manner of accusations ". All the ecclesiastic writers agree, that he allowed to the many sects that then prevailed, nay, even to the Jews and pagans, the free exercise of their religion; but persecuted the catholics with the utmost cruelty, of which we have feen one remarkable instance in the history of his reign; and the reader may find many others in the above-mentioned writers. He left two daughters behind him, Carosa and Anastasia; but all we know of them is, that Procopius, who became e famous in the latter end of the reign of Theodosius, married one of them, he being styled by Zosimus o and Sozomen P, the son-in-law of Valens. What became of the empreis Albia Dominica, after the death of her husband, we are no-where told. St. Chryjojtom, writing about the year 381. observes, that the widow of an emperor, who had been banished by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many per-sons of distinction, who with much-ado obtained that favour?. Most writers take the empress, of whom he speaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor Valens. But as to the cause of her disgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of Valens, Ammianus Marcellinus ends his history; but of him, and Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment of the Roman history in the reign of Valens, and

f by that prince's command, we shall speak in note (K).

<sup>(</sup>K) Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch, where his family made some figure (1). He terved several years in the army, from the year 350. to 359, under count Ursicinus, partly in Mesopotamia, and partly in Gaul, in quality of domesticus, which was then an honourable post. He attended Julian

Gaul.

in his Persian expedition, and was at Antioch, or in that neighbourhood, when the conspiracy of Theodorus was discovered in the reign of Valens (2). Afterwards he renounced the profession of arms, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his history, as appears both from the history itself (3), and from a letter which Libanius wrote to him from Antioch (4), while he was composing it. His twentyfixth book was not ended before the year 390, and the twenty-second was written the year before (5). His work was divided into thirty-one books, and comprised the reigns of all the emperors, from Domitian, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens; but of his thirty-one books, only the last eighteen, beginning after the death of Magnentius in 353. have reached our times. Tho' he was a Greek, he chose to write in Latin; but his Latin, in the opinion of Vossius, speaks him both a Greek and a foldier (6). But his other good qualities make fufficient amends, says the same writer, for these faults; for he writes with great judgment, and feems to have been a great lover of truth (7). However, he plainly betrays a great zeal for the religion of the ancient Romans, and no small partiality for those who countenanced it, especially for his hero Julian. In his history, he frequently makes long and tedious digressions on the comets, and other things, which fall not within the province of an historian. In his accounts he is now-and-then somewhat confused, and often leaves out the most material circumstances of the facts he relates, which has induced some to believe, that his history is in feveral places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his history, we should have been quite in the dark with respect to the most remarkable transactions of those times. Some epigrams by one Ammianus have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the historian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find feveral things relating to Ammianus, and his history, in the prolegomena, which Mr. Valois has prefixed to the last edition of the works of that historian at Paris in 1681. Entropius wrote his abridgment of the Roman hiftory in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, and inicribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his request. He gives that prince the title of Gothicus, a plain proof that he published his work after the

year 369. in which Valens defeated Athanaric, one of the kings or chiefs of the Goths. Mr. Valois styles him a polite and elegant writer; but Vinetus, who published his works in 1553. concludes from his style, that he was not a Roman, but a Greek (8). Vossius too finds fault with his style; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the Roman history done with great judgment (9). He is often copied by St. Ferom in his chronicle, and quoted by other Laim writers. His work feems to have been in great request among the Greeks; for two translations of it were done into that language, the one by Paanius, and the other by Capito. The latter, who was by birth a Lycian, not only translated into Greek the abridgment of Livy, fays Suidas, done by Eutropius, but wrote besides the history of Isauria in eight books, and likewise that of Lycia and Pamphylia. The translation of Eutropius by Pannius, was published among the other Augustin writers by Sylburgius at Franc-fors in 1590. Sylburgius is of opinion, that Paanius was contemporary with Entropius. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of history (10). As for Eutropius himself, Suidas styles him an Italian sophist; and adds, that he published several other works (11). From his works it does not appear, whether he professed the christian religion, or no. He was present, according to Codin, at the laying the foundations of Constantinople, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (12). If what that author writes be true, Entropius must have been very young at that time. He attended Julian in his expedition into Persia (13). He seems to have been of the senatorial order; for, at the head of his work, he is distinguished with the title of clarissimus, which was peculiar to sena-tors. In the reign of Valentinian, and before the year 376. died, according to St. Ferom, Aquilius, or Acilius Severus, a native of Spain, who wrote the history of his own life in prose and verse, under the title of catastrophe. He was descended from another Severus, to whom Lactantius inscribed two books of his letters. St. Jerom places him among the ecclesiastic writers (14); but his work has been long

(2) Idem, l. xxix. p. 387. (3) Idem, l. xxxi. p. 469. (4) Ammian. vit. p. 4—8. (5) Idem, p. 8, 9. (6) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 9. p. 201. (7) Idem ibid. (8) Eutrop. p. 557. (9) Voss. hist. Lat. c. 8. p. 198. (10) Eutrop. Grac. p. 63. (11) Suid. p. 1099. (12) Codin. antiq. Constantinop. p. 17. (13) Eutrop. p. 589. (14) Hier. vir. illustr. c. 111.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Valens to the division of the empire.

IRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eastern provinces, over- a I run by the barbarians, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as foon as the feafon would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of the forces he had with him in Gaul to hasten into Illyricum, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter Thrace, and reinforce the army which Valens had fent The Lentienses thither. This the Germans called Lentienses, whose country bordered upon Rhætia, pass the Rhine, no sooner understood, than, by an open breach of the treaty, which they had but

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a lately concluded with Gratian, they passed the Rbine upon the ice, to the number of forty thousand men, and upwards; and entering Gaul, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into Illyricum, and fent them reinforced with those that were left in Gaul under the conduct of count Nannianus, and Mallobaudes, king of the Franks, who ferved in the Roman army in quality of comes domesticorum, to drive back the Lentienses, whose numbers increased daily, the Romans, who guarded the banks of the Rhine, having, through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their stations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of Argentaria, which most geographers take to b have stood where the present city of Colmar stands. The Romans at first gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made such a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of such a prodigious multi- They are metude, scarce five thousand had the good luck to make their escape, thirty thousand by the Romans. of them being killed upon the fpot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king Triarius, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the flain . Orosius writes, that Gratian was present at the battle; and that, depending upon the affishance of heaven, he attacked the enemy, tho' greatly superior to him in number'. But Ammianus only writes, that Gratian advanced to support his generals. This battle was not fought before the month of May; for on the twentyc fecond of April the emperor was still at Treves, as appears from a law bearing that date ". After this victory, Gratian passed the Rhine at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, shut them up on all sides among the barren mountains, to which they had fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a short time to such streights, that they were forced to submit to the terms the They submit to conqueror thought fit to prescribe; one of which was, that they should deliver up Gratian. their youth to serve in the Roman army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the Romans greatly reinforced by this new accession of strength, and at the same time that inconstant and faithless nation put out of a condition of raising new disturbances in the emperor's absence. In this expedition, Gratian gave signal proofs of d his courage, prudence, good-nature, and generolity; which gained him the esteem and affection of all who ferved under him w. He immediately wrote to Valens, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he affured him would be very foon. But Valens, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipfed his own, and defirous of equalling his exploits against the Germans, resolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain. In the mean time, Gratian having sufficiently provided for the fecurity of Gaul, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to Gratian Arbor Felix, now Arbon, on the lake of Constance, and from thence to Lauriacum, marches to the e now Lork, in Austria, on the Danube, between the Traun and the Ens. There he uncle. embarqued part of his troops on the Danube, and marched by land with the rest to Bononia in Lower Dacia, and from thence to Sirmium, where he staid but four days, tho' he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From Sirmium he pursued his march along the Danube to a fort in the fame province, called Cajira Martis. In his march, some of his men, who had straggled from the army, were intercepted and cut off by the Alans. From Castra Martis he dispatched Richomeres, his comes domesticorum, to acquaint Valens, that he was at hand, and earnestly intreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But Valens, Valens gives has name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy times arrival. Due to battle, that his nephew might have no share in the victory, was utterly hartle, and it hastening the battle, that his nephew might have no share in the victory, was utterly defeated and f defeated, and perished, with two-thirds of his army, in the manner we have related killed before above. The day after the battle, the Goths, informed by a deserter, that Valens his arrival. had left many persons of great distinction in Adrianople, and that the imperial treafure was lodged there, laid fiege to the place; but being repulsed with great slaugh- The Goths ter, as quite strangers to the art of besieging towns, they dropped the enterprize; besiege in vain and marching towards Perintbus or Heraclea, laid waste that fertile country, and and Constantithen advanced to Constantinople, hoping to make themselves masters of that stately nople.

<sup>1</sup> Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 453, 454. Vict. epit. Hier. in chron. Onos. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. Ammian. ibid. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 98. w Ammian. ibid. p. 455.

metropolis, and of the immense wealth lodged in it. But the Saracens, whom Mavia

their

their queen had sent to the assistance of the Romans, and who were more dextrous at a

ted by the Goths, and other barbarians.

fudden onsets, than regular engagements, having in several sallies cut off great numbers of the Goths, the rest thought it advisable to break up the siege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city. The remaining part of this year they spent in ravaging, without opposition, Thrace, Scythia, Massia, and even Illyricum, as far as the Julian Alps, which part that province from Italy s. The neighbouring barbarians, namely the Quadi and Sarmatians, entered the Roman territories at the same Dreadful va- time, putting all to fire and sword, and surpassing the Goths themselves in the unvages commit-heard-of cruelties they practised v. St. Jerom gives us a pathetic account of the calamities suffered at that time by the subjects of the empire. The whole country, fays he, from Constantinople to the Julian Alps, have been swimming these twenty b years in Roman blood: Scythia, Thrace, Macedon, Dardania, Dacia, Theffalonica, (or rather Thessaly) Achaia, both Epirus's, Dalmatia, both Pannonia's, are filled with Goths. Sarmatians, Quadians, Alans, Hunns, Vandals, Marcomans, &c. whose avarice nothing has escaped, whose cruelty has been felt by persons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent persons of both sexes, how many sacred virgins, have been outrageously insulted, and hurried into captivity? Bishops have been inhumanly massacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the reliques of the holy martyrs dug up, and the facred altars turned into mangers. The downfal of the Roman empire is at hand?. The same saint, writing in the year 406, that is, eight years after the present time, tells us, that Illyricum, Thrace, and Dalmatia, his native c country, looked still like deferts, and that nothing was to be seen in them but briars and thick forests a. The cities of Illyricum, which suffered most on this occasion, were Petavio and Mursia; the former is said to have been betrayed to the barbarians by Valens, whom the Arians had attempted to raise to that see b. As there were great numbers of Goths, who ferved in the Roman armies, quartered in the forts and cities of Asia, Julius, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would rise and join their countrymen, if they should move that way, by private letters All the Goths fent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be massacred at the same time. This severe, but perhaps necessary, order was put in execution without the least noise or disturbance, and Asia delivered from the danger d it had just reason to apprehend; for Zosimus assures us, that the Goths only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and treat the Romans as they were treated by them . WE left Gratian on the frontiers of Thrace, ready to enter that province, and join

put to the Sword in the east.

Valens; but he no fooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loss the Romans had sustained in the fatal battle of Adrianople, which was brought to him by Victor, who had had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, than he marched back to Sirmium, to deliberate there on the most proper measures to be taken in so critical a conjuncture. After a short stay at Sirmium, he marched at the head of all the forces he could affemble, to Constantinofle, to fecure that metropolis; and in the mean time, confidering with himself how many brave officers had e perished in the present war, and how much he stood in need of an able and faithful Gratian fends general, he fent for young Theodofius, who, after having given fignal proofs of his for Theodosius. courage, conduct and experience in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to Spain, his native country, to avoid, as we have related above, the storm that threatened him. Theodosius complied with the emperor's command; and quitting his retirement, hastened into Illyricum, where he was received by Gratian with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after sent at the head of a confiderable army against the Sarmatians, who were in full march to join the Goths: but Theodofius, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the Danube. The victory he gained on this occasion f was so complete, that the emperor could not believe the account which Theodosius himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle d. To this victory, and the other which Gratian had gained this year over the Germans before he left Gaul, Ausonius no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor in one and the same year appealed the troubles on the Rhine and the Danube . From Constantinople the

Who gains a complete victory over the Sarmatians.

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a emperor returned to Sirmium, and passed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no sooner saw himself, by the death of Valens, master of the east, than he recalled, and restored to their sees, the orthodox bishops, who had been banished Gratian recalls by Valens; and, by an edict, granted an entire liberty of conscience to christians the banished of all denominations, except the Manichees, the Photinians, and the Eunomians, whom biflions. he would not suffer to have any churches f. This edict put a stop to the perfecution, which the Arians had raised and carried on with great cruelty against the catholics, during the whole reign of Valens. Gratian, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it adviseable for the present to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raising new disturbances, which, in the present b distracted state of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous consequences. This law, granting liberty of conscience to all christians, seems to have taken place only in the east, where the catholics did not injoy it before; for by another law enacted this very year, and addressed to Flavianus, vicar of Africa, he absolutely condemns the Donatists, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, He condemns and declares, that he will fuffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that the Donatiffs. which is agreeable to the gospel, to the faith of the apostles, and to the tradition of the church s. While he refided at Sirmium, furrounded on all fides by the barbarians, he named Ausonius and Olybrius consuls for the ensuing year. He wrote to He raises the Ausonius, who had been his preceptor, a most obliging letter, acquainting him with foet Autonius c his promotion, and at the same time sent him the consular robe, that which the ship. emperors wore when they triumphed h. As Valens died without iffue male, Gratian, by his death, became fole mafter of the empire; but not thinking himfelf, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to fo great a burden, especially at so critical a conjuncture, when the Goths, Hunns, Alans, Sarmatians and Quadians had broken into the empire on one fide, and the Alemans and other German nations were ready to invade it on the other, he refolved to take a collegue capable of eafing He refolves to him of part of his burden, and extricating the state out of the difficulties under take a collegue. which it laboured. Young Valentinian shared indeed with him the title, but not the authority of emperor, he being then but seven, or at most eight years old. d Without any regard therefore to his own relations, or rather looking upon those, to use the expression of Themistius, as his nearest relations, who were best qualified for fo great a truft, he determined to affume Theodofius for his partner in the supreme power; a person of most extraordinary accomplishments, and no less admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experience in war, and the mighty exploits he had already performed. Pursuant to this resolution, he declared him emperor at Sirmium on the nineteenth of January of the enfuing Heraifes Theoyear 379. while Ausonius and Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius were consuls. It was dosius to the with the utmost difficulty that Gratian prevailed upon him to accept, says Pacatus, empire. what others fought with fo much ambition, and employed the most unlawful means e to attain. He refused, continues the same author, what others looked upon as the greatest happiness, in such manner as evidently shewed, that he accepted it in the end by mere constraint k. After Gratian had, to the general satisfaction both of the people and foldiery, declared him emperor with the usual folemnity, he committed And commits to his care the east, Thrace, and the rest of the provinces, which had been governed the eastern proby Valens, referving for himself only Gaul, Spain, and Britain; for Italy, Illyricum, vinces to his and Africa, were held by his brother Valentinian!. Sozomen writes, that to the east Gratian added Illyricum "; which, if true, must be understood of the east part of Illyricum, for the west part was always held by the princes of the western empire, who till this time had been masters of both. West Illyricum comprised both Panf nonia's, the one and the other Noricum, Dalmatia, and Savia, which we take to be the province that was for some time known by the name of Valeria. That Gratian kept these provinces, is past dispute . East Illyricum consisted of Macedon, the one and the other Epirus, Theffaly, Achaia, Crete, both Dacia's, Upper Mafia, Dardania, and Prævalitana .

Theodofius, whom Gratian raifed to the empire, was, according to most authors, Birth, educaa native of Cauca in Galicia, which city still retains the same name; but Marcellinus tion, employ-1

ments, &c. of Theodofius.

to the conful-

F Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 116.

\*\*Idem, tit. 6. leg. 2. p. 194.

\*\*DACAT. p. 253, 254.

\*\*PACAT. p. 253, 254.

\*\*Cod. Theodor. l. v. c. 6. p. 711. Zos. p. 746.

Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707.

\*\*Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. & !. xiii. tit. 1. leg. 11. p. 14. 1 THEMIST. or. xiv. p. 182. <sup>m</sup> Soz. l. vii. c.4. p. 707.
Notit. c. 3. p. 6.
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in his chronicle supposes him to have been born in Italica near Seville, the birth- a place of the emperor Trajan; and both that writer and Claudian reckon him among the great men of the Ulpian family, from which Trajan was sprung P. Theodosius resembled that prince, according to Victor, both in the seatures of his face, and the virtues of his mind; but was a stranger to the vices of Trajan, such as drunkenness, incontinence, and ambition q. He was the son of Thesmantia and the celebrated Theodosius, who conquered a new province in Britain, overcame Firmus in Africa, and was deservedly accounted the greatest commander of his age. But his triumphs and great reputation having raifed him many enemies at court, he was executed at Carthage in the year 376, the second of Gratian's reign, as we have related above. Victor tells us, that the name of the emperor Theodosius's father was Honorius; b but he is therein contradicted by Ammianus Marcellinus, and all the other writers. Both the emperor and his father, in most ancient coins, bear the prænomen of Flavius, which, after Constantine's time, became common to those who had none of their own: whence some authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the family of Theodosius made no great figure before that prince's reign; and that Claudian and Vistor only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from Trajan. Pacatus observes, that he was a native of Spain, as well as Trajan and Adrian; but takes not the least notice of his being of the same family, which we can scarce believe he would have omitted, had Theodosius been allied to those two great princes. He had, according to Victor, only one brother and a fifter, whose children he brought c up with the same care as he did his own'. St. Ambrose and Symmachus suppose him to have had feveral brothers ". One of his brothers, by name Honorius, had by his wife Maria, whom Claudian styles one of the most illustrious women Spain ever produced, two daughters, Thermantia and Serena, of whom the latter was married to the famous Stilicho, and the former to another general, whose name is not mentioned . Eucherius, whom we shall see consul in 381. is supposed to have been another of the emperor's brothers x. The emperor himself was born in the year 346. fo that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age y. We are told, that he was called Theodosius, not only because his father had been so named, but because both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him d that name, fignifying, according to the import of the Greek word Theodosius, that the child was in a particular manner the gift of God 2. He served under his father in Britain, when he was yet very young; and being soon after created duke of Masia, he gained a memorable victory over the Sarmatians in 374. being then only eighteen years old b. After the death of his father he withdrew to Spain, to avoid the storm which threatened him too; and there led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by Gratian in 373. and declared emperor. He was then married to Flaccilla, called by most of the Greek writers Placilla, and by some Placidia. She is thought to have been the daughter of Antonius, who, after having been prefect of Italy and Gaul in e 376. and the two following years, was raised to the consulship in 382d. She was a native of Spain e, and fifter to the mother of Nebridius, who married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo, a Moorish prince, and count of Africa f. Nebridius was proconsul of Asia in 396. but died soon after; for Salvina was a widow, when St. Jerom, who had lived in great intimacy with the father of Nebridius, wrote to her in 400 s. Theodosius had at least three children by Flaccilla, viz. Arcadius, born about the year 377. during his father's retirement; for he was thirty when he died on the first of May 408. Honorius, born in 384. and a daughter, named Pulcheria, born before the year 379. since Theodosius had then, according to Claudian, several children. To these some add, and among the rest St. Ambrose, and Themistius, a third son, s named Gratian. They do not tell us whether he was the fon of Flaccilla, or Galla, the emperor's fecond wife, of whom hereafter; but Gregory of Nyssa writes in express terms, that the emperor had by Flaccilla only three children, viz. two fons and one

<sup>\*</sup> MARCELL. chron. p. 78. CLAUD. p. 40.

\* Vict. p. 546.

\* Idem, p. 547.

\* Ambros. epift. 17. p. 214.

\* Sym. l. x. epift. 57. p. 459.

\* CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 194.

\* CANGE Byz. fam. p. 75.

\* Themist. or. xvi. p. 203.

\* Theodor. l. v. c. 5. p. 710.

\* Vict. p. 546.

\* Zos. p. 760.

\* Ambros. fermo de diverf. p. 125.

\* Vict. p. 546.

\* Cod. Theodo tit. 6. p. 350.

\* CLAUD. ibid. p. 193.

\* Themist. p. 410.

\* Ambros. ibid. p. 193.

\* Themist. p. 477.

a daughter 1. Besides Gratian, who died before his father, the emperor had by Galla the celebrated Placidia, mother to Valentinian III. and another son; but the mother died in child-bed, and the child with her m.

THE joy which the news of Theodosius's promotion gave to all the subjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his justice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and truly, tho' commendations in the mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with Claudian, that the empire, without the assistance of Theodosius, would never have recovered its former lustre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians ". But to return to Gratian, he feems to have continued fome months at Sirmium, after the promotion of Theodofius o; b nay, Socrates, tho' in this place somewhat consused, tells us, that he gained considerable advantages over the barbarians, who furrounded him on all fides; and foon after set out for Gaul, upon intelligence, that the Germans were up in arms, and Gratian reready to break into that province P. He was at Aquileia in the beginning of July, turns to Gaulini and in the latter end of the same month at Milan 4, where he contracted great intimacy with St. Ambrofe, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which in our opinion deserves no less to be admired for the elegance of the style, than for the pious and truly christian sentiments it contains. It was at his request that St. Ambrose wrote, tho' unwilling to engage in religious debates, his excellent treatise c on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another proving the divinity of the Holy Ghost'. The pious emperor was so well pleased with these two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he had sequestered at Milan in 380. with a design, as was thought, to give it to the Arians, out of complaisance to his mother-in-law Justina. At the same time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conscience to all fects, he published another, forbidding all heretics, especially the re-baptizers, to A law against preach their tenets, or to hold assemblies in any part of the empire. This law is beresits. dated from Milan the third of August of the present year 379. and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of St. Ambrose. Gratian left Milan soon after; and passing thro d Rhatia, the province of the Sequani, and Germania Prima, repaired to Treves, where he was on the fourteenth of September", and perhaps before; for he is faid to have marched with incredible expedition, and to have surprised the people of Gaul with his unexpected arrival w. He passed the winter at Treves, and consequently was in that city, when Ausonius, upon the expiring of his confulship, pronounced the oration, which has reached our times, thanking the emperor for that and the other honours he had conferred upon him'. This year we find the Lombards, whom we shall see The Lombards. two hundred years hence masters of Italy, first mentioned in history. Prosper, who, after having copied the chronicle of St. Ferom to this time, begins now one of his own, tells us, that the Lombards, abandoning the most distant coasts of the ocean, e and their native country Scandinavia, and feeking new fettlements, as they were over-stocked with people at home, attacked first, and overcame about this time the Vandals, a German nation. They were headed by two chiefs, named Iboreus and Aionus, who dying about ten years after, they created Agelmond, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three years y. We are told, that the Lombards, and the Gepidæ, were for many years one and the same nation; and that they passed the Danube together about the year 400. in the reign of Honorius, who allowed them settlement about Sirmium and Singidunum. This is what Grotius writes upon the authority of Paulus Diaconus, who flourished in the ninth century z. Grotius adds, that the Gepidæ, and consequently the Lombards, held the tenets of Arius, and f that they were originally Vandals. Tho we have said after Grotius, that Prosper is the first author who mentions the Lombards, yet we must own, that their name is to be met with in Ptolemy, Tacitus and Strabo. But to this Grotius answers, that by the name of Lombards in those authors are meant, not the people we are here speaking of, but other German nations, who from their long beards were called Longobarbi and Langobardi.

1 Greg. Nyss. in funere Flaccillæ, p. 533. 

M Zos. l. iv. p. 777.

P. 40, 41. 

Auson. ep. 2. p. 5, 6. 

Socr. l. v. c. 6. p. 260. 

Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 100.

AMBROS. de fide, p. 109—112. 

Idem ibid. & de Spir. l. i. c. 1. p. 213. 

Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 100. 

Auson. conf. p. 411. 

Idem ibid. 

Prosp. chron. Grot. proleg. in hift. Goth. p. 53. 

Idem ibid. p. 27. 

Paul. Diac. de geft. Longobard. l. 1. c. 2—16. 

We

state of the eastern provin-

deputies to

Theodosius.

ral victories

We left Theodosius at Sirmium, where he had been declared emperor on the nine-The deplorable teenth of January of this year 379. He was surrounded on all sides by numberless multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of Valens, scoured the neighbouring countries without restraint, destroying all with fire and sword. Dacia, Thrace and Illyricum were already lost. The Goths, the Taifali, the Alans, and the Hunns, were masters of the greatest part of these provinces, and had ravaged and laid waste the rest: the Armenians, Iberians, and Persians, were likewise up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the present distracted state of the empire 5. What evils, fays Gregory Nazianzen, have we not feen or heard of? Whole countries have been destroyed with fire and sword; many thousand persons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly maffacred; the rivers are still dyed with blood, and the ground b covered with heaps of dead bodies. Let us not ascribe the calamities we suffer to the cowardice of our foldiers, who have conquered the world; our fins, and the Arian impiety, which has fo long prevailed, are the only cause of our misfortunes. The few foldiers who had survived the late defeat, struck with terror and dismay, kept within the cities and strong-holds of Thrace, without daring so much as to look abroad, much less to make head against the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies d. Gratian, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor fome troops; 'tis at least certain, that he left with him two officers of great distinction, viz. count Ricomer, a Frank by nation, and Majorianus, who commanded the troops of Illyricum under Gratian, and was by Theodosius raised to the post of c general both of the horse and soot. Both these officers distinguished themselves under Theodosius in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the Goths e. Theodosius, leaving Sirmium soon after the departure of Gratian, repaired to Thessalonica, the capital of East Illyricum, which Gratian had yielded to him, as we have observed above s, and was still there on the seventeenth of June 8. During his stay The chief cities in that metropolis, the chief cities of the east sent deputies to him, congratulating in the east send him upon his accession to the sovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from Constantinople was the celebrated orator Themistius, who, in a fpeech which he pronounced on that occasion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his ancestors. The emperor received d them all in a most obliging manner, promising to redress, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained h. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his stay at Thessalonica, he took the field, probably about the end of June; for on the seventh of July he was at Scupi in Dardania, and on the tenth of August at a place called Vicus Augusti, the situation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can scarce give any account; for our best guide, Ammianus Marcellinus, fails us here; and other authors are so obscure in their accounts, so inconsistent with each other, and often with themselves, that we can scarce depend upon any thing they He gains sever relate. Idatius k, Prosper l, and Orosius m, tell us, that many great battles were fought, e and as many fignal victories gained by Theodosius. On the other hand, Zosimus menever the Goths. tions but one battle, which he describes at length; but as he studies on all occasions to detract as much as he can from the glory of Theodofius, he ascribes the signal victory that was gained, not to him, but to one Modares, a prince of royal extraction among the Goths, who had lately taken party with the Romans a. Zosimus, prompted by his blind zeal for the worship of the idols, omits no opportunity of vomiting his venom against a prince who completed, as we shall see, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had suffered out of policy, or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, against whom he betrays on all occasions an f inveterate hatred, and unfurmountable prejudice. As to Modares, by whole conduct Thrace was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and destruction, he was a man of great address, intrepidity and experience in war. St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote some letters to him, wherein he extols his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquillity of the church o; whence we may conclude him to have been,

epist. 135, 136. p. 864.

a not only a christian, but a catholic. Prosper tells us, that Theodosius not only overcame the Goths in several pitched battles, but forced them to repass the Danube, and by that means delivered Tbrace from the insupportable yoke under which it groaned P. And delivers Great numbers of them took part with the Romans, after having delivered up to the Thrace. emperor fome of the chief men among them as hostages. Thus Prosper, Zosimus 1, and Sozomen r. However, it is no easy matter to determine, whither those retired who repassed the Danube, since their own country was possessed by the Hunns, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by some authors confusedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any distinct account of them. All we know for certain is, that part of the Goths submitted to Theodosius, and the rest withdrew from Thrace. In this, at least, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus reflored Thrace to its former tranquillity, returned in the latter end of the autumn to Theffalonica, and there took up his winter-quarters.

THE following year 380. the two emperors were consuls, Gratian the fifth time, and Theodosius the first. The former, after having passed the winter at Treves, from which place we find two laws, dated the fixth and fifteenth of February, fet out early in the spring for Italy, and was on the fourteenth of March at Aquileia, and at Milan on the twenty-fourth of April. From Milan he advanced to Sirmium, and continued till the end of the summer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in c Pannonia. Theodosius was seized in the month of February of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged Gratian to quit Gaul, and hasten into Gratian re-Illyricum, lest the neighbouring barbarians should lay hold of that opportunity to turns to Illyria break into Thrace'. As the Goths were still in arms, and threatened to pass the cum, Danube, Gratian, during the malady of his collegue, proposed, and concluded a And concludes treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was con- a treaty with firmed by Theodosius upon his recovery. One of the articles of this treaty was, if Zosimus is to be credited, that the Goths, who served in the Roman armies, should be at liberty to quit the service when they pleased, provided they found others to substitute in their room w. Gratian, by a law dated from Milan the twenty-sourth of d April, exempts from the obligation of acting upon the stage, such women as had embraced the christian religion, tho' bound by their birth to follow that infamous profession x. He renewed the same law the following year, adding this clause to it, that if fuch women behaved for the future more like players than christians, they should be condemned to serve the stage the remaining part of their lives, without remission v. As for Theodosius, being seized in the beginning of this year with a dan-Theodosius, gerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earnestness the being seized facrament of baptism; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of Asco-with a dangerlus bishop of Thessalonica, after having carefully informed himself of the faith that baptized. prelate professed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameless in e his manners, the pious emperor immediately fent for him to court, was baptized by him; and from that instant, the violence of the malady abating, he began to recover 1. Soon after, the emperor gave a fignal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, His zeal for the by the famous law dated from Theffalonica the twenty-eighth of February of the pre-orthodox faith. fent year 380. In that law Theodofius declares, that he will have all his subjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of Rome had received of St. Peter, which was taught by Damasus bishop of that city, and by Peter bishop of Alexandria, a man of great fanctity; that is, that they must all acknowledge and confess the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; that those who held this doctrine, should be deemed christian catholics: but, on the conf trary, such as rejected it, should be treated as heretics, and infamous persons; their conventicles should not be called churches, and they themselves should undergo those

punishments, which were due to their wickedness, from the imperial authority, and

divine justice, it being a crime and a sacrilege to depart from the true faith through contempt, nay, or out of ignorance. Thus this memorable law, which was addressed to the people of Constantinople, and to the present Eutropius, with orders to

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r Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707. 649. PROSP chron. P PROSP. chron. 4. Zos. p. 756. · Cod. Theod. chron. D. 102—104. 
F. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 649. 
PROSP. chron. 
W. Zos. l. iv. p. 756.
Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 4. p. 365. 
V. Idem, leg. 9. p. 371. & leg. viii. p. 370. 
AMBRO6. 
Ep. 21. p. 229. Soz. p. 707. Aug. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 64. 
Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. w Zos. l. iv. p. 756. 25. p. 57.

fend it into all the provinces, and cause it to be every-where observed by the subjects of a the empire b. To this law St. Austin, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote, that Theodosius,

upon his accession to the empire, by a law full of mercy and justice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppressed by the protection given by

Several laws of Valons to the Arians. Besides this, the emperor published several other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners, viz. one dated the twenty-seventh of March, forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding Eafter; that is, during Lent; another of the eighteenth of December, prohibiting, under severe penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceased husbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year: Several laws against informers, who were to be punished with death, if they were found to have b informed thrice, tho' their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the fixteenth of November, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the estates of such persons as were condemned for treason; adding, whereas the importunity of such petitioners often wrests from the prince what he ought not to grant, his rescript in their favour shall be of no force; and such as shall by that means have obtained the confiscated estates, shall be punished as transgressors of the laws. These estates he will have the prince to grant merely of his own motion. Under other princes, the estates of persons condemned for treason, were frequently granted to those who had accused them, which proved a great encouragement to informers; but this, and the other laws of Theodosius, put a stop to their vile practices. By former laws, c the estates of such as had been banished, or executed, sell to the exchequer; but Theodosius, by two laws of this year, dated the seventeenth of June, orders the estates of the former to be divided between the exchequer and the criminal, or his children; and those of the latter to be left intire to their children or grand-children. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent to the children of those who were executed, than to the children of such as were only banished. In cases of treafon, only one fixth of the criminal's estate was to be left to his children, whether he was banished or executed. The emperor published several other laws this year, which are so many instances of his good-nature, his application to business, and his care of the public welfare f.

The Goths reenter Thrace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the Goths had concluded with Gratian during the malady of Theodofius, that prince had no fooner left Illyricum, to return to Gaul, than they passed the Danube, under the conduct of Fritigern, Alatheus, and Sapbran; and breaking into Thrace and Pannonia, advanced as far as Macedon, destroying all with fire and swords. Zosimus writes, that they laid waste Thessaly and Epirus, and penetrated as far as Achaia, without meeting with the least opposition b. Theodofius, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of Macedon, thought it advifeable not to venture an engagement with forces fo much superior to him in number; but to harass them, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The Goths, apprifed of his defign, attacked the Roman camp in the dead of the night, made themselves masters of it, cut most of Theodosius's men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himself prisoner, had he not saved himself by a speedy flight, while the Gaths were bussed in plundering the tents i. Thus Zosimus. But Idatius k., Mareellinus l., Gregory Nazianzen, who was then at Constantinople ., and Philostorgius , an Arian writer, and consequently no ways partial to Theodosius, assure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Galbs; and that, upon his return to Constantinople, which happened, according to some, on the seventeenth, according to others, on the twenty-fourth of November, he entered that metropolis in triumph. Jornandes, who omits no opportunity of fetting forth the exploits of f his Goths, takes no notice of their pretended victory over Theodofius. Besides, Gregery Nazianzan describes his triumphal entry into Constantinople, of which he was an eye-witness; and adds, that he well deserved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers, and natural fierceness, had ventured to engage him. The emperor, soon after his arrival in that metropolis,

Theodolius defeats the Goths.

b Idem ibid. & Soz. p. 708.

Calcust. ibid. l. v. c. 26. p. 64.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 15. p. 441.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 15. p. 441.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 15. p. 441.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 3. p. 335.

Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 4. p. 486.

John ibid. p. 649.

Los. p. 756.

Idem, p. 757.

Los. leg. 2. p. 486.

John ibid. p. 649.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 3. p. 486.

John ibid. p. 649.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 3. p. 486.

John ibid. l. v. c. 26. p. 64.

Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. to. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 3. p.

a appointed Gregory Nazianzen bishop of the place, in the room of the Arian bishop

d f

Demophilus, who refused to subscribe to the doctrine of the council of Nice. The emperor in person conducted the new bishop to the great church, and put him in possession, both of that, and of all the other churches in the city, with their revenues, driving out the Arians, who had held them for the space of forty years P. Thus was the orthodox faith re-established in the metropolis of the east, about the latter end The orthodox of this year 380. The next confuls were Fl. Syngrius and Fl. Encherius, uncle, as is faith re-estasupposed, to Theodosius. Gratian was this year, as appears from the dates of several east. laws, at Milan on the twenty-ninth of March; at Aquileia on the twenty-fecond of April, and eighth of May; and at Treves on the fourteenth of Ollober. He returned b to Aquileia on the twenty-fixth of December, and feems to have passed the winter in that city q. Valentinian had introduced the custom of fetting yearly at liberty some criminals, on occasion of the feltival of Easter. This custom Gratian confirmed by a law addressed to Antidius, vicar of Rome; but excludes from such indulgence all criminals guilty of treason, particide, murder, adultery, rapes, incest, magic, all false coiners, and such as had been pardoned before. This law was read at Rome on the twenty-first of July of this year 981 . As to the affairs in the east, Theodofius continued at Constantinople, at least to the nineteenth of July. During his stay in that metropolis, he published a law dated the tenth of January, forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold affemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout Allthe c the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this churches delimemorable law was committed to Sapor, one of the greatest generals of his time, catholics. who was fent into the several provinces, with orders every-where to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic pastors in possession of the churches the sectaries had usurped. Sapor met no-where with the least difficulty in the execution of his commission, except at Antioch, where the catholics were divided among themselves s. Philostorgius writes, that the Arians were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of Constantinople. This year Athanaric, the most powerful of all the Gothish princes, who had maintained a three years war with Valens, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the Roman territories, notwithstanding his Athanaric red pretended oath never to tread on Roman ground; and coming to Constantinople, surs to Theowas there received with great marks of friendship by Theodosius, who went out to interred as meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of Constanti-January of the present year. But Athanaric died soon after, viz. on the twenty-fifth nople. of the same month; and Theodofius caused him to be buried after the Roman manner, with fuch pomp and folemnity, that the Goths, who had attended him in his flight, aftonished at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, resolved never to molest the Romans; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the Danube, and prevented the Romans from being attacked on that fide a. Orofius writes, e that the emperor's generous behaviour to Athanaric, made fuch a deep impression on all the Gotbifb nations, that, charmed with his virtue, and fingular good-nature, they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire w The fame thing is confirmed by Idaffus and Marcellinus; but this did not happen till the third of October of the following year, as we shall relate anon. A few days after the arrival of Athanaric at Constantinople, and before his death, the philosopher Themissius pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he observes, among other things, that Theodosius, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but had not yet condemned one person to death . The pious emperor, no less desirous to heal the divisions f that rent the church, than to redress the abuses which prevailed in the state, summoned this year, in the month of May, the second general or ccumenical coun- The second cil, which was held at Constantinople by all the bishops of his dominions y. While accumental the council was affembling, the emperor published a law dated the second of May, Several laws of depriving such as had renounced the christian religion to embrace paganism, of the Theodosius right of disposing of any thing by will . By a law dated the eighth of the same against heretics

P Socn. l. v.c. 7. p. 263, 264. Gred. Naz. ibid. 9 Cod. Theod. chron. p. 104, 105. f Idem, l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 6. p. 275. Idem, l. vi. tit. 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. Theodoret. l. v. c. 2. p. 706. f Philost. l. 9. c. 19. p. 522. Zos. l. iv. p. 758, 759. Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. w Oros. ibid. Themist. orat. xv. p. 185-190. F Socn. l. v. c. 8. p. 264. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1. \* THEMIST. OFSt. XV. P. 185-190.

month,

month, he extends that penalty to the Manichees, whose estates he declares confis- a cated, unless their children should embrace the true religion; in which case they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents b. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of June, Theodosius declared, that the respect due to the priesthood not suffering bishops to be summoned to the public courts as witnesses, they were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing there . By another law dated the nineteenth of July, he forbids the Eunomians and Arians to build churches, either in the cities, or in the country, and declares the places where they shall have preached, or performed any other function, confiscated d. All these laws are dated from Constantinople; but two others of the twenty-first of July, from Heraclea in Thrace e, whither the emperor had advanced against such of the barbarians as were still in arms. b Zosimus tells us, that having demanded assistance of Gratian, that prince sent him a considerable body of troops commanded by Baudo or Bauto, and Arbogastes, who were both Franks, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius, and maintained a correspondence by letters with Symmachus f. Of the latter we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Upon the arrival of these two renowned commanders, the Goths, who were ravaging Macedon and Thessaly, retired with great precipitation into Thrace; but not being able to subsist in that province, which they themselves had laid waste the preceding year, they were forced to sue for peace, and submit to Theodosius s. Thus Zosimus, detracting, according to his custom, as much as he can, from the glory of Theodosius. c The Seyri and However, he owns, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Seyri and Carpodacæ de- Carpodacæ, who had, jointly with the Hunns, broken into the empire, and that he obliged them to repais the Danube b. We find the Scyri frequently mentioned amongst the northern barbarians; but of the Carpodaca no farther notice is taken in history. This campaign ended, it feems, in September; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at Adrianople, and on the twenty-eighth at Constantinople, where he continued the remaining part of the year i.

odulius.

A law of Gratian against be gars.

He causes the tory to be removed out of the senate.

altar of Vic-

beretics.

THE following year 382. when Antonius, called also by some Antoninus, and supposed to have been father-in-law to Theodofius, was conful with Syagrius, the neighbouring barbarians broke into Italy; but were foon driven back by Gratian, who d passed the greatest part of this year at Milan, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions. From some laws published in the month of September of this year, it appears, that the emperor was forced to raise new levies, and demand extraordinary subsidies, for the desence of Rhatia and Illyricum. A law dated the fisteenth of December informs us, that persons of fortune were obliged to supply the army with horses 1. As Rome was insested by multitudes of beggars, Gratian, by a law dated the twentieth of June, orders Severus, prefect of the city, to seize such of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to bestow them upon those who shall have informed against them, either as slaves, if they were such by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture m. By another law dated the eighteenth of August, he suspends, for the space of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received sentence. By another law, he ordered the altar of Victory, which stood in the place where the Roman senate assembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiscated . This altar had been removed by Constantius, when he came to Rome in 357. but re-established by Julian in 361. and suffered to continue there by Valentinian, who allowed to all his subjects the free exercise of what religion they liked best. At the same time Gratian declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the vestal virgins, ordering the officers of the revenue to seize on the lands, which, for the future, should be bequeathed to them, or their f temples. The pagan senators sent deputies, at the head of whom was Symmachus, to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke these laws; but Gra-Lame of Theo-tian would not fo much as admit them to his presence. The heretics met with no dolius against less severe treatment in the east from Theodosius, than the pagans in the west from

b Idem, tit. 5. leg. 7. p. 120. c Idem, l. xi. tit. 39. leg. 8. p. 327. d Idem, tit. 1. leg. 3. p. 9. c Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105. f Zos. l. iv. p. 757. SYMM. l. iv. ep. 15, 16. p. 150. f Zos. ibid. p. 758. h Idem, p. 759. l Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105. k Idem, p. 106. l Cod. Theod. h Idem, p. 759.

Cod. Theod. chron. p. 10, 1 leg. 2. p. 149.

M Idem, l. xiv. tit. 18. p. 256, 257. р. 750. l. ii. tit. 4. leg. 3. р. 149. — M Idem, l. xiv. tit. 10. р. – о Амви. ер. 11. р. 195. — Symm. l. x. ер. 54. р. 455, 456. " Idem, l. x. tit. 16. leg. 10. p. 190.

a Gratian; for by a law dated the last of March, he declared such of the Manichees, as were then known by the names of Encratitæ, Saccofori, and Hydroparastatæ, that is, the continent, the fack-bearers, the water-drinkers, guilty of death, encouraging all to inform against them, and likewise against such as, in the celebration of Easter, differed as to the day from other christians; these he likewise pronounced guilty of death P. All the laws enacted this year by Theodosius are dated from Constantinople; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in that city without taking the field, the Goths having, by their deputies, offered to submit to him, as we have related The Goths subabove. As they had been driven out of Macedon, and shut up in Thrace, where mit to Theothey could not subsist, Theodosius, not caring to drive them to despair, received their dosius. b deputies in a very obliging manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was held by the Hunns, upon their laying down their arms, he gave them leave to fettle in Thrace and  $M\alpha fia$ , which two provinces were almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of the empire 9. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they submitted. Great numbers of them entered into the Roman service; but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the fource of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injuflice, and cruelty of the Roman officers, they refused to put themselves into their c power, and infifted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against fuch infults as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the Roman troops. Zosimus does not forget to blame the conduct of Theodosius, and his want of forelight, in this particular; but Themistius, in a speech which he pronounced before the emperor himself, tells him, that he gained by his indulgence and good-nature the barbarians, whom he was not perhaps in a condition to conquer by force of arms'. The Goths therefore were not yet so far weakened, as to submit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impose upon them '.

THE next confuls were Fl. Merobaudes the second time, and Flavius Saturninus. Gratian was, from the twenty-ninth of January of this year 383. to the second of d May, at Milan; at Padua on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the same month; and at Verona on the several laws. He published several excellent Several laws laws this year, and among the rest one dated the nineteenth of January, revoking published by all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular persons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged w, another dated the twenty-seventh of February, inflicting severe penalties on such as should conceal deserters or robbers x; a third, condemning informers to fuch punishments as were due to the crimes of which they accused others, when they could not make good the charge; a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to fuch orders as tribunes, fecretaries, counts, or any other persons, however dignified and distinguished, should pretend to have received from the e emperor by word of mouth z: the former of these two laws is dated the twenty-seventh of May, and the latter the seventeenth of June. By a law dated the twenty-second of May, he declares those incapable of disposing of their estates by will, who shall renounce the christian religion to embrace paganism, Judaism, or the execrable tenets of the Manichees. Those by whom they shall have been seduced, are subjected to the same penalty. This year is remarkable for a dreadful samine, that raged in Rome, but more on account of the disturbances that were raised in the state by Maximus, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor Gratian. That usurper, named Magnus Clemens Maximus, was by birth a Briton, as a learned modern writer pretends to gather from Socrates b; but, in our opinion, that author f speaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place of his nativity c, as does likewise Gildas d. Pacatus, who flourished in those times, assures us, that he was a stranger in Britain, and had been banished into this island . Zosimus writes, that he was a native of Spain, which is not improbable, fince it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to Theodofius. He was brought up, fays Pacatus, in the family

P Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. i. p. 208. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 9. p. 124.

Themist. orat. xvi. p. 199.

Zos. p. 758.

Themist. ibid. p. 211.

Idem, p. 212.

Cod. Theod. chron. p. 108, 109.

W Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100.

Idem, l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222.

Idem, l. ixit. 1, leg. 14.

p. 19.

Idem, l. ixit. 3 leg. 1. p. 27.

Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 205.

Usser. ecclef.

Britan. antiq. p. 199.

Vide Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270.

GILD. de excid. Britan. c. 10. p. 1174

PACAT. p. 263, 269.

F Zos. p. 760.

of Theodosius as a servant, and employed in the meanest offices v. Zosimus pretends, a

Maximus revolts in Britain.

His character.

He passes over into Gaul.

Gratian abandoned by his Army.

And put to

that he served in Britain with Theodosius, who, as we have observed above, attended his father into this island in the year 368. Be that as it will, feeing Theodofius raised to the empire, says Zosimus, while he could not attain to any creditable employment, prompted by jealoufy and envy, he began to foment the aversion of the Roman soldiers to Gratian, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners; infomuch that in the end they revolted, declared Maximus emperor, and, with the usual solemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He gave out, that he was allied to Theodosius, and that it was with his participation and consent he had taken upon him the fovereignty h. Thus Zosimus. But Sulpicius Severus i, and Orosius k, tell us, that the foldiers mutinying, forced him to accept the purple. The authority of b these two authors, of whom the former flourished at that very time, and the other foon after, is of great weight with us. Orofius styles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means 1; and Sulpicius speaks of him as one, who, abating this usurpation, deserved in every other respect to be esteemed and commended m. Gregory of Tours writes, that, before his usurpation, he had gained several signal victories in Britain ; and some modern authors, that he drove the Scots quite out of the island o. But neither is consistent with what we have related above out of Zosimus. Maximus at first was supported only by a small number of the inhabitants of this island; but others flocking to him from all parts of Britain, he found himself in a very short time at the head of a numerous army, c which, without loss of time, he transported into Gaul; and landing at the mouth of the Rhine, he prevailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from Gratian, and join him, not so much by force of arms, as by art and address P, extending, says Gildas, by lyes and perjuries the empire which he had acquired by wickedness and rebellion 9. Gratian was then making war upon the Germans called Juthongi; but he no sooner heard of the arrival of the usurper in Gaul, than he hastened to Treves, to put a stop to his farther progress. On his march, great numbers of his troops, gained over by the emissaries of Maximus, abandoned him, to take part with the usurper. However, thinking himself still a match for Maximus, he lest Treves, went in quest of his enemy, and offered him battle r. Baronius writes, that Gratian, finding d himself abandoned by his own troops, had called the Hunns and Alans to his assistance, and that his army confifted chiefly of those barbarians s. The learned Usher was once of the fame opinion; but afterwards retracted it "; St. Ambrose, on whose authority it was grounded, speaking in the letter quoted by Baronius w, not of Gratian, but of Valentinian II. Gratian's army was commanded by Merobaudes, and count Balio, an officer of known valour and fidelity x. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near Paris y. But Zosimus tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the presence of each other, without any action, except a few skirmishes, in which no great advantage was gained on either side; but that in the end the troops of Gratian, provoked at his shewing so much savour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, shamefully deserted him, and went over to Maximus. Gratian, seeing himself thus betrayed and abandoned, fled towards the Alps, attended only by three hundred horsemen; and having got into Lions, after he had been refused admittance into other cities, he was there taken prisoner, and soon after put to death i. That he was put to death at Lions, all authors agree, except Zosimus, who mistook, as is supposed, Sindeath as Lions. gidunum in Mæsia for Lugdunum in Gaul. Socrates a and Sozomen b relate his death with several circumstances unknown to other writers; for they tell us, that Andragathius, who was general of the horse under Maximus, and sent by him to pursue Gratian, coming up with the fugitive prince as he was croffing the Rhone, put him- f felf into a close litter, and ordered his men to give out, that in the litter was the empress Læta, whom Gratian had lately married, going to her husband. The emperor, giving credit to this report, and impatient to fee one whom he fo tenderly

8 PACAT. p. 264. OROS. ibid. E PACAT. p. 264. h Zos. p. 760. i Sulp. Sev. vit. S. Martin. c. 23. p. 208. k Oros.l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. l Oros. ibid. m Sulp. Sev. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290. n Greg. Tur. hift. Franc. l. i. c. 43. p. 30. viide Uss. ecclef. Brit. antiq. p. 592. p Zos. l. iv. p. 760. l Grld. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11. p. 117. s Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. Zos. p. 760. s Baron. ad ann. 383. t Uss. Brit. ecclef. antiq. p. 590. n Idem ibid. p. 1058. w Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320. p. 208. p. 267. Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. s Prosper. p. 267. Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. s Prosper. p. 268. h vii. c. 34. p. 721. s Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 721. c. 13. p. 721.

a loved, turned back to meet her; but while he was flanding with open arms ready to receive her, Andragathius, starting out of the litter, seized him, and soon after put him to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. Ambrose, a contemporary writer, viz. that Gratian was betrayed by a person whom he had trusted with intire provinces: that being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refused at first to comply with the invitation, suspecting some treachery; but being in the end deceived by false oaths, and seigned protestations, he came to the banquet, but was murdered, as he withdrew, by those who had feasted with him c. These circumstances are not mentioned by historians; only Orosius and Marcellinus write, that he was surprised by the craft and artifice of Maximus, and soon after put to death d. b Thus died Gratian in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, fixteen years, and one day, but, from the death of his father, only feven years, and nine months. He married in 374 or 375. Constantia, the posthumous daughter of the emperor Constantius, and had by her a son, and other children f; but they all died, it seems, before him s, as did likewise his wife Constantia, whose body was brought this very year to Constantinople, according to Idatius and the chronicle of Alexandria, on the thirty-first of August, and interred on the second of December. Gratian not long before his death married to his fecond wife Lata, to whom, as well as to her mother, by name Piffamine, Theodosius allowed a yearly pension, to support c them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of Rume, while that city was befieged by Alaric in the year 4081. The death of Gratian was no fooner known at Milan, than St. Ambrose, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his works, deeply affected with the loss of such an excellent and inimitable prince, as he styles him, set out in great haste from that city to demand his body of Maximus in the name of Valentinian. But the usurper refused it to him, pretending, that the transporting of his ashes would serve only to renew the grief of the soldiery k. However, they were afterwards brought to Milan, and interred there near the tomb of Valentinian II. As for his character, all His character. writers, whether christians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good d quality that can be defired in a prince, extolling with one voice his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and defire of doing good to all, in which he seemed to place his chief happiness. Ammianus Marcellinus, tho' a zealous pagan, writes, that he would have equalled the greatest princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but at the same time blames him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other diversions; which may be justly imputed to his youth, and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying seriously to business in his riper years. St. Ambrose, Theodoret, Rufinus, Ausonius, and even Zosimus himself, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he surpassed all the princes who had reigned before him, Constantine himself not excepted. St. Ambrose, in his answer to a letter the emperor had written to him, e gives him the title of most christian m. The many laws he enacted in favour of the catholics, are so many instances of his zeal for the orthodox faith. Tho' none of the christian princes his predecessors had scrupled to assume the habit of the high pontiff of the pagans, yet when it was, according to custom, brought to him, he rejected Is faid to be the it, faying, that it was not consistent with the principles of the christian religion to first who rejectwear that habit. Thus Zosimus a; but it will be no easy task to prove, that either high pontiff. Constantine after his conversion, or any other christian prince, ever assumed the habit or title of Pontifex Maximus, though the latter was commonly given to them by the pagans, and even to Gratian himself o. The pagan priests, adds Zosimus, finding the emperor would not accept either of the habit or title of high-pontiff, f the chief man among them uttered these memorable words; If the prince will not be styled pontifex maximus, Maximus will soon become pontifex P, foretelling, that Maximus would be raised to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of Maximus. However that be, Maximus was no sooner informed of the death of Gratian, than Maximus dehe took his son Flavius Victor for his collegue in the power he had usurped, and clares his son

\*\* Ambros. pfal. lxi. p. 848. d Oros. p. 220. Marcell. chron. Soc. Marcell. chron. Aug. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 25. Ambr. de fid. l. i. c. 20. p. 722. h Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721. l Idem ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 815. h Am Ambros. de fid. p. 110. Zos. l. iv. p. 761. Baron. ann. 312. P Zos. ibid. e Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. collegue. E THEODOR. I. V. C. 12. k Ambros. pf.l. lxi. p. 849.

Puts Merobaudes and Balio to death.

gave him, though then only an infant, the title of Augustus, as we read in Victor 2 the historian P; which is confirmed by some ancient inscriptions 4, tho' Zosimus gives him only the title of Casarr. The usurper fixed the seat of his empire at Treves, and extended his wings, to use the expression of Gildass, over Spain and Britain, being master, according to Zosimus, of all the countries, which Gratian, in the divifion of the western provinces, had reserved for his own share. We do not find, that he put any of Gratian's favourites to death, except Merobaudes, the conful of this year, and Balio, or, as some style him, Vallio, one of the best officers of his age; their only crime was their inviolable attachment to Gratian, by whom they had been raised for their eminent services to the greatest offices in the state ". Merobaudes received orders from the tyrant to dispatch himself, which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death w. Pacatus writes, that Balio was strangled in b his own house by the Britons, who served under Maximus x; but from St. Ambrose it appears, that the usurper had commanded him to be conveyed to Challon on the Saone, to be there burnt alive; but that he, by a violent death, prevented the execution of fo cruel a fentence y. Prosper, in his chronicle, writes, that Gratian was betrayed by Merobaudes; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer fufficiently clears him from fo black an afperfion: whence in the chronicle of Prosper, some, instead of Merobaudes, read Mellobaudes; for Mellobaudes, king of the Franks, ferved under Gratian in quality of comes domeflicorum; and treachery was in those days the peculiar character of that nation. Maximus commanded count Narses likewise, and Leucadius, governor of a province, c to be put to death for their attachment to Gratian; but was prevailed upon by the famous St. Martin to spare them 2. Paulinus Diaconus, in his life of St. Ambrose, tells us, that that prelate was fent into Gaul to propose an accommodation between Maximus and young Valentinian; on which occasion he treated the usurper as one  $\epsilon u \epsilon$ off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to atone by a fincere repentance for the enormous crime he had committed in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful fovereign: the same author adds, that other bishops, more complaifant, flocking from all parts to the tyrant's court, by their low and shameful flatteries, lulled him asleep in his wickedness b. As Maximus had brought over with him into Gaul the flower of the British youth, and the Roman soldiers d quartered in the island, the country remained by that means exposed to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, who meeting with little or no opposition, over-ran the northern parts, committing every-where dreadful ravages. The Romans now-andthen fent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they constantly returned, and continued thus harassing the Roman provinces till the arrival of the Angles and Saxons, who made themselves masters of that part of the island which is now known by the name of England, about the middle of the fifth century. Those Britons, who attended Maximus into Gaul, never returned to their native country; but are supposed to have settled in Armorica, which was allotted to them by Maxi- e Gaul, are sup mus, and from its new inhabitants called Britannia, now Bretagne d. Colonies are posed to have said to have been sent from this mand into proughe at the Great, during the usursectled in Bre- the reign of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, during the usurfaid to have been fent from this island into Bretagne at three different times, viz. in pation of Maximus, and when the Angles made themselves masters of this island. The ancients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. Constantius, who in the end of the fifth century wrote the life of St. Germain of Auxerre, calls Bretagne, Armorica ; but Sidonius of Clermont, who flourished about the same time, speaks of Britons inhabiting the country that borders on the Loire &; nay, amongst his letters we find one to Riotham their king h. That the Britons, who went f over with Maximus, fettled in Armorica among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any ancient historian, but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the ancient proprietors, made themfelves absolute masters of the country under the conduct of their leader Conon Meriodoc; and wanting women, had recourse to Dionotus, or Diodocbus, king of Corn-

The Britons, who attended Maximus into

III.

wall, who sent them his own daughter, by name Ursula, with one thousand one hundred young women of quality, and sixty thousand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrant sable, even by the Roman-catholic writers. Had the Britons wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept those of the country, when they drove out the men. Besides, it is altogether improbable, that Cornwall was so stocked with women as to spare seventy-one thousand virgins. The sleet, fraught with these unhappy virgins, is supposed to have been driven by a storm to the mouth of the Rhine, and to have sailed up that river to Cologn, where they sell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for Gratian against Maximus, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. Ursula is still revered in the church of Rome as a saint; but the number of one thousand one hundred virgins, said to have suffered martyrdom with her, has been not many years since left out of the Roman breviary. Of Ausonius, who was preceptor to Gratian, we shall speak in note (L).

(L) Decius, or rather Decimus Magnus Ausonius, was a native of Bourdeaux. He tells us, that he was defended of a noble family (15); however his father, who was a native of Bazas, and lived at Bourdeaux, followed the protession of physic, till his son procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of Illyricum. He practifed gratis, and was generally effectived a min of learning; but, what may feen ftrange, was better acquainted with the Greek than the Latin tongue. He died in 377. at the age of eighty-eight or ninety (16). Cacilius Argicius Arborius, uncle to Aufonius by the mother, was born in Autun, and descended of an illustrious family; but his father and uncle being profcribed in the reign of Gallienus and Aurelian, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to Bayonne, where he married Æmilia C rinshia Maura, descended of a good family, and had by her one son, named Æmilius Magnus Arborius, and three daughters, Hilaria, Dryadia and Aonia: Arborius was a celebrated professor of eloquence; Hilaria professed celibacy, and became famous for her virtue; Dryadia was betrothed, but died a little before the celebration of her nuptials; Æonia was mother to Ausonius. Julia Cataphronia, the tister of Julius Ausonius, our author's father, embraced the state of virginity, and lived to a great age(17). As for Au-fonius himself, he studied rhetoric under his uncle Arborius at Toloufe, where Arborius taught about the year 325. before he was invited to Constantinople by Conflantine : he studied likewise at Bourdeaux under Minervius, Neposianus, and Staphylus, professors of grammar and rhetoric (18). When he had ended his studies, he first pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profession he followed for the space of near thirty years, till he was by Valentinian I. appointed preceptor to his fon Gratian in 367. whom he attended into Germany the following year 368(19). He had foon after fome employment at court, with the title of comes or count, and was by degrees raised to the first offices in the state. Valentinian made him quastor, and had even promited him the confulfhip(20). After the death of Valentinian, Gratian raifed him to the high station of prafectus pratorio, first of Italy and Africa, and afterwards of Gaul. He was prefect of Gaul, and likewife conful, in 379 (21). He was, it feems, at Trezes when Gratian was killed (22); but foon after retired to Guienne (23). In a letter to Paulinus about the year 392, he describes the place where he then led a retired life (24), which is sup-

posed to have been in Saintonge. He professed, without all doubt, the christian religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of Scaliger, altogether unworthy of the christian name, being filled with pagan expressions, and the most bare-faced obscenities, in which he perhaps (arpaffes the most infamous among the pagan poets. As for his style, it is commended by some, and sound fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in Baillet (25). His works, which give some light to history, are the epigrams he wrote on the professors of Bourdeaux, his verses on the chief cities of the empire, and the speech in which he returned thanks to Gratian for the honour he had done him in raifing him to the confulfhip. He wrote verses on all the emperors who had reigned till his time, and likewise consular tables, extending to the year 382 or 383 (26). But the latter work has been long since intirely lost, and of the former only a small part has reached us. His poem on the Mofelle was greatly effected by Symmachus (27), and is still looked upon by the best judges as his master-piece (28). Some ascribe to him, but without sufficient ground, the distinct that pass under the name of Cato (29). The emperor Theodosius, who had a particular esteem for him, wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (30). Aufonius and Symmachus lived in great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (31). Gratian, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greatest employments of the state, but likewise raised most of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as we have hinted above, with the title of prefect of Illyricum before the year 379. for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetieth year of his age (32). Sanctus, who married his wife's fifter, was made governor of Britain Paulinus, son-in-law to his sister Dryadia, was railed to the government of the province of Tarraco in Spain, and the husband of his other niece by the same Dryadia to great employments (34). Arborius, presect of Rome in 380. is supposed to have been his nephew by the same fister (35). Aufonius married Attusia Lucana Sabina, the daughter of Attulius Lucanus Talifius, one of the chief citizens of Bourdeaux, and had by her two fons, viz. Ausonius and Hesperus, and one daughter, whose name is not mentioned in history. Aufonius died in his infancy; but Hesperus was presect of Africa in 376. of Italy in 378. and the same year prefect of

(15) Auson. grat. act. pro consul. p. 389. (16) Idem, parent. i. idyl. 30. p. 355—359. (17) Idem, parent. iv. p. 106—109. Prosess. Burdeg. car. 17. p. 160. (18) Vorsus in clar surb. p. 208. epist. p. 457. idyl. p. 367. Prosess. Burdeg. car. 12, 25. p. 156, 169. (19) Idyl. 32. p. 367. epist. 4. p. 428. (20) Idem grat. act. pro cons. p. 378. (21) Idem ibid. p. 391. (22) Idem, epist. 9. p. 443. (23) Idem, epist. 18. p. 463. idyl. 31. p. 485. (24) Idem, epist. 23. p. 485. (25) Baillet jugemens des savans, p. 466—472. (26) Auson. p. 136, 199, 375. (27) Sym. l. i. epist. 8. p. 9. (28) Vide Baillet, p. 472. (29) Voss. Lat. c. 4. p. 55. (30) Auson. p. 1. (31) Sym. l. i. ep. 8. p. 9. ep. 16. p. 22. ep. 31. p. 25, &c. (32) Auson. idyl. 30. p. 358, 359. parent. i. p. 102. (33) Idem, parent. xviii. p. 123. (34) Idem ibid. p. 123, 129. idyl. 30. p. 358. (35) Idem, parent. p. 121. SK. Gaul

Maximus proposes an alliance with Theodolius.

Who acknowledges him for his collegue.

But to resume the thread of the history. Theodosius, who had never stirred this year a from Constantinople, or the neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no sooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he drew together all his forces, with a defign to march against the usurper, and prevent him from seizing on Italy and West-Illyricum, belonging to young Valentinian. But in the mean time, Maximus having affured him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of Valentinian, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum, Theodosius thought it advisable to put off his journey into the west. Not long after, Maximus fent his great chamberlain to Theodosius, not to make an apology, says Zosimus b, for the murder of Gratian, but to propose an alliance with the emperor against the common enemies of the empire; and in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce b war against him. Theodosius, not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of Gratian a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he forefaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all fides, hearkened to the proposals of Maximus; and acknowledging him in the end for his collegue, sent Cynegus, then comes largitionum, and afterwards prefect of the east, into Egypt, with orders to proclaim Maximus there, and to cause his image to be set up in Alexandria. Zosimus in this place writes, that Theodosius only pretended to be reconciled with Maximus, to divert him from surprising young Valentinian, who was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; and elsewhere blames him for c observing the treaty he concluded with the usurper, when he ought both in policy and honour to have made war upon him. Pacatus tells us, that when Maximus revolted, Theodosius was engaged in a war on the most distant confines of the east c, perhaps with the Saracens; for he is faid by Marcellinus f to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and Libanius writes, that the news of a victory gained this year by Richomer was received with great joy by the inhabitants of An-The Hunns, likewise called Ephtolites, whose country bordered on Persia, as appears from Procopius, are faid to have broken into Mesopotamia about this time, and to have even laid siege to Edessa, which obliged Theodosius to send part of his forces to the relief of that city b. No wonder therefore, that the emperor at this d juncture chose rather to receive Maximus for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his proposals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himself, as we have observed above, continued the whole year at Constantinople, or in that neighbourhood. In the very beginning of the present year 383. that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of January, he had declared his fon Arcadius emperor i. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of Hebdomon, clared emperor. distant seven miles from Constantinople. Arcadius was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of May 408. he was, according e to Socrates, in the thirty-first year of his age k. As for Valentinian II. who possessed

Arcadius de-

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\* Themist. or. xviii. p. 220. b Zos. l. iv. p. 764. c Ider Pacat. p. 263. f Marchll. chron. & Liban. vit. p. 67. Idat. Marcell. Prosp. chron. k Socr. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332. e Idem, p. 761. a Idem, p. 7--
\*\* Sur. 15 Novemb. p. 342. е Расат. р. 263. I IDAT. MARCELL. PROSP. chron.

Gaul with his father. The daughter of Ausonius was married first to Vallatinus Euromius, who died when he was yet very young, tho' he had been already governor of a province in *Illyricum*, and afterwards to Thalasses, who was proconsul of Africa in 378. She had one son by Euromus or Euromius, and several children by Thalasses, of whom the eldest was named Ausonius (36). Symmachus mentions a fon of Thalassus, to whom the senate had at his request granted some favours (37). Ausonins had taken care to instruct his daughter in the liberal sciences (38). His wife Sabina died in the twenty-eighth year of her age (39); and Aufonius composed her epitaph thirty-lix years after (40). He wrote his consular tables, and some other historical

pieces, for the use and instruction of his son Hesterus, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and composed than himself (41). Hesperus married the daughter of Severus Censor Julianus, and Pomponia Urbica, who was descended of an illustrious family, and had by her at least three children, of whom the youngest. named Pastor, died when he was but a youth: of Paulinus, his eldest son, surnamed the penicent, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and styled Eucharisticon, it appears, that his father was first vicar of Macedon, where Paulinus was born in 376. and afterwards proconful of Africa, which employment he held for the space of twenty-eight months (42).

(36) Idem ibid. p. 119. idyl. 30. p. 358. Sym. l. i. ep. 19. p. 17. (37) Sym. l. v. ep. 56. p. 208. (38) Aufon. idyl. 32. p. 364, 365. (39) Idem, parent. p. 114. (40) Idem ibid. p. 113. (41) Aufon. p. 79. idyl. 32. p. 362. (42) Paulin. euch. p. 284, 286.

a the western provinces of Illyricum, with Italy and Africa, while Maximus held Gaul, Spain and Britain, he was at this time but twelve, or at most thirteen years old; and the great disturbances which his mother Justina raised, by espousing with too much warmth the cause of the Arians, give us room to believe, that she reigned in her son's name. Under her Probus, who had been conful in 371. and prefect of Illyricum and Italy in 368. had the chief direction of affairs 1; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourse to Theodosius m; nay, Orosius looks upon Theodosius as sole emperor, after the death of Gratian, of the western as well as the eastern provinces n.

THE next confuls were Richomer and Clearchus. The former was of the royal · blood of the Franks, had been comes domesticorum under Gratian, and was left by that b prince with Theodofius, when created emperor. In a law of the year 391. he is styled general of the horse and soot o. He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the several letters which Symmachus wrote to him P. He is by some authors called Ricimer, and by others Richimer, and Ricomer. Gregory of Tours speaks of one Richimer, the father of Theodemir king of the Franks 9, whom some authors, whose opinion is not ill grounded, take to be the consul of this year 384. Clearchus, his collegue, had been proconsul of Asia in 364. and afterwards prefect of Constantinople, in which employment he was succeeded this year by the philosopher Themistius, who, on that occasion, made a short speech in commendation of Theodofius, who had raifed him to that dignity r. This year Proc culus, count of the east, being accused of extortion, and several outrages committed by his orders at Daphne near Antioch, was ignominiously deposed, and obliged to abscond, till the rage of the multitude was appealed s. Icarius, the son of Theodorus, who had conspired against Valens, was appointed count of the east in his room, which office he discharged with great rigour and severity, not sparing even the public magistrates, whom he put to the rack, in defiance of the laws, says Libanius, which had been but lately published; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-sixth of April 380. and thirty-first of July 381. This year a famine, attended as usual with a dreadful Afamine in plague, raged in Antioch, and most other cities of Syria. The plague soon ceased; Syria. but the famine continuing, Libanius, in the name of the people of Antioch, had recourse d to Icarius, intreating him to relieve, by some means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily perishing in great numbers with hunger. But Icarius, without being in the least affected with their calamity, The cruelty of returned no other answer, than that they were abhorred, and justly punished, by the Icarius. gods w. This occasioned great disturbances in Antioch, which however were appeared without bloodshed. The same year Theodosius, resolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods, enacted several laws, forbidding all his subjects, on pain of death, or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols; to consult aruspices, or diviners of what denomination soever; or to practise any of those ceremonies, which had been forbidden by his christian predecesfors. Zosimus, in his e usual style, better becoming a declaimer than an orator, tells us, that Theodosius proclaimed war against the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with such severity against those who worshipped them, that no one dared own he believed there were gods, or could with fafety lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the stars that shine there y. Libanius writes, that, on a certain occasion, standing in need of the affiftance of the gods, he had recourse to their altars; but not daring to implore their protection, or shed a tear before their statues, he only bewailed within himself his unhappy condition z. It was on occasion of the above-mentioned laws, that Libanius made his famous speech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterness against the monks; blames the conduct of Constantine the Great; extols Julian; and ends his speech with threatening, that the countrypeople, who were more attached to the religion of their ancestors, than the inhabitants of the cities, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force a. The

1 Socr. l. v.c. 11. p. 270. Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720.

C. 35. p. 220. ° Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. \* Symm. l. iii. ep. 59, 61. p. 195. \* Oros. l. vii. ep. 68. & orat. xx. p. 471. \* Idem, orat. xx. p. 464. \* Cod. Theod. tit. iv. p. 435. \* Liban. vit. p. 69. & orat. xx. p. 468. \* Cod. Theod. tit. 9. p. 267. & l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 18. p. 203. & tit. 10. leg. 7. p. 266. \* Zos. p. 758. \* Lib. vit. p. 63. \* Idem, orat. pro temp. p. 10—63.

attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the Latins Pagani, to their idols and temples, gave rise to the denomination of Paganus or Pe-

gan, which began about this time to be given to all who worshipped idols. Libanius, a in that speech, often addresses himself to Theodosius as present; but nevertheless we cannot persuade ourselves, that he had the boldness to pronounce it before so religious

Theodosius canses all the temples to be shut up in the East, and in

Egypt.

A folema embaffy fent to him by the king of Pertia,

and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the presence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own scholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the pious emperor was fo far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan sophist alledged in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed Cynegius this very year prefect of the east, he strictly injoined him to shut up all the temples within his jurisdiction. Cynegius executed his orders with such zeal and fidelity in the East, properly so called, that he was foon after fent by the emperor for the fame purpose into Egypt, where, b by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worship, and by shutting up the temples, in such manner that no one could have access to them, he, in a short time, utterly abolished the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above all others, addicted to superstition? The zeal which he exerted on this occasion for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388. the honour of being interred in the church of the Apostles at Constantinople, the burying-place of the emperors m; whence his ashes were conveyed the ensuing year by his wife Acancia into Spain, probably the place of his nativity ". He was comes largitionum from 381 to 383. when he was made prefect of the east, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the c year 388. in which he died, being then consul with the emperor Theodosius o. Libanius himself, notwithstanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magistrate of an unblemished character P; and Theodosius, in a law addressed to him in 385. fays, that his justice and equity were known and applauded by all the world q. It is surprising, that Baronius should confound the present Cynegius with another of the same name, who in 401. was sent by Arcadius to demolish the temple He forbids, un- of Marnas, and other temples in the city of Gaza. This year the emperor published a law, forbidding the marriages of coulin-germans, which had been always deemed marriages of lawful among the Romans, and no one had ever looked upon as incestuous. However, cousin-germans Theodosius not only prohibited such marriages, but, by the same law, commanded d the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and their children to be deemed illegitimater. Arcadius sostened the rigour of this law by another dated the twenty-fixth of November 396. whereby he exempts the transgressors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of Theodosius; but nevertheless declares such marriages unlawful and incestuous, and the children incapable of receiving the least legacy from their parents. In 405, he intirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the marriages of cousin-germans absolutely lawful. This revocation was not received in the west till the time of Justinian, who caused it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and fuch marriages were celebrated without restraint or scruple in the west, as well as in the east. At the same time, e and under the same penalties, Theodosius revived the ancient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to the niece of a first wife ". By another law of this year, dated the twenty-first of January, he ordered Cynegius to make a diligent fearch after the Eunomian, Macedonian, Arian, and Apollinarian bishops and clergy in Constantinople, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city w. By a third he forbids the Jews to buy christian slaves; and allows all christians the liberty of fetting free such slaves as they shall have purchased x. Theodosius, as appears from the dates of his laws, passed most part of this year at Constantinople, and there received a folemn embassy sent to him by the king of Persia, to solicit, or rather to buy, a peace with rich presents, and to excuse, says a panegyrist, by his f submission, all the evils, which, till that time, the Romans had suffered from the Persian nation. They had lost their great king Sapor II. who died about the year 379. after having lived and reigned seventy years. He was succeeded by Artaxer, whom Eutychius supposes to have been his son 2, tho' Agathias and Abulfaragius call him

<sup>1</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 444. IDAT. chron. <sup>m</sup> Zos. p. 769.

R IDAT. faft. 

Cod. Theod. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 111. 

LIBAN. de ingred. ad judices, p. 100. 

Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. 

Cod. Juft. l. v. tit 4. leg. 19. p. 419. 

Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. 

W Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 13. p. 129. 

X Bester p. 267. 

Z Europe A. 122. leg. 3. p. 297. y PACAT. p. 263. 2 EUTYCH. P. 472.

a his younger brother 2. But if Sapor himself was born after the decease of his father, as most authors write, he could not be succeeded by his younger brother. Artaxer, ityled Ardshir by Abulfaragius and Eutychius, and Artaxerxes by Scaliger and Petavius, reigned only four years, and was fucceeded in 383, by his fon Safor III. called by Theophanes, Arfabel, who, after having reigned five years, bequeathed the kingdom in 388. to his fon Vararanes or Varanes IV. furnamed Kermasua, perhaps from some country called Kerma, conquered by his father. Varanes reigned eleven years, and maintained the whole time a good understanding with the Romans b. The embasfadors, of whom we have spoken above, were sent, not by Sapor II. as Pacatus feems to suppose , but by Super III. who reigned in Persia this year 384. Orosius b writes, that a treaty was concluded between the Persians and Romans, in virtue of With whom he which the whole east still enjoyed a profound tranquillity at the time he was compoling his history; that is, about the year 416 d. The articles of this treaty are not treaty. mentioned by any historian; but from a law of Theodofius, dated the fourteenth of June 387. and addressed to Gaddanes, satrapa or governor of Sophene, it appears, that the authority of the Roman emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by most geographers, is placed to the south of Armenia, and is reckoned, by some historians, one of the five provinces which fovian yielded to the Persians. While the Persian embassadors were still at Constantinople, a second son was born to the Arcadius born. emperor in that city on the ninth of September. Theodosius gave him the name of c Honorius, to honour in his fon, fays the poet Claudian, the memory of his brother e diffinguished him with the title of nobilissimus, or most noble, and named him consul

for the year 386 f. THE fame year, the Sarmatians having made an irruption into the dominions of

Valentinian, he dispatched one of his generals, not named in history, against them, who drove them back with great flaughter, and took many prisoners, who were all The Sarmatians fent to Rome, to be either massacred in the shews of gladiators, or destroyed by the deseated by the The emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the fenate, acquainting troops of Va-he fuccess that had attended his arms, bestowed the highest encomings wild beasts. them with the success that had attended his arms, bestowed the highest encomiums on the general who commanded on that occasion 8. As for Valentinian himself, he d continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in Italy; for, during the months of March and April, he was at Milan; at Aquileia in the month of September; and again at Milan in October, and the two remaining months of the year b. By a law dated the twenty fecond of March, which was this year Good-friday, he commanded all the prisoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be fet at liberty, in honour of the approaching great festival i. This year died Vettius Agorius Prætextatus, a person greatly commended and extolled, as one Prætextatus of the most deserving men of his age, by Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote his history dies. about this time, by Zosimus, Symmachus, Libanius, and in general by all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan himself, but augur, high-pontiff of Vesta and e the sun, and the head, as we may style him, of the pagan superstition. He was by Julian made proconsul of Achaia in 362. by Valentinian I. presect of Rome in 367. and afterwards prefect of Italy and Illyricum; in which employments he acquitted himself so as to be at the same time feared and beloved. Ammianus writes, that, His tharaffer. from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and probity of the ancient Romans k. Zosimus calls him a man of an unblemished character, and proposes him as a pattern to be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magistrates 1. Macrobius supposes the banquet of the learned men, which is the subject of his faturnalia, to have been celebrated at the house of Prætextatus. Symmachus looked upon him as in every respect the best, or, f at least, as one of the best men of his age. He tells us among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but constantly yielded to the children or relations of the testator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no less affected with the missortunes of others, than with his own; and that such as possessed estates adjoining to

\*\* AGATH. l. iv. p. 135. ABULF. p. 90. 
\*\* AGATH. p. 136. THEOPH. p. 55, 58. EUTYCH. p. 472. 
CLAUD. in Eut. l. ii. p. 120. 
\*\* CPACAT. p. 263. 
\*\* OROS. ibid. 
\*\* CLAUD. de Ser. p. 194. 
\*\* Symm. l. x. ep. 61. p. 461. 
\*\* h. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 112. 
\*\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 7. p. 276, 277. 
\*\* AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 210. &c. 1. xxii. p. 210. &c. 1. xxii. p. 399. 
\*\* MACROB. l. i. C. 1. p. 162.

his, in the disputes which arose between him and them, concerning the limits of their

lands, would admit of no other judge but himself; so great was the opinion they had

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of his integrity ". The many letters which Symmachus wrote to him, and, after his a death, to the emperors concerning him, are so many panegyrics, in which he extols his wisdom, his integrity, his modesty and moderation, his humanity and good-nature to all, not excepting even his most inveterate enemies . He came this year to Rome, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magistrates, by the nobility and the people, and repairing, amidst the

made prefect of Rome.

Theodofius with corn.

He forgives those who had conspired against him.

loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in praise of Valentinian P. He was then consul elect; but before he entered upon that new office, he was snatched away by a natural, but sudden death, to the inexpressible grief of the Roman people. The senate erected several statues to the honour of a person, who lived, to use the expression of Symmachus, even after his b death, in the memory of all good men 9. St. Jerom, who was then at Rome, compares the death of Prætextatus, whom he styles a facrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbess Lea, who died a few days after him r. Prætextatus was no friend to the christians; but used to say, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him bishop of Rome:. About this time Symmachus was appointed prefect of Rome, in which employment he acquitted himself with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new confuls, pretors and questors. The confuls used, agreeable to a custom which then obtained, to fend rich presents to their friends, and to all persons of distinction; and the pretors and questors to expend immense sums in the public e sports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the presents to be given by the confuls, and the fums to be laid out in the public shews by the two other magistrates, were fixed by this law, and those declared infamous, who should solicit an exemption from it . This year a famine being apprehended in Rome, by reason of the scarcity of corn in Africa, which used of late years to supply that metropolis, Theodosius, at the request of Symmachus, delivered the Roman people from the danger supplies Rome that threatened them, by sending them great plenty of grain from Egypt and Macedon. For this feafonable supply, Symmachus returned thanks, not only to Theodosius, but to count Ricomer, and likewise to Rusinus, who, it seems, made already some figure in the emperor's court ". The great power he afterwards acquired there, does d noways redound to the honour of Theodosius. The following year 385. when Arcadius and Bauto were consuls, St. Austin, then professor of rhetoric in Milan, pronounced on the first of January a panegyric on the two new consuls w. Bauto was by nation a Frank, and had been fent by Gratian in 381. to the affistance of Theodosius; but returning afterwards into the west, he served Valentinian II. with great fidelity. Valentinian passed the first six months of this year at Milan, and the rest either at Aquileia or Verona x. Tho' he enacted this year several excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he suffered his mother Justina to persecute and oppress the catholics, because they would not yield the great church of Milan to the Arians, whom she countenanced and protected v. Theodofius continued all this time at Constantinople, e where a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him; but discovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Most of the conspirators were apprehended, tried, and fentenced to death; but Theodofius generously forgave them, and would not allow any inquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' fome persons, in whom he reposed great considence, were suspected to be in that number z. Not long after died at Constantinople the emperor's daughter Pulcheria, who was soon followed by the Pulcheria, and empress Flaccilla her mother, to the great grief of Theodosius, who was a no less tenher mother the der father than husband. The empress died at Scotuminum in Thrace, where she was empress Flac- drinking the waters for the recovery of her health; but her body was brought back to Constantinople, and interred there with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. I Gregory of Nyssa, who was then at Constantinople, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had done fome time before that of her daughter Pulcheria. The fathers of the church, who lived in that age, beftow upon her the highest encomiums; and the pagan writers themselves cannot help extolling her piety, moderation, and other vir-

n Symm. l. i. ep. 38—49. p. 29. ep. 47. p. 34.

o Idem, l. x. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 405. 406. 424.

r Hier. ep. 24. p. 156.
ldem, ep. 61. p. 165.
r Symm. ep. 21. p. 402. & cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 382, 384.

s Symm. l. iii. ep. 55, 82. p. 127, 138.
w Aug. contra lit. Petiliani, l. iii. c. 25. p. 131.
THEMIST. OTAL. XIX. p. 231.

a Greg. Nyff. de Pul. p. 516. & de Flaccill. p. 528.

a tues b. The Greeks honour her as a faint, and celebrate her feast on the fourteenth of September, perhaps the day on which she died. The next consuls were Honorius, styled in the fasti nobilissimus puer, and Evodius, perhaps the presect of Gaul under Maximus. This year Theodofius continued at Constantinople till the third of September, when he is supposed to have left that metropolis, in order to march against the Greuthongi, who were ready to pass the Danube, and break into the empire, under the conduct of Odotheus, whom Claudian honours with the title of king d. The barbarians were attacked, and utterly defeated by the two emperors Theodofius and Throdofius Arcadius, who returned to Constantinople, leading with them an incredible number of gains a great captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of October. Thus Idatius victory over the in his fasti, and Marcellinus in his chronicle. Claudian likewise speaks of a victory. b in his fasti, and Marcellinus in his chronicle. Claudian likewise speaks of a victory gained this year by the two emperors over the Greuthongis. But Zosimus, to rob Theodosius of the glory of this, as he does of most other victories, ascribes it to Promotus, who commanded in Thrace, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, Promotus fent into the enemy's camp fome persons, who, pretending to be deferters, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the Roman commander and his army into their hands. Odotheus, not suspecting any treachery, suffered himself to be conducted by them; but in the mean time Promotus, informed by his emissaries of the enemy's design, received them so briskly, while they expected to meet with no opposition, that great numbers of them were driven c back into the Danube, and drowned, and the rest either taken prisoners, or cut in pieces. After this, Promotus attacked and made himself master of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately sent to Theodosius; but the emperor ordered them to be let at Hestes the catliberty, and having made them rich presents, gave them leave to return to their tives at liberty. own country, hoping by that means to gain the good will of the barbarians, fays Zosimus, to entice them into his service, and to employ them in the war against Maximus, for which he was then making great preparations under hand &. other writers suppose Theodosius to have commanded his troops in person; nay, Claudian tells us, that he engaged Odotheus himself, who was killed in the battle h. d emperor, soon after his return to Constantinople, married to his second wife Galla, He marries fifter to Valentinian II. and daughter to Valentinian I. by the empress Justina. He Galia. had by her a fon called Gratian, who died before his father, and a daughter named Galla Placidia, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of her brother Honorius, and her son Valentinian III i. As for Valentinian, he was at Milan on the eighteenth of January; at Ticinum or Pavia on the fifteenth of February; at Aquileia on the twentieth of April; at Milan during the months of June and July; at Aquileia on the third of November; and again at Milan on the eighteenth of the fame month, and on the third of December k. Baronius produces a letter written this year by Valentinian to Salust prefect of Rome, injoining him to rebuild the church of Valentinian St. Paul in the neighbourhood of that city, and to inlarge it, by taking in, with the orders the consent of the senate and people of Rome, part of the public road: he commands him Paul in the to acquaint the senate, and the christian people, with the orders he had received, and Offian-way to to follow in every thing the directions of the venerable bishop of that city 1. Pru- be rebuilt. dentius describes the church of St. Paul placed on the Ostian-way, or the way leading to Ostia, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which Baronius understands of the emperor who reigned in Prudentius's time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finished by Honorius m. That it was finished in the reign of Honorius, is certain, not from the words of Prudentius quoted by Baronius, but from an ancient inscription, which informs us at the same time, that it was begun by f Theodosius, perhaps when he came to Rome in 398. and imbellished by his daughter Placidia, in the time of Leo the Great, bishop of Rome. However, it is manifest from the code, that Valentinian issued orders this year 386. for the building of that church, tho the work was not begun till the reign of Honorius. The next consuls were the emperor Valentinian the third time, and Eutropius, who had been proconful of Asia, and afterwards prefect of the east. In the very beginning of this year 387.

b THEMIST. orat. xix. p. 231. orat. xviii. p. 225.

Byz. fam. p. 70. d CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.

8 Zos. l. iv. p. 759—763. b CLAUD. ibid. p. 55.

chron. p. 115—117. l BARON. 2nn. 386.

Theod. chron. p. 383.

<sup>\*</sup> Vide men. mag. Grzc. 14 Sep. p. 209. & GANGE

\* IDAT. p. 61. MARCEL. p. 6.

i Philost. I. x. c. 7. p. 139.

\* Idem ibid.

\* GRUTER. p. 1170.

\* Cod.

Theodosius published a law addressed by way of letter to all the cities of the east, a

A fedition at Antioch;

Which is appeased, and the authors of it punished.

injoining the magistrates to honour the folemnity of Easter, by setting at liberty fuch as on the approach of that great festival they should find in their prisons, unless they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occasion that the emperor uttered those memorable words; I wish it were in my power to restore life to the dead . This year Theodofius finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to cultom, the fifth year of the reign of his fon Arcadius, to which he added, it feems, the folemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence "; for we are told, that on such occasions each foldier received five pieces of gold o. Most cities submitted chearfully to this burden; but the people of Antioch, complaining of it as an unreasonable b oppression, crouded to the house of Flavianus their bishop, as soon as the edict was published, to implore his protection; but not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much ado, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his escape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they sell upon the emperor's statues, broke some of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the statues of his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, of the late empress Flaccilla, and of his father Theodosius, through the chief streets of the city, uttering the whole time most injurious and abusive reflections against their persons P. Having thus demolished most of the emperor's statues, they set fire to the house of one of the prin- c cipal citizens, to whom they bore some grudge, and would have committed other diforders, had they not been dispersed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, struck terror into all the rest. The governor, hearing the archers were come, shewed himself to the multitude, and with an air of authority commanded them to disperse, and retire to their houses. Thus was the sedition quelled at once; and the city restored by noon to its former tranquillity 4. The two persons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed against their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: some were beheaded; others exposed to the wild beasts in the theatre, and some burnt alive; he did not even spare the children, who had insulted the emperor's d statues; and caused several persons to be executed, who had been but bare spectators of the injuries offered them r. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable feverity against the unhappy Antiochians, almost without distinction of guilty or innocent, a report was spread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the fword, without diffinction of fex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of Syria was at once turned into a defert, the citizens abandoning in the utmost terror and confusion their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deferts. As that report proved groundless, some returned to their e native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the just resentment of the emperor, kept themselves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongst the rocks and mountains. To those who returned, St. Chrysostom preached fome of those inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to stir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them as drawn down upon them from heaven by their The eloquence and zeal of the preacher, joined to the apprehension they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and diffolute people, as appears not only from St. Chrysoftom himself's, but from Sozomen u, and even from Libanius w. In the mean time, Theodosius, being f informed of what had passed at Antioch, and particularly of the insults offered to his statues, and to those of his father, of the late empress, and of his children, was provoked to such a degree, that in the first transports of his passion he commanded highly provoked the city to be laid in ashes, and the inhabitants, without distinction of fex or age, against the city to be put to the sword x. This shews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when

m Chrys. tom. i. or. 6. p. 84. 
n Liban. or. xxiii. p. 520.
r. xv. p. 407. 
9 Idem, or. xiv. & xxiii. p. 396, 415. 
Chrys. homil. iii. p. 49. Theodore...
v. c. 19. p. 731. 
Lib. p. 397. 
Vide Chrys. hom. ii. p. 22. hom. xi. p. 127. hom. vi. p. 86.

1 Idem, p. 169. 
Soz. l. vii. c. 23. p. 741. 
W Lib. or. xiv. p. 403. or. xv. p. 407. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. Lib. p. 397.

hom. iv. p. 54.

\* Unde Chrys, hom.ii. p. 22

hom. iv. p. 54.

\* Chrys, ep. ad Cel. hom. vii. p. 207.

Theodoret. l. v. c. 19. p. 731.

a in a passion to enter into the most violent measures. His indignation seemed to him the more just, as he had favoured that city above all the rest; for he had designed to reside some time there, as Valens had done, and had with that view built a magnificent palace at Daphne, and another in the old city, besides several other structures, with which he had at a great expence embellished that metropolis y. But nothing incensed him so much against that ungrateful city, as their having insolently insulted even the dead z, that is, his father, and the empress Flaccilla. However, as his wrath foon affuaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himfelf for the present with causing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be thut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and subjecting it b as a common village to its rival Laodicea 2. A certain quantity of bread was there daily distributed amongst the poor, as at Rome and Constantinople; and of this largess too the emperor thought fit to deprive them b. These punishments Theodosius inflicted on the Antiochians in general, but at the same time he dispatched Cafarius, magister Appoints officiorum, and Ellebichus, magister militum, or general, with full power to try and judges to try punish such as had been concerned in the late riot c. Ellebichus was a man of an and punish the unblemished character, and is said to have squared all his actions by that colden unblemished character, and is said to have squared all his actions by that golden and truly christian rule, Do as you would be done by d. Gregory Nazianzen wrote a letter to him, intreating him, by their ancient friendship, to discharge a reader from

the service, and assuring him, that by so doing he would draw down the blessing of c Heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management. Cafarius, his collegue in this commission, was at this time magister officiorum, was presect of Constantinople in 365. presect of the east in 395. and consul in 397 f. He is commended by Sozomen and Libanius as a man of great integrity, and one who never promised what he did not design to perform s. These two officers the emperor choses in regard of their known integrity, to try and punish, according to the laws, such of the Antiochians as should be accused and found guilty of having been any-ways concerned in the late fedition. St. Chrysostom describes, with his usual eloquence, the dread and terror which on this occasion seized the inhabitants of Antioch: they apprehended nothing less than the utter destruction of their city; the emperor, as they d were well informed, was highly offended, especially at the outrages offered to his deceased father, and to the late empress, and resolved to punish them with the utmost feverity; the judges were men not to be moved by intreaties, or gained over with presents; the crime they had committed was open rebellion, and, according to the laws of the empire, punishable with death, and the confiscation of their estates; even such as were barely suspected, were liable to the most rigorous inquiries, to racks and tortures. The consternation was, as St. Chrysostom informs us, so great the city in the and general, that the inhabitants were preparing to retire, all to a man, with what utmost constereffects they could carry with them, to the mountains and deferts; and it was with nation. the utmost difficulty that he and the governor diverted them from that resolution.

e As the two judges approached the city, the whole people went out to meet them, and were received by them, especially by *Ellebichus*, in a very obliging manner, which allayed in some degree their fears. The next morning the alarm was renewed; for the two commissioners, having placed guards in the several quarters of the city, to restrain the people from assembling, summoned all the members of the senate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alledged in their own defence, and in defence of their fellow-citizens; and after various inquiries, dismissed them, highly satisfied with the treatment they had met with, especially from Ellebichus, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themselves at his seet, implored his protection. The f compassion and good-nature he shewed on this occasion revived in a manner the whole city; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face. But the scene soon changed; for Ellebichus, having caused great numbers of persons of all ranks to be seized in the night-time upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where justice was usually administered; and ordering the prifoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, fentenced fuch of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered those who denied it to be cruelly racked, without

THEODORET. l. v. c. 18. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733.

LIB. OT. XVIII. p. 197. THEOD. l. v. c. 19. p. 731.

LIB. OT. XXIII. p. 529. GREG. NAZ. ep. cxxiii. p. 857.

l. ix. c. 2. p. 802. LIB. OT. XXIII. p. 518.

VOL. VI. Nº 6. \* Idem ibid. 4 CHRYS. of. xii. p. 137. b Lib. p. 408. CHRYS. or. x 857. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 354. CHRYS. Or. XVII. P. 195. **Inewing** 

the utmost severity.

Ellebichus, one shewing the least pity or compassion, as if he had changed his nature. Those who a had feen him the day before, could scarce persuade themselves he was the same man; for not satisfied with causing persons of the first quality to be racked and tortured like so many slaves, he uttered dreadful menaces against the whole city, threatening to lay it in ashes, and put the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex or condition, to the sword, unless they redeemed themselves and their children from impending ruin, by a timely discovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treasonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-way concerned in them. St. Chrysostom, who was an eye-witness of all that passed, so far as his tenderness and compassion for the unhappy sufferers would allow him, gives us a lively, but dreadful description of this scene of horror, which he compares to that of b the last day, when all distinction of birth, wealth and rank will cease, and every one be punished or rewarded according to his deferts . Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges, who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the entreaties of their relations, after a short hearing, either sentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themselves guilty, and discovered their accomplices. St. Chrysofton mentions a lady of the first quality, who, seeing her son apprehended by an officer on horseback, laid hold of his bridle, and fuffered herfelf to be dragged in that manner through the streets to the tribunal, where, with her hair dishevelled, and bathed in tears, she threw herself at the feet of Ellebichus; but he, deaf to all intreaties, pursued his c inquiries with fuch rigour, as threw the whole city into the utmost confusion. St. Chryostom, who, with some others of the sacerdotal order, was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to move the judges to compassion, and was therein seconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where they led a retired life amongst the adjacent mountains; but, quitting their folitude, they had flocked to the city on this extraordinary occasion, to comfort with their presence the disconsolate citizens, and try whether they could raise any sentiments of humanity or commiseration in the hearts of their judges. With this view they repaired to the hall, where the judges were sitting; and having exhorted them in a very pathetic manner to treat their d fellow-creatures with more humanity and compassion, they prevailed upon them in the end to suspend the execution of the sentence pronounced against those who were found guilty, and all proceeding against such as were not yet convicted, till a report of the whole had been made to the emperor, and his further pleasure were known. One Macedonius, an anchoret, univerfally esteemed and revered for his sanctity, distinguished himself above the rest; for meeting Ellebichus and Casarius on horseback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by his garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to difmount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little surprised, that a person, in appearance so mean and contemptible, should dare to speak to them in such a style; but they were no sooner informed who he was, than difmounting from their horses, they threw themselves at his seet; when the holy anchoret, addressing them in the Syriac tongue, "The emperor, said he, however distinguished by his imperial dignity, is still a man; and therefore ought to consider his nature, as well as his rank. Those whom he commands, are of the " fame nature with himself, and the images of the Supreme Being; let him there-" fore take care not to provoke the Almighty, by destroying the living images of the divine nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate images of his body. Other statues may be easily raised to him in the room of those that have been "demolished; but he, notwithstanding his boasted power, is not able to make the ee least reparation for a single life, which he has once taken away i." We are told, f that both Ellebichus and Cafarius heard these words, which were interpreted to them in Greek, with the greatest respect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with what they had heard k. The judges having, at the request of the ecclefiaftics and hermits, agreed to suspend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor's further pleasure was known, such as had been found guilty were conducted under a strong guard to the public prison, and the rest dismissed. Amongst the former were all those who composed the senate or council, that is, all the chief men in the

St. Chrysoftom and the hermits obtain a respite for such as were condemned.

a city, whose estates were immediately seized, together with their houses and essects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the streets, their friends and nearest relations fearing, lest, by harbouring them, they should be involved in the ruin of their husbands and fathers. The hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they should prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order to this, they resolved to repair without delay to Constantinople, and throw themselves at the prince's feet; but Ellebichus and Cafarius, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they should expose themselves to the satigue and inconveniencies of so long a journey, advised them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and b took upon themselves to present it to the emperor. The hermits followed their They draw up a advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the same day to their memorial in mountains and deserts m. Upon their departure, it was agreed between Ellebichus and Antiochians. Casarius, that the former should remain at Antioch, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly Cafarius fet out that very evening, and pursued his journey with such expedition, that the fixth day about noon he reached Constantinople, distant above five hundred miles from Antioch. In the mean time Ellebichus caused treated with those who had been condemned to be removed from the public prison to a more congreat humavenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging nity by Ellebito it, and seeing their friends and relations o. St. Chrysostom let no day pass without chus. e visiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in suspense between hope and fear, to an intire refignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence P. The Antiochians, dreading the effects of the emperor's refentment, had fent, a few days after the riot was committed, Flavianus, bishop of the place, to intercede with Theodosius in their behalf. Flavianus had met Ellebichus and Cæsarius on the road, who acquainted him with the commission they were going to execute at Antioch. The holy bishop, in hearing it, burst into tears; but nevertheless pursued his journey, still hoping he should be able to soften the good-natured emperor into compassion. The day after his arrival at Constantinople, he appeared at court; but in order to move the emperor to compaffion, stood Flavianus, bid at a distance from him, silent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or shop of Amioch approach him. But the emperor no fooner observed him, than he flew to him, not emperor in to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to justify his their behalf. own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the Antiochians had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. Flavianus, bursting into tears, answered, that the severest punishment he could inslict upon them, was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they had committed, and their undutiful return to so indulgent a prince; but at the same time he told him, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every christian; that from his pardoning such enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he professed; that the Jews, e Greeks, and barbarians, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, &c. He added, that now an opportunity offered of making himself a lasting instance to all posterity of humanity and good-nature; and seasonably put him in mind of the order he had iffued this very year, commanding all prisoners to be set at liberty against the solemnity of Easter, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occasion, viz. I wish it were in my power to recal the dead from their graves, and restore them to life! This admirable speech, which is related at length by St. Chrysoftom, made so deep an impression on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and restored the inhabitants, Theodosius however guilty, to his favour. Thus St. Chrysoftom a. But Libanius and Theodores grants them a f tell us, that the emperor, tho' greatly softened by the speech of Flavianus, yet did general pardon. not grant a general pardon till the arrival of Casarius; who presenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the same time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he faid, had been already fufficiently punished, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of Antioch, shewing, that it was not without reason he had treated them with so much

feverity, after they had, in such an outrageous manner, insulted his deceased father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however just, was soon appealed, he par-

doned

n Lib. orat. xxii. p. 518. & orat. xxiii. p. 533. m Idem, orat. xvii. p. 195. o Idem, orat. xxii. p. 535. PCHRYS orat. xvii. p. 100 THEODOR: l. v. c. 19. p. 732. 4 Idem, orat. xx. p. 226-233. P CHRYS orat. xvii. p. 204.

And restores to the city all its privileges.

doned all without exception, whether condemned to death or banishment, restored a to them their estates, their shews, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expressions of the deepest concern for the death of those who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to Flavianus, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to the disconsolate city; but the holy bishop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more easy to conceive than express the joy, which the arrival of the messenger caused in Antioch. St. Chrysostom, to whom we refer our readers, describes at length what passed on this occasion, and concludes with these words: b Let the pagans be ashamed, or rather instructed; and learning our philosophy of an emperor and a bishop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion, which encourages and produces such eminent virtues.

Maximus invades the dominions of Valentinian, who flies to Theodosius,

WHILE these things passed in the east, the boundless ambition of Maximus raised far greater disturbances in the west; for that usurper, not satisfied with the provinces which had been held by Gratian, passed this year the Alps all on a sudden, with a design to seize on Valentinian's share too; and meeting with no opposition, marched strait to Milan, where Valentinian usually resided. The young prince, not finding himself in a condition to make head against him, sled first to Aquileia, and from thence, being closely pursued by Maximus, to Thessalonica, with his mother Justina, c and the prefect Probus, to implore the protection and affiftance of Theodofius. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to Valentinian, in answer to one he had received from his mother Justina, told him, that he was not at all surprised at the progress Maximus had made, nor at the bad fuccess that attended his affairs, since the tyrant had protected, and he perfecuted, the orthodox faith; for Valentinian, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of Arius, but perfecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven several of them from their sees, being induced thereunto by his mother Justina, a most zealous Arian. Soon after, Theodosius removed from Constantinople, attended by several members of that senate, to Thessalonica, in order to comfort with his presence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his domi- d nions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where Valentinian was lodged; and after having affured him, that he was refolved to employ all the forces of the east in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the Arian impiety, as the only obstacle to the success which they might expect from heaven ". Suidas relates the discourse which Theodosius made on that subject w. Zosimus writes, that in a great council held at Theffalonica, all the counsellors to a man were of opinion, that war should be forthwith declared against Maximus; but that Theodosius, foreseeing and dreading the evils inseparable from a civil war, sent first embassadors to the tyrant, feriously exhorting him to restore to Valentinian the usurped provinces, and content himself with Gaul, Spain and Britain, which had been yielded to him by himself and Valentinian x. Maximus would not, it seems, hearken to any proposals; for this very e year he laid siege to Aquileia, which he reduced, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants, as he did Quaderna, Bononia, Mutina, Regium, Placentia, and feveral other cities in *Italy*; nay, he was the enfuing year acknowledged in *Rome*, and in all the provinces of Africa y. Theodosius therefore, finding a war inevitable, fpent the remaining part of this, and the first months of the following year 388, when he was conful the fecond time with Cynegius, in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. His army confifted chiefly of Goths, Hunns, Alans, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the service, to prevent their raising disturbances on the frontiers. He appointed Promotus general of the horse, and Timasius of the foot; and having committed the government of the eastern provinces f to fuch persons as, he knew, would, in his absence, consult the welfare of his subjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he set out from The salonica in the beginning of the summer, marching with great expedition through Illyricum, with a design to surprise Maximus, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the least apprehension of danger, in Aquileia. Andragathius, one of the usurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the

Miximus re-

cities.

him to renounce

the doctrine of

Arius.

Theodosius marches against him.

<sup>\*</sup> Chrys. orat. xx. p. 234.

\* Zos. l. iv. p. 667. Throdor. l. v. c. 14. Soz. l. vii. c. 14. p. 721.

\* Theodor. p. 724.

p. 275. Zos. p. 769.

a passes of the Julian Alps; but a report being spread, that Theodosius designed to pass the Ionian sea, and invade Italy, he was ordered to quit those passes, and to man with the utmost expedition what ships he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his passage. Thus was Maximus deprived of the assistance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet, which Adragathius assembled, pursuant to his orders, on the coast of the Ionian sea. In the mean time Theodosius, entering Pannonia, advanced to Scissia, now Seisseg, before the enemy had the least notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of Maximus in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon Theodofius as he was passing the Save; but b his army was utterly defeated, and he himself drowned in the river y. From Sciscia The army of the emperor advanced to Petovio, now Pettaw, on the Drave, where he was met by Maximus de-Marcellinus, the brother of Maximus, at the head of an army far more numerous than feated. his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, tho his men fought with extraordinary courage and reso- Theodosius We are not told, that Maximus was present at either of these battles; but gains a second have at least advanced to support his generale. for both Paratus 2 and S. he must have at least advanced to support his generals; for both Pacatus 2 and St. Ambrose 2 write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of his shattered army, to Aquileia, whither Theodosius pursued him, having sent Arbogastes before to invest the place, and prevent the e tyrant from making his escape. Zosimus writes, that the emperor, arriving soon after, took the town by affault by and Socrates, that it was delivered up to him by the foldiers of Maximus. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was seized, Maximus according to some, by his own men, according to others, by the soldiers of Theodo-taken. fius, who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. Theodosius reproached him with the death of Gratian, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As Maximus was, or at least pretended to be, touched with remorfe for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had usurped, Theodosius began to look upon him with an eye of compassion; which those about him observing, and searing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's sight, and, without waiting his orders, struck And beheaded. off his head d. He was executed at a place about three miles distance from Aquileia, on the twenty-seventh of August, according to Socrates; or on the twenty-eighth of July, as Idatius will have it. St. Ambrose writes, that Maximus was at the same time defeated by the Saxons, the Franks, and Theodosius 8. Those two nations had broken into Gaul, as appears from Gregory of Tours h, under the conduct of Genobaud, Marcomir and Sunno; and having ravaged the country bordering on the Rhine, were preparing to repass that river with an immense booty, when Nannius and Quentinus, two of Maximus's generals, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of e them in pieces. Quentinus followed the Franks cross the Rhine, which he passed near the present city of Nuys; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, most of his Quentinus, one men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marshes, and the rest obliged to of the generals fave themselves by a shameful and precipitous slight. Maximus had left his son of Maximus, Vistor, whom he had declared Augustus, in Gaul, to awe the inhabitants of that pro-franks. vince during his absence. Against him Theodosius dispatched Arbogastes, who took victor, the son him prisoner, after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him of Maximus, to death k. Zosimus calls him a youth; but all other writers style him an infant. taken in Gaul, Andragathius, hearing of the defeat and death of Maximus, as he was cruizing in the and put to Ionian gulf, threw himself headlong into the sea, and was drowned, chusing that f kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as Gratian had been seized and murdered by him, he had reason to apprehend 1. Orosius writes, that he was overcome in battle "; and St. Ambrose, that he had joined Maximus before his defear, and perished soon after ". Thus ended a war, which at first threatened the empire with endless calamities; and the glory which Theodosius acquired by his victory, was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the use of it; for immediately

<sup>2</sup> PACAT. p. 270—275. <sup>2</sup> AMBR. p. 214: <sup>3</sup> Socr. Zos. ibid. PACAT. p. 279. <sup>5</sup> Socr. <sup>5</sup> Greg. Turon. hift. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, PROSP. D. 515. <sup>1</sup> Zos. y Zos. l. iv. p. 769, 770. Amb. ep. 17. p. 215.
b Zos. p. 770. Soca. l. v. c. 14. p. 273.
p. 273. IDAT. chron. & Ambr. ep. 17. p. 215.
59. Idem ibid. p. 59, 60. Zos. l. iv. p. 770.
VICT. Prosp. ibid. Docs. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. O. VICTOR. p. 545. PROSP. p. 515.

AMBR. cp. 17. p. 214.

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after

Theodosius deracion.

after the death of Maximus, he published a general amnesty, and was so far from a wees the victory perfecuting the friends and relations of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them mency and mo. to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was banished, says Pacatus, no man's estate was confiscated; and those who deserved, and would have suffered, the most cruel death under any other prince, were dismissed by Theodosius, without so much as hearing from him an angry word o. Those who had with most warmth espoused the tyrant's cause, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the same author. to their wives and children, to enjoy their estates unmolested, and with them the same rank, dignity and honours, by which they had been distinguished before the rebel-The wife and daughters of Maximus had been taken, and confined in a public prison by some of the emperor's officers; which the good-natured prince no b fooner knew, than he ordered them to be fet at liberty, fettled a confiderable pension upon them, and charged one of their kinsmen to take care, that no one injured or infulted them 9. But what St. Ambrose, and Zosimus himself, most of all admired in Theodosius, was his not only restoring to Valentinian his own share, when no one was in a condition to dispute with him the possession of the whole empire, but his generously relinquishing to him Gaul, Spain and Britain, which, before the revolt of Maximus, had been held by his brother Gratian. He was satisfied, says St. Ambrole, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it for himself, tho no one could have blamed him, had he retained some of those provinces, considering the immense charge he had been at in restoring the young prince to the quiet c possession of the rest. As Justina, the mother of Valentinian, died about this time. Theodosius, during the three years he continued in the west, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, scarce seventeen years old, and consequently not yet equal to so great a burden . While Theodosius was pursuing the war in Illyricum, a report was spread at Constantinople, that his army was cut off, and he himself in great danger of falling into the hands of the usurper. Hereupon the Arians, whom he had highly disobliged, by driving them from their churches in 380. as we have related above, rifing in the night-time, fet fire to the house of Nectarius, the orthodox bishop of Constantinople, who perished in the slames, and committed feveral other diforders. But the news of the intire defeat of the usurper being d brought foon after to that metropolis, the Arians, dreading the effects of the emperor's indignation, had recourse to the clemency of Arcadius, whom Theodosius had left at Constantinople in setting out for the war; and the young prince not only forgave them himself, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted them '. It was, without all doubt, on this occasion that the Arians fet fire of his fon Arca- to the church of St. Sophia, which confumed the roof of that stately edifice, as we read in Codin "; but Theodosius, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, to encourage his fon to acts of clemency, at his request, overlooked that, and the other enormous disorders committed by the fanatics on that occasion. The emperor was still at Aquileia on the twenty-second of September; but on the tenth of Oslober at e Milan, where he seems to have passed the winter w. Being informed, while he resided in that city, that the christians had burnt a synagogue of the Jews, and a temple of the pagans at Callinicum in Mesopotamia, he condemned the bishop of the place to rebuild the fynagogue at his own expence, and ordered all those who had been any-ways concerned in either of these riots, to be punished with the utmost severity. But St. Ambrose, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater disorders in the Arians, ought not to exert so much rigour against an orthodox bishop and his people, wrote to him from Aquileia in their favour; and, upon his return to Milan, persuaded the emperor, by a speech which he pronounced before him in the great church, to revoke the order he had given x. About the latter end of this year, the f from the senate senate of Rome dispatched deputies to Theodosius, earnestly intreating him to give them leave to restore to its former place the altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratian. The emperor seemed at first inclined to grant them their request; but was in the end persuaded by St. Ambrose to deny it. However, Symmachus, the chief of the deputies, a man univerfally esteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the ancient religion of the Romans, in a pane-

Disturbances raised in Constantinople by the Arians.

Theodofius

pardons them,

at the request

of Rome, for restoring the

altar of Vic-

tory.

Idem, p. 282. AMBR. ep 17. p. 215. AMBR. p. Socr. l. v. c. 13. p. 272. Soz. l. vii. c. 14. p. 722, 723. · PACAT. p. 281. P Idem, p. 282. \* AMBR. P. 216. \* RUFIN. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185. " Codin. orig. w Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. 7. p. 410. Constant. p. 64. \* AMBR. apol. 17, 18. vit. p. 83, 84.

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a gyric which he pronounced foon after on Theodosius, renewed the same request in the name of the fenate; which so provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that instant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed Their request into banishment, forbidding him, under the severest penalties, ever to come within rejected, and Symmachus an hundred miles of Rome y. The emperor's indignation seemed the more just, as banished, but Symmachus had been but very lately pardoned by him, while accused by his enemies recalled. of treason, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the usurper Maximus. However, as Theodofius was never more ready to pardon, than when he seemed most provoked, the friends of Symmachus no sooner spoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, restored him to his former rank, and, to convince the world b that he retained no ill will to him, raised him two years after to the consular dignity . This year Theodosius enacted several laws against heretics, viz. one dated the Several laws fecond of March, forbidding them, especially the Apollinarians, to hold assemblies, especially to have bishops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to present any against here-petition to the emperor. The same prohibition was renewed by another law, ties. dated the sourceenth of June b. By another enacted two days after, all public disputes concerning religion were forbidden under the severest penalties. A law dated the twenty-ninth of February declares all marriages between Jews and christians unlawful, and subjects the contracting parties to the punishments due to adultery; another, addressed to Cynegius, forbids any one to marry his brother's wise, or his c own wife's fifter 4. The fame prohibition had been made by Constantius in 355 . Theodofius, who was still at Milan on the twenty-second of May, left that city soon after, and repaired to Rome with young Valentinian, and his fon Honorius, whom he Theodosius had sent for from Constantinople, after the deseat of Maximus. He entered that goes to Rome. metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of June; and a few days after Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, an orator of Gaul, pronounced his panegyric in the fenate, the emperor himself being present. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occasion, of his affability and condescension, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houses of private persons, which won him the hearts of the Roman people 8. The poet Claudian tells us, that at Rome he d received embassadors sent by the king of Persia to treat with him about a peace between the two empires. To Theodosius's journey to Rome was owing, according to Prudentius, the conversion of the senate and people of that city to the christian religion; not that he used any violence, says that writer, for he indifferently raised Endeavours to pagans and christians to the first employments in the state k; but so great was the in that metroforce of his example, that few, either in the senate or among the people, were so polis. attached to their errors as to withstand it. Prudentius mentions several illustrious families converted on this occasion to the true religion, viz. the families of the Paulini, of the Bassi, of the Annii, and of the Gracchi, at that time the most ancient and noble family in Rome. The people, continues that writer, flocked e to the Lateran church, to receive there the facred fign of the royal chrism, and to the Vatican, to visit the ashes of the father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, St. Peter, who was then supposed to have planted the faith in Rome. The idols, fays St. Jerom, were every-where pulled down; their temples abandoned; and the gods, once so much revered, left in their nitches alone, or attended only by mice and owls: the capitol, continues the same writer, formerly so much frequented, is now turned into a defert; the other temples are covered with dust, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, in passing by those ancient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. Rome forfakes Jupiter and his temples, despises f his ceremonies, and is ashamed of the worship formerly paid him! Theodosius however would not fuffer the statues of the gods, many of which were the work of the best artificers of antiquity, to be destroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public squares, where they served as ornaments to the city . Theodofius staid scarce three months at Rome, but in

y Socr. l.v. c. 14. p. 273. Prosp. de promiss. l. iii. c. 38. p. 149.

p. 118. Sym. l. ii. ep. 30, 31. p. 74. ep. 61, 63. p. 89, 90. & l.v. ep. 15. p. 191.

a Cod. Theod.
l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 14. p. 130.

b Idem, leg. 15. p. 131.

c Idem, tit. 4. leg. 2. p. 100.

d Idem,
liii. c. 38. p. 425.

c Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2.

Rus. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185.

b Claud. p. 176. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 14. p. 130.

l. iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278. &c cod. Justin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 425.

c. Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296.

f. Idem, p. 120.

s. Soz. p. 273.

Ruf. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185.

h. Claud. p. 176.

l. Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 218.

k. Idem, p. 220.

l. Hier, ep. 7. p. 54. &c in Jov. l. ii. c. 18. p. 95. m PRUD. p. 220.

that

A comet appears in the east.

Theodofins leaves Rome.

Valentinian concludes a peace with the Franks.

against the christians in Alexandria.

Several christians massa-

that short time he not only seriously applied himself to the suppression of idolatry, a but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuses, which had long prevailed in the city, as appears from the several laws he published there ". He enacted one, dated the seventeenth of June, ordering all the Manichees to be driven out of the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children. A few days before Theodosius left Rome, a comet is faid to have appeared in the east in the shape of a sword; and moving northward, to have vanished in the middle of the Ursa Major, after having lasted forty days, as we read in Philogorgius o; or only twenty-fix, as Marcellinus will have it P. The former writer mentions several other prodigies, among which he reckons two men equally remarkable for their fize, the one being feven cubits and three inches, and b the other no taller, fays that author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable voice, and an excellent understanding: the former was a native of Syria, and the latter of Egypt, and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five q. Theodosius lest Rome on the first of September, was at a place called Valentia on the third of the same month, and on the fixth at Forum Flaminii, now Ponte Centesimo on the Topino, not far from Fuligno in the duchy of Spoleto, where he enacted a law forbidding the execution of criminals during Lent. From thence he pursued his journey to Milan, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-fixth of November, commanding the heretic bishops and clergy to be every-where driven out of the cities and their fuburbs s. From this law, and several others of the ensuing year, it appears, that c Theodosius passed the winter in that city, while Valentinian marched into Gaul, to make head against the Franks, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that Valentinian had an interview with Marcomir and Sunno, two chiefs of the Franks; that they delivered hostages to him; and that the emperor, on the eighth of November, was at Treves, where he took up his winterquarters. This year is chiefly remarkable for the destruction of the celebrated temple of Serapis at Alexandria, which, according to the description Ammianus Marcellinus gives us of it, surpassed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of Jupiter Capitolinus alone excepted a; nay, Theodoret calls it the greatest, and without exception the most beautiful temple in the universe w. Theodosius, who d had hitherto spared that stately edifice, caused it this year to be levelled with the ground on the following occasion. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, having begged and obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly consecrated to Bacchus, but at that time ruined and forfaken, with a defign to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing it of the rubbish, found among the ruins several obscene figures, which the bishop, to ridicule the superstition of the heathens, caused to be exposed The pagans rise to public view. This provoked the pagans to such a degree, that they slew to arms; and falling upon the christians, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they were in a condition to oppose their fury. At length the christians took arms in their own defence; and being supported by the sew soldiers who were quartered e in Alexandria, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day passed without some scussle and bloodshed. The pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers, (for the christians were far more numerous) used to retire to the temple of Serapis; and thence fallying out again unexpectedly, seize on such of the christians as they met, and dragging them into the temple, either force them by the most exquisite torments to facrifice to their idol, or, if they refused, to rack them to death. As they excred, and put to cruel deaths, pected to be soon attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher, by name Olympus, for their leader, with a resolution to defend themselves, their temple, and their religion, to the last extremity. In the mean time, Evagrius, governor of f Egypt, and Romanus, who commanded the troops there, having attempted in vain to persuade the pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, sent a distinct account of the whole to the emperor, who, extolling and envying the happiness of such as had chosen rather to die, than renounce their religion, and offer sacrifice to the idols, would not suffer their death to be revenged on those at whose hands they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. However,

<sup>\*</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 16. leg. 1. p. 612. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 18. p. 138.

p. 139—141.

p. Marcell. chron.

4 Philos. ibid. p. 142, 143.

5 Cod.

p. 120, 121.

5 Idem ibid.

5 Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

6 Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120.

6 xxii. p. 234.

6 W Theodor p. 735. PHILOST. I. X. C. 9. Z Cod. Theod. chron-# AMMIAN.

a at the same time he ordered the temple of Serapis, and all the other temples in Alex-Theodosius andria, which gave occasion to frequent disturbances, to be utterly demolished, orders the facharging Theophilus, bishop of the place, who had solicited this order, to see it put Serapis, and all in execution, and injoining Evagrius and Romanus to follow therein his directions. The the temples in pagans no fooner knew that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they Alexandria, 19 had committed, than they abandoned the temple, and dispersed, some of them retiring down. privately to their own houses, and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing themselves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more distant countries. Among the latter was their leader Olympus, who conveyed himself in the night on board a vessel which was ready to fail for Italy. Helladius and Ammonius, two b grammarians, under whom Socrates, the ecclefiaftic historian, had studied at Constantinople, withdrew from Egypt, and took refuge amongst the neighbouring barbarians. The former used to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine christians with his own hand . The temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to Theophilus, who, with the affiftance of the people and foldiery, reduced it in a short time to a heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemolished but the foundations, which could not be removed on account of the extraordinary weight and fize of the stones. The celebrated statue of Serapis, the principal god of the the statue of Egyptians, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity carried Serapis broken first in triumph by the christians through the city, and then thrown into an huge in pieces. c fire kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre. As the Egyptians ascribed the overflowing of the Nile, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god Serapis, they concluded, that now he was destroyed the river would no longer overflow, and confequently that a general famine would ensue. But when they observed, that the Nile, on the contrary, swelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immense plenty of all manner of provisions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worship of the idols, adored the God of the christians y. Rusinus 2, Socrates 2, Eunapius b, and Sozomen c write, that croffes were found engraved on several of the stones of the temple, which occasioned the conversion of great numbers of the Egyptian priests, d the cross being in the sacred language of that nation the symbol of life; and on the other hand, a tradition having for many ages obtained among them, that their religion, and the temple of Serapis, would fublish till the fign of life appeared. Not only the statue of Serapis, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other statues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous christians carefully sought for, ignominioufly dragged through the streets, and confumed in the slames; infomuch that in the great city of Serapis, as Alexandria was frequently styled, not the least footstep was left of that idol, or of the worship which for so many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of Serapis was built a church, and a martyrium, fays Rufinus d, meaning perhaps a burying-place for those who had suffered martyrdom, e during the late disturbances. Sophronius, one of St. Jerom's friends, wrote a particular and distinct account of the demolition of the temple of Serapis ; but his work has not reached our times. Theophilus, who was a prelate no less active than zealous, not fatisfied with demolishing the temple of Serapis, encouraged the people, supported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the Roman troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, All the temples and places fet apart for the worship of the idols throughout Egypt, causing every-throughout where the statues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innume-Egypt demotrable statues, with which that superstitions province was filled, he is said to have rable statues, with which that superstitious province was filled, he is faid to have spared but one, viz. that of an ape, in order to expose the pagan religion to ridif cule f. Theodofins not only approved of what Theophilus had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been fo long addicted s. Soon after he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of facrifice to idols; and declaring the estates confiscated of such as should burn incense before them h.

\* Socr. l. vii. c. 15. p. 724. Ruf. l.ii. c. 22. p. 187. Soz. p. 726. 

\* Ruf. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. 

\* Socr. l. v. c. 16. p. 274. 

\* Ruf. ibid. 

\* Socr. ibid. 

\* Eunap. c. 4. p. 60—64. 

\* Soz. l. vii. 

c. 15. p. 725. 

\* Ruf. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. 

\* Hier. vir. illustr. c. 133. p. 303. 

\* Socr. p. 275. 

\* Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 271.

THE following year 390. when Valentinian was conful the fourth time with Neo- a terius, Theodosius continued at Milan, as appears from the code, till the fifth of July; was at Verona from the twenty-third of August to the eighth of September, and again at Milan on the twenty-fixth of November, and the twenty-third of December. At

Verona he published a law, dated the third of September, commanding those who professed a monastic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deserts, purfuant to their institution. But this law he revoked by another dated the seventeenth A law against of April 392 i. By a law, which was published at Rome on the fourteenth of May, sunnatural lust. he commanded those who should be found guilty of unnatural lust to be burnt alive

in the fight of the whole people k. This year an obelifk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raised in the circus at Constantinople, and a column before the church of b St. Sopbia, on which was a statue of Theodosius in silver, weighing seven thousand four hundred ounces 1. As for Valentinian, he seems to have continued all this year at Treves, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next confuls were Tatianus

and Q. Aurelius Symmachus. Theodosius continued this year at Milan to the twentyfecond of March, was at Concordia on the ninth of May, at Vicentia on the twenty-

feventh of the same month, and at Aquileia from the sixteenth of June to the sourteenth of July m. By a law dated the ninth of May, he declared those who should renounce the christian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the least thing by will, but of being, as infamous persons, wit-

neffes to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them a to the deserts, had he not believed it a greater punishment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men n. By another law, dated the ninth of the

fame month, he commanded the heretics to be every-where driven out of the cities o. Some writers confine this law to the Manichees, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations. Theodosius was, as we have observed above, at Aquileia on

the fourteenth of July; but soon after he set out from thence for Constantinople, leaving the intire management of affairs in the west to Valentinian, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at Thessalonica, he found the province of Ma-

The barbarians, cedon in great confusion; for the barbarians, who, at the instigation of Maximus, had revolted, and concealed themselves among the marshes and woods, after the d defeat of that usurper, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, began to sally

out of their fastnesses in the night, and seizing on whatever came in their way, they marshes, infest retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult task to find them the province of out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himself; and without discovering his design to any one, made choice of five persons, in whom he

> could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three spare horses, that they might shift as often as there was occasion. Thus attended and disguised, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peafants fuch refreshments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a small inn, kept by a woman

stricken in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to stay there that night. In the same inn lodged a person, who declining to con- e verse with the rest, and seeming desirous to conceal himself, gave the emperor no

How discovered small jealousy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for by Theodolius. the mistress of the house, and asked her who that person was, she answered, that who he was she knew not; but that ever fince the news of the emperor's return out of the west, he had lodged at her house, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honestly paid

her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be seized and examined; but he refusing to declare who he was, the emperor at last discovered himself, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth, viz. that he was employed as a spy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among f

the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the emperor's army, and to inform them what places lay most convenient for their incursions. Hereupon the emperor caused his head to be struck off; and returning early the next morning to the army, led his foldiers to the place where he had learnt from the fpy the barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them unex-

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 96. & leg. 2. p. 97, 98. 

\* Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 4. p. 30.

MARCELL. chron. 

Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. 

Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 4. & v. p. 207, 208. MARCELL. chron. · Idem, tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 137.

apostares.

One against

Theodosius eaft.

amongst the moods and

a pectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. Timasius, who, together with Promotus, commanded on this occasion under Theodosius, imagining most of the barbarians to be already cut off, advised the emperor to allow his soldiers some time to refresh themselves after so warm and fatiguing a service, that they might with more vigour pursue the rest, who could not make their escape. The emperor, following his advice, founded a retreat; but while his men were refreshing themselves without the least apprehension of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and most of them overcome with wine, or asleep, made a dreadful havock of them, and would have either killed, or taken the emperor himself, had he not The emperor in been feafonably rescued by Promotus, at the danger of his own life. However, Theo-great danger. b dosius, having rallied his dispersed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with such success, that sew of them escaped the general slaughter. Thus Zosimus P, He gains a on whose single authority the whole truth of this account rests; for no other writer complete visiotakes the least notice of this expedition. The victory over the barbarians was, barbarians. according to Zosimus, who studies to lessen on all occasions the glory of Theodosius, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Promotus; but that brave general, who had ferved the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambu-Promotus scade by the barbarians in Thrace. Zosimus writes, that Rusinus, the emperor's chief killed in an ambuscade. favourite, having treated Promotus in a very haughty and infolent manner, the general, not able to brook fuch treatment, struck him; which affront Rufinus revenged, c by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpose a private correspondence q. But Claudian, who mentions the death of Promotus, and wrote two books filled with invectives against Rufinus, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. Zofimus adds, that Rufinus having complained of Promotus to the emperor, the prince, who reposed an intire confidence in him, returned him this answer; If the other ministers continue thus to envy you your good fortune, they shall soon have the mortification to see you emperor . Claudian writes, that Stilicho revenged the death of his friend Promotus on the Bastarnæ, by whose hands he fell; and that after having defeated them with great flaughter, he shut them up in a narrow valley, with the Goths, Hunns, and other barbarians, who had d long infested Thrace, and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor

evil counsels of the traitor Rufinus s. Theodosius, upon his return to Constantinople, Theodosius made it his chief study to suppress idolatry and Arianism, ordering such temples as endeavours to were still standing to be pulled down, and the Arians to be every-where driven out suppressidala-

of the cities, lest they should infect their sellow-citizens with their pestilent doctrine in milm in the THE next consuls were Arcadius the second time, and Rusinus. Theodosius had, east. as we have observed above, during his three years stay in the west, used all possible means to extirpate idolatry; but, upon his return to the east, the pagans began to conceive new hopes, and such of the senators of Rome, as continued still attached to e the superstition of their ancestors, sent a deputation to Valentinian, at the head of which was the celebrated Symmachus, intreating him to restore to their priests and temples, the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of Gratian. Valentinian, who was then in Gaul, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but could valentinian not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the many pagan ministers who were in refuses to reflect his court, to grant them their request ". Not long after, the barbarians threatening to the temples their antient to pass the Alps towards Rhælia, and invade Italy, the emperor resolved to quit Gaul, privileges. and hasten to Milan, in order to make head against them. As he was desirous of being baptized before he engaged in a war, he dispatched from Vienne, where he then was, an express to St. Ambrose bishop of Milan, for whom he had an extraordinary f efteem and veneration, inviting him into Gaul, to administer to him that sacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, fet out without delay; but before he reached Vienne, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as most authors agree, by Arbogastes. He was a Frank by nation, and owed his preferment to Gratian. After that prince's death, the foldiery, by whom he was highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and difinterestedness, raised him, without the consent either of Valentinian, who was then a child, or of his mother Justina, to the

chosen rather to conclude a peace with them, following therein, fays that poet, the

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P Zos. l. iv. p. 770—773.

p. 125, 126. in Ruf. l. i. c. 17.

SYMM. l. iii. ep. 63. p. 130. Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. r Idem ibid. 1 CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. AMBR. serm. de divers. p. 114.

Arbogastes

be murdered.

ons concerning

post of general; in which command he acquitted himself with great fidelity and mo- a deration, while Theodosius continued in the west; but, upon the departure of that pretends to con- prince for Constantinople, he began to act more like a sovereign than a minister or brince officer, arrogating to himself the power of controlling the young prince, and governing the court with an absolute sway. Such of the officers in the army as seemed attached to Valentinian, he discharged, and put Franks, in whom he could conside, in their room, disposing at the same time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's consent or knowledge, and bestowing them upon persons of his own faction. Valentinian, no longer able to brook such a shameful servitude, resolved to discharge Arbogastes; and accordingly seeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But Arbogastes, having perused it, tore it in b He is discharg- pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with ed; but refuses the utmost arrogance, that as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in post, and causes his power to divest him of it. After this, Arbog astes, well apprised that Valentinian Valentinian to would not suffer such an outrage to pass unrevenged, resolved to be before-hand with him, and accordingly dispatched him a few days after w. Authors disagree as to the Various opini- manner of his death: Zosimus writes, that while Valentinian, attended by a small ons concerning guard, was diverting himself in the neighbourhood of Vienne, Arbogastes, assaulting him unexpectedly, stabbed him with his sword x. According to Philostorgius, he was strangled, while he was taking his diversion on the banks of the Rhone, by assaffines, whom Arbogastes had hired for that purpose. The same author adds, that, c after they had strangled him, they tied his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe, he had laid violent hands on himself; for his guards were at some distance, and out of fight y. St. Jerom 1, Orosius 1, Rusinus b, Epiphanius c, Socrates d, and Sozomen c, agree, that he was strangled; but the two latter writers suppose this to have happened in the palace, and the eunuchs of the court, gained over by Arbogastes, to have been the authors of his death. Idatius and Tiro Prosper only write, that he was murdered by the treachery of Arbogastes. The report which Arbogastes, and those of his faction, spread abroad, viz. that the prince had laid violent hands on himself, was credited by many, and among the rest by Prosper, who relates it in his chronicle as an event d not to be questioned; but we can hardly believe, that St. Ambrose would have extolled, as he does, his piety and religious fentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of self-murder. He died in 392. on the fifteenth of May, that year the eve of Pentecost, after having lived only twenty years, and some months, and borne the title of emperor fixteen years, and about fix months, tho' he cannot be faid to have reigned till the death of Gratian, who died eight years and nine months before him f. St. Ambrose tells us, that when he saw himself unexpectedly attacked by the assassins, the only words he uttered were, Alas! my poor sisters ! The funeral ceremonies were performed the next day, the fixteenth of May, with great folemnity; and his body was fent to Milan, and interred there near that of his brother Gratian, on e which occasion St. Ambrose pronounced an oration in praise of the deceased prince b, who, according to him, and most other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipsed, His character. the glory of the best emperors, had he been suffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, fober, liberal, fincere in his friendship, intirely unbiassed in the administration of justice, and in the disposing of employments partial to merit alone. Zosimus, tho' highly prejudiced against all christian princes, owns, that his death was a public loss k. He had persecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, she had persecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, discountenancing the Arians and other fectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of diffinguishing f truth from falshood! His two fisters, Justa and Grata, continued at Milan, and

married to Theodosius, died two years after in child-bed. AFTER the death of Valentinian, Arbogastes might have easily seized on the sovereignty; but not caring to appear guilty of such a treacherous and inhuman murder,

there embraced, after his death, the state of virginity. His fister Galla, who was

w Oros. p. 220. Zos. p. 776. Socr. p. 93. Soz. ibid. Zos. ibid. Philostorg. l. xi. t. p. 145. Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. Ruf. l. ii. c. 31. p. 191. Epiph. de menf. & pond. 20. p. 177. Socr. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. Socr. l. vii. c. 22. p. 739. Hiem ibid. p. 113—115. Idem C. I. p. 145. 2 Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. 4 Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. 5 Ruf. l. ii. c. 31. e Epiph. de mens. & pond. 20. p. 177. 4 Socr. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. 5 Soz. l. vii. c. 22. f Epiph. p. 177. Philost. p. 144. 5 Ambr. ibid. p. 112. 6 Idem ibid. p. 113—115. 1 Ambr. ferm. de divers. p. 107.

a he chose to conser it on one Eugenius, and to reign in his name ". Eugenius had Eugenius is see formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally esteemed on the sin bis room. account of his eloquence. Ricomer, at the request of Symmachus, had taken him under his protection, and upon his returning into the east with Theodosius, recommended him to Arbogastes, by whose interest he was raised to the post of secretary . Zosimus tells us, that Arbogastes, reposing an intire confidence in Eugenius, and judging him capable of the most daring resolutions, imparted to him the design he had formed of murdering Valentinian, and raising him to the empire in his room; that Eugenius rejected at first the proposal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the measures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his interest, after the death b of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a person well qualified for that high station o. He soon made himself master of all the western provinces, says Socrates P; He seizes on all which must be understood of West Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; but not the western proof Africa, which, after the death of Valentinian, submitted to Theodosius, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from Constantinople the thirtieth of December 393. and addressed to Gildo count of Africa; and the other dated from the same place the twenty-seventh of March, and addressed to Silvanus duke of the province Tripolitana 9. It is likewise manifest from Claudian, that Gildo acknowledged Theodostus, and not Eugenius. The new usurper, tho' a christian, was greatly savoured by the pagans, who were well apprifed, that he only bore the title of emperor, while c the whole power was lodged in Arbogastes, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruspices, who began to appear anew, assured him, that he was destined to the empire of the whole world; that he would soon gain a complete victory over Theodofius, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but those of the Roman empire's. Tho' Eugenius seemed to savour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign, he wrote to St. Ambrose, who did not answer his letter, till he was pressed by some of his friends to recommend them to the new prince, and then he treated him in his letters with all the respect due to an emperor v. While these things passed in the west, some disturbances happened in the court of Theodosius at Constantinople: d Rufinus, not satisfied with the consular dignity, to which he was raised this year, notwithstanding the report of his having been the author of the death of Promotus, killed by the barbarians, began to aspire at the presecture of the east, which was held by Tatianus, whom he caused to be accused of oppression in his government. Tatianus and Zosimus will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by Rusinus, his son Proculon account of his integrity. Proculus, the son of Tatianus, and presect of Constantible insuccused as the instiguation nople, was accused of the same crime, Rusinus hating him, says Zosimus, for the sake of Rusinus. of his father. Theodosius appointed several judges to try them; but as Rusinus was at the head of that commission, and the other judges dreaded his resentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was deposed, and confined to Lycia, his native Tatianus ba. e country; and the fon sentenced to death; which Theodosius no sooner knew, than he nished, and his fent him his pardon: but the messenger, gained over by Rusinus, took care not to some executed.

f tuture, should be convicted of having plundered the people committed to their care;

whereas, by former laws, they were only to pay four times the value of what they

had taken . As for Proculus, he must have been guilty of greater crimes than his

father, fince he was punished with more severity. But however just was the punish-

ment inflicted on Tatianus, his countrymen the Lycians, who had no share in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his difgrace and misfortunes; nevertheless

acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over ". Thus Zosimus. But Libanius charges both Tatianus, and his fon Proculus, with cruelty and oppression w; and the laws enacted on this occasion by Theodosius, give us room to believe, that the charge brought against Tatianus, was not altogether groundless, as Zosimus styles it; for by one law he rook off a tax which had been levied by Tatianus, without his knowledge; by another he commanded the estates and effects of fuch persons as had been proscribed by him, to be restored to them or their children; and by a third addressed to Rufinus, he declared those guilty of death, who, for the

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<sup>\*\*</sup> Philost.l. xi. c. 2. p. 145. Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. Claud. conf. Hon. 3, 4. p. 35, 41. 

\*\* Soc. l. v. c. 25. p. 293. Zos. p. 775. Philost. p. 146. Symm. l. iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129. 

\*\* Zos. p. 775. \*\* Socr. p. 294. \*\* God. Theod. chron. p. 128. \*\* Claud. bell. Gild. p. 76. & conful. Hon. 6. p. 77. 

\*\* Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. \*\* Amb. ep. 15. p. 210. \*\* Zos. l. iv. p. 774. \* Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. 
\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1. p. 219, 220. ч Lib. orat. xvi. p. 423.

Rufinus made prefect of the eaft.

Theodosius,

If ho prepares for war.

His piety.

His laws against heretics.

Theodosius, at the instigation of Rusinus, a declared enemy to the Lycians, enacted a a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable of any preferment y. unjust law was afterwards revoked by Arcadius, who restored the Lycians to their former condition, ascribing the base treatment they had met with, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, meaning Rufinus z. As Tatianus is highly commended by Zosimus, and persecuted with great cruelty the catholics, while he was governor of Egypt under Valens in 367. some writers from thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been comes largitionum to Valens in 374. three times prefect of the east, and twice conful. He is supposed to have died soon after his disgrace. When he was deposed, Kusinus was appointed present of the case in the room. The affair of Tatianus and Proculus was not yet ended, when news of the When he was deposed, Rufinus was appointed prefect of the east in his b death of Valentinian, and the usurpation of Eugenius, was brought to Constantinople. Eugenius sends A few days after, embassadors arrived from the usurper, who, without so much as mentioning the name of Arbogastes, demanded an audience in the name of Eugenius; and being admitted to the emperor's presence, proposed an alliance between him and their maiter. Theodosius received them in a very obliging manner, amused them, says Zosimus, with fair words, and dismissed them loaded with rich presents b. At the head of this embassy was one Rusinus, an Athenian, who was attended by several bishops sent by Eugenius to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As Theodosius charged Arbogastes with the murder of Valentinian, the bishops did all that & lay in their power to clear him from that false, as they styled it, and groundless aspersion c. Rufinus d, Theodoret e, and Sozomen f, tell us, that, upon the departure of the embassadors, Theodosius dispatched the eunuch Eutropius, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of Arcadius, to consult a holy hermit, by name John, by nation an Egyptian, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. Eutropius was injoined to bring him, if possible, to court; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his solitude, to ask him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking Eugenius first? or, if he should wait till the usurper attacked him? The hermit declined going to court; but advised the emperor to begin the war without delay, affuring him, that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodshed; that he would die in Italy, after his victory, and in dying leave his son emperor of the west. Thus the above-mentioned writers. Theodosius, upon the return of the messenger, began his military preparations; but as he consided more in the assistance of Heaven, than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he visited in the first place all the churches of his capital, attended by several bishops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty, who disposes of kingdoms as he thinks fit, and bestows victory on whom he pleases s. The military preparations, to which Theodosius applied himself with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publishing several laws this year, among the rest one condemning such heretics as should confer or receive holy orders, to pay, e by way of fine, ten pounds weight of gold, and declaring the places where they should perform any religious ceremony, confiscated b. By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of July, he commands those who should raise disturbances in the church, or impugn the orthodox faith, to be banished, and confined to some desert, if they had been guilty of the same fault before it. The law of the eighteenth of Officer of this year, commands such criminals as should have purloined the public money, and taken fanctuary in churches, to be dragged from thence, and punished, or the bishops who protected them, to pay what they owed k. From this law it appears, that the custom of taking fanctuary in churches had already prevailed. Before this time, St. Austin, being solicited either to deliver up a debtor, by name Fascius, f who had fled to his church as to an afylum, or to fatisfy his creditors, chose the latter 1. By a law dated the eighth of November, the emperor revived all the antient laws against paganism, forbidding, under the severest penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion m.

F Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 279.

F Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 279.

F Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 279.

F Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 39. leg. 279.

F Cod. Theod. l. ii. 5. leg. 21. p. 138.

F Cod. Theod. l. ii. 5. leg. 21. p. 138.

F Cod. Theod. l. ii. 5. leg. 21. p. 138.

Cod. Theod. l. ii. 10. leg. 12. p. 273.

THE following year Theodofius was conful the third time, with Abundantius, who was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horse and foot ". In his room Eugenius was acknowledged conful in the west, as we learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that usurper is styled the collegue of Theodosius in the consulship. This year Theodosius published many excellent laws, and among the rest one abrogating an antient law, which punished those with death, who uttered the restore the restored to the restored seditious words against the prince. If such words, says Theodosius in his law of this law of treason. year, proceed from levity, they are to be despised; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven P. In the beginning, or, as some will have it, in the end of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of January, or twentieth of November, the emperor declared his second son Honorius, Augustus. The ceremony was Honorius deperformed with great solemnity in the palace of Hebdomon near Constantinople 1. The clared Aupoet Claudian introduces on this occasion Theodosius instructing the young prince in gustus. the art of governing r. This year was ended at Constantinople a square, which bore the name of Theodofius; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraved the victories of that prince over the Goths and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equestrian statue of Theodosius, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor Zeno; but the column was still standing in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in history'. Theodosius passed this whole year at Constantinople, making the necessary preparations for the c dangerous war which he was resolved to undertake. As for Eugenius, he had gained Eugenius gains the preceding year considerable advantages over the Franks, being induced to make advantages war upon them by Arbogastes, who bore an old grudge to Marcomir and Sunno, two over the princes of that nation. This war was managed by Arbogastes, who passing the Rbine Franks. near Cologne in the depth of winter, laid waste the countries of the Brutterians and Chamavians, without meeting with the least opposition, Marcomir shewing himself only at a distance on the hills, with some parties of the Ansivarii and Chatti. Hence it appears, that these antient nations of Germany were at this time comprised under the name of Franks. Eugenius himself approached the Rhine, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; and having, upon the return of Arbogastes, renewed the antient alliance between the Romans and Franks, he left Gaul, and repaired to Italy; which he had scarce entered, when he was met by a deputation from the Roman senate, intreating him to restore to the temples the revenues, of which they had been deprived by Gratian, and to re-establish the celebrated altar of Victory. Eugenius received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their request. The senate soon after sent a second deputation to folicit the fame favour; which was denied them a fecond time. But when by a third embassy they renewed their request, Eugenius yielded at length to their importunity, Eugenius farestoring the pagan religion and temples to their former lustre, and suffering the vours the paantient ceremonies and facrifices to be renewed in the senate of the metropolis of his san ceremonia. e empire ". The following year 394. Arcadius being consul the third time, and Honorius the second, Theodosius was still at Constantinople on the fisteenth of May w; but he left that metropolis foon after; for he was, on the thirtieth of the same month, at Heraclea; and on the fifteenth of June at Adrianople x. He bent his march through Dacia, and the other provinces between Thrace and the Julian Alps, which separate Italy from Noricum, with a design to force the passes of those mountains, and break into Italy, before the army of Eugenius was in a condition to oppose him. Upon his arrival at the Alps, he found the passes guarded by Flavianus presect of Italy, at the head of a considerable body of Roman troops, who, after a short resistance, betook themselves to slight. Flavianus was killed at the first onset. Theodosius, Theodosius, f having thus opened himself a passage over the Alps, was met, as he came down from forces the passes those mountains, by Eugenius, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in of the Alps. battle-array on the banks of the river Frigidum; which Sanson and others take to be the river Vipat or Wibach in the county of Gorice, about thirty-fix miles from Aquileia.

n Cod. Theod. chron. p. 126. 

O Vide Rein. p. 1021. 

P Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 42. 

P PHILOST. l. xi. c. 2. p. 146. Sos. l. vii. c. 24. p. 741. CLAUD. conf. Hon. 3. p. 35, 36. 

F CLAUD. ibid. p. 45—50. 

Chron. Alex. p. 708. 

CANGE Conftant. antiq. l. i. p. 76—80. 

T Greg. Tur. hift. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61, 62. 

AMBR. vit. p. 85. ep. 15. p. 210. 

W Cod. Theod. chron. p. 129. 

I Idem ibid.

The army of Theodosius was no less numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by several bodies of Armenians, Iberians, Arabians, Goths, and other barba-

rians, who dwelt beyond the Danube. The Roman troops were commanded by Ti- a massius and Stilicho, who had married the emperor's niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by Gainas, Saul, Bacurius, and Alaric the Goth, whose name is famous in history. Of Gainas, who was of the same nation, and Saul, who was likewise a barbarian, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. Bacurius was a native of Armenia, or, as Rufinus will have it, of Iberia, nay, he is styled by that writer king of Iberia. Among the Romans he was comes domesticorum, that is, captain of the guards, and univerfally esteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildness of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies c. Rufinus, the ecclefiastic historian, who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of Palestine, cells him a man of b great integrity, a pious and zealous christian, a worthy companion of Theodosius, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body d. Under these leaders, the army of Theodosius advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expose the Romans, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and resolution; but were foon put in diforder by the regular and well disciplined troops of Engenius, headed by Arbogastes, who fignalized himself in a very eminent manner. Bacurius however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being supported by Timasius and Stilicho, renewed the combat, which lasted till night coming on, both armies retired to their respective camps. Bacurius on this occasion c diftinguished himself above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end furrounded on all fides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himself for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the Goths and other auxiliaries above ten thousand were killed; but of the Romans, who supported them, only a small number. Eugenius, concluding he had gained the day, and that the army of Theodosius was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refresh themselves, that they might be the better able to pursue the enemy next morning. In the mean time Theodosius was advised by his generals not to hazard a second engagement, but to retire in the night, repass the Alps, and put off the decision of the war till another campaign; against which time d he might with great ease recruit his army, and renew the war with fresh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonstrances, having assembled his troops by break of day, led them in person against the enemy; and entering their camp when least expected, put great numbers of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to fave themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. Thus Zosimus. But the ecclesiastic historians ascribe the victory gained by Theodosius, not to any surprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous assistance of St. John the evangelist, and the apostle St. Philip, who appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and assured him of victory. The same writers add, that Theodosius no sooner attacked Eugenius's numerous forces, than a e violent storm arising, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themselves, and raised such clouds of dust, as quite deprived them of their fight; so that having two enemies to encounter at once, they were quickly overcome. Of this storm mention is made by Theodoret f, Orosius &, Sozomen h, St. Ambrose h, Rusinus h, St. Austin h, and the poet Claudian m, who describes it with great elegance in some verses which he wrote eighteen months after n; but, to flatter Honorius, will have it to have been owing to his destiny. Arbogastes behaved on this occasion with great intrepidity; but, in spite of his utmost efforts, his men, quite disheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the storm, that Heaven fought against them, either betook themselves to flight, or, throwing f down their arms, submitted to Theodosius, who readily received them into favour; but at the same time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the usurper. They no sooner received this order, than they flew to the rising ground where Eugenius had posted himself to behold the battle, and was still waiting the event of it. When he observed them coming in great haste towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he asked them, whether

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zos. p. 777.
<sup>6</sup> Ruf. l. i. c. 10. p. 166.
<sup>6</sup> Zos. ibid.
<sup>d</sup> Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192.
<sup>e</sup> Zos. p. 778.
<sup>f</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 24. p. 739.
<sup>e</sup> Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.
<sup>h</sup> Soz. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.
<sup>h</sup> Soz. l. vii. c. 37. p. 190.
<sup>l</sup> Ambr. ferm. de diverf. p. 117. & in pfal. xxxvi. p. 692.
<sup>h</sup> Ruf. l. ii. c. 32. p. 192.
<sup>h</sup> Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192.
<sup>h</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 3. p. 36.
<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid
they

a they had, pursuant to his orders, secured Theodosius. They answered, that they despised the commands of a tyrant and usurper, whom they were come to seize, and deliver up to their lawful fovereign; and loading him that instant with irons, dragged Eugenius him, stripped of all the ensigns of majesty, to the emperor, who reproached him taken delivered with the murder of Valentinian, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire fius, and put to by his unjust usurpation, and with putting his confidence in Hercules, in defiance of death by his the only true God; for on his chief standard he had displayed the image of that own men. fabulous deity. Eugenius begged earnestly for his life; but while he lay prostrate at the emperor's feet, his own foldiers struck off his head, and carrying it about on the point of a spear, shewed it to those who, remaining in his camp, had not yet subb mitted to Theodofius. At that fight they were all thunder-struck; but being at the same time informed, that Theodosius was ready to receive them into savour, they threw down their arms, and submitted . Arbogastes, the chief author of the death of Valentinian, and the evils attending it, despairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being apprised that diligent search was made after him, he laid violent Arbogastes hands on himself P. The children of Eugenius and Arbogastes, who had attended lays violent their parents in this war, having great reason to expect the same treatment, took hands on himself P. fanctuary in different churches; but the pious emperor, not fatisfied with pardoning felf. them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganism, which they professed, to the christian religion, appointing proper persons to instruct them, and c convince them of their errors; which they had no fooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in possession of their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments q. Great numbers of the partizans of Eugenius having fled for refuge to the great church of Milan, St. Ambrofe repaired to Aquileia, where the emperor then was, to folicit their pardon; which was immediately granted, and a general amnesty proclaimed r; nay, the emperor is said to have been so concerned for the blood that was shed in the battle, as to abstain for some time from the holy eucharift'. He probably followed therein the directions of St. Ambrose, at least his conduct was agreeable to the sentiments of that prelate, who, in speaking of judges, fays, That tho' he does not deny them, as many have done, the holy d eucharift, after they have sentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abstaining for some time of their own accord from the holy mysteries. The emperor, immediately after his victory over Eugenius, fent for his fon Honorius, whom he had left at Constantinople, under the care of Rusinus, who was thereby vested with almost an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, Theodosius had removed from Aquileia to Milan; where he received him and Serena, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St. Ambroje . Serena was daughter to Honorius, the emperor's brother. A few days after, he declared his son Honorius emperor of the west, assigning him for his share Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Honorius de-Africa, and West Illyricum, and appointing Stilicho his first general and prime minister w. clared emperor With this declaration he fent Stilicho to Rome; on which occasion Serena, whom of the west. Theodofius had married to that general, and who accompanied her hufband to Rome, shewed a great desire, says Zosimus, to see the statue of Cybele; but she was no sooner admitted into the temple, than she snatched from the goddess a necklace of inestimable value, faying, it became better the niece of an emperor, than a senseles statue. An old veltal, who was present, transported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations against Serena, her husband, and her children; but Serena caused her to be driven out of the temple, and punished for her arrogance. At the same time her husband Stilicho commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of Jupiter Capitolinus were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his f lodging. Under the plate were found engraved on the wood these words: This is reserved for an unbappy king. Thus Zosimus x, who ridiculously ascribes to these two actions, the misfortunes which afterwards befel Stilicho and Serena. The Roman senate sent deputies to congratulate Theodosius on his late victory, and to beg the confulfhip of the ensuing year for the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus. The emperor granted them their request, exhorting them at the same time with great zeal to

• Ambr. vit. p 86. Claud. conf. Hon. 4. p. 41. Ruf. p. 192. Theodor. p. 740. Socr. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p. 710. P. Claud. ibid. p. 41. & conf. Hon. 3. p. 39. Socr. p. 295. Oros. p. 220, 221. ¶ Ambr. ep. 16. p. 211. Oros. ibid. F. Ambr. vit. p. 86. Ruf. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 753. Ambr. ep. 51. p. 309, 310. Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Ruf. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. W. Zos. l. iv. p. 773. Zos. p. 779. Vol. VI. Nº 6.

renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of a that truth, which now generally prevailed. Zosimus, who seldom agrees with other writers, supposes Theodofius to have gone in person to Rome, to have summoned to the imperial palace all the senators, who still continued attached to the ancient ceremonies of the Romans, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the prejudice of their education, and renouncing the superstitious worship of the gods, to embrace the christian religion, which alone could deliver them from their sins. But not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion and ceremonies with which Rome had been founded, and had subsisted near twelve hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that as the exchequer had been drained by the late war, he could spare no money for the ceremonies of their reli- b gion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly suppressed y. He had before enacted several laws for the suppression of idolatry; but Eugenius had revoked them, and restored to the temples their privileges and revenues. This year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almost every day in most provinces of the empire, from the beginning of September to the end of November; for excessive and inceffant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and such a darkness as had not happened in the memory of man ': all which the writers of those times feem to have looked upon as prognostics of the great loss the Roman empire was to fustain in the approaching death of the great Theodosius.

Theodosius pire between his two children.

Theodolius dies.

His character.

THE next confuls were the two brothers Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and Anicius c Probinus, the fons of Petronius Probus and Anicia Proba, on whose consulate Claudian wrote a poem?. Theodosius, having restored the west to its former tranquillity, was preparing to return to Constantinosle, when he was seized with a dropfy, occasioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war b. As foon as he perceived himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathdividus the em- ing the east to his eldest son Arcadius, and the west to Honorius. He likewise confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burdensome to the people, charging his fons and fuccessors to see his will duly executed as to these two points q. Socrates and Sozomen write, that finding himself in great measure eased of his pain, d he affisted at a chariot-race; but his distemper returning with great violence, he appointed one of his fons to prefide at the sports in his room; and withdrawing to his chamber, died the following night. He was heard a few minutes before he expired to utter the name of St. Ambroses. He died at Milan on the seventeenth of January of this year 395. two days before he had ended the fixteenth year of his reign, being then at most in the fistieth year of his age '. St. Ambrose pronounced his funeral oration, in which he supposes him to enjoy the rewards promised in the gospel to a religious and virtuous life ". His body was embalmed, and conveyed from Milan to Constantinople, where it was interred by Arcadius with extraordinary pomp and magnificence on the ninth of November of the present year w. A tomb of e porphyry was to be seen many ages after, supposed to be that of Theodosius. It stood in the mausoleum of Constantine the Great, near the church of the apostles x. As for the character of Theodojius, all authors, whether pagan or christian, Zosimus alone excepted, agree that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the allay of one fingle vice. Not to mention the ecclesiastic historians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. Ambrose and St. Austin, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, Themistius, Symmachus, Pacatus, and Victor the younger, though greatly attached to the ancient religion of the Romans, which Theodosius discountenanced above all his predecessors, and made it his chief f fludy utterly to suppress, propose him as the pattern of an excellent prince, the eminent virtues that shone in him overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the christian religion, and aversion to the superstitious ceremonies of the pagans, raised against him among those, who, in spite of his utmost endeavours, continued obstinate in their errors?. The teltimony of those writers, who had no less reason to

y Idem, l. v. p. 814. \* Mar. chron. Ama serm. de divers. iii. p. 116. \* CLAUD. de cons. Olyb. & Prob. p. 1—8. b Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 28. p. 752. 4 Amb. ibid. p. 117. Socr. l. v. c. 26. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 752. 2 Amb. ibid. p. 122. 5 Socr. p. 295. Chr. Alex. p. 710. Amb. fer. de diverf. iii. p. 117—121. W Zos. l. iv. p. 779. Amb. ibid. p. 125. Socr. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. CANGE urb. Conft. antiq. l. iv. p. 109. Vide Sym. l. iii. ep. 81. p. 137. ер. 13. р.65. Vіст. еріт. р. 546, 547.

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a be prejudiced against Theodosius than Zosimus, and who lived in those times, must be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that historian, who lived a hundred years after. Theodosius was, as we have hinted above out of Aurelius Victor, naturally choleric, and apt in the first transports of his passion to issue such orders as savoured of cruelty. But as he was soon appealed, we have but one instance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous massacre of the inhabitants of Thesfalonica, who had murdered in an insurrection Botericus, the emperor's lieutenant in Illyricum, because he refused to set at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been imprifoned for offering violence to a woman of some distinction. When this came to the b emperor's ears, he ordered all those who had been any-ways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but at the intercession of St. Ambrose, and other bishops affembled in a fynod at Milan, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his ministers representing to him, that the Theffalonians had been encouraged to this sedition by the too great indulgence he had shewn to the inhabitants of Antioch; and that if he suffered the murder of his lieutenant to go thus unpunished, his officers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himself disturbed and alarmed with daily insurrections; his wrath was kindled anew to such a degree, that, forgetful of the promise he had made to St. Ambrose, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to c Thessalonica, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The soldiers, entering the city, pursuant to their orders, surrounded the people, while they were affembled to behold the Circensian games; and falling upon them sword in The massacre of hand, without regard to fex, age, or condition, without distinction of guilty or Thessaionica. innocent, cruelly massacred in the space of three hours above seven thousand persons, many of whom were strangers come to Thessalonica on occasion of the sports. When news of this massacre was brought to Milan, St. Ambrose wrote to the emperor, who had left that city fome time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, representing to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a sincere submission and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and An instance of d returning a few days after to Milan, repaired, according to his custom, to the great his fubmission church, to perform his devotions there. But St. Ambrofe, meeting him at the door, of the church. denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongst them, till he had expiated so public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily submitted; and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as injoined by the canons of the church, and the custom of those times. He continued in that state for the space of eight months, that is, from the latter end of April to Christmas, when, to make some amends for his crime, and to prevent both himself and his successors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the e future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the observance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a respite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the sentence of death and their execution z. It is surprising, that Zosimus, who omits no opportunity of railing at Theodosius, and often censures even the most commendable actions of that prince, should take no notice of the abovementioned massacre. The reader will find in the ecclesiastic writers other instances of the emperor's intire submission to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, felf-denial, and other christian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, we shall speak in note (M).

THEODOR, I. iii. c. 17. Soz. I. iii. c. 24. NICEPH, I. xii. c. 40. Amb. ep. xxviii. Aug. de civ. Dei, 1. v. c. 26, &c.

(M) Among the writers, who flourished under Theodosius, the celebrated orator symmachus deserves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the first place. He was the son of L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, prefect of Rome in 36+(1). He is flyled at the head of his letters, by Macrobius (2), and in an ancient inscription, Q.

Aurelius Symmachus (3). He had at least three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 (4). Of these Celsinus Ticianus, whom in all his letters he styles brother (5), seems to have been one. distinguishes Flavianus, who was prefect of Italy, and joined Eugenius, in whose cause he lost his life, with the same title (6); but most writers are of

aninico,

(1) Sym. l. ii. c. 44. p. 81. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 69. (2) Macrob. l. i. c. 5. p. 176, 177. p. 399. (4) Sym. l. iii. ep. 6. p. 104. (5) Idem, l. i. ep. 40, 56, 68, p. 30, 38. (6) Idem p. 81. Gr. ep. 83, p. 97. (6) Idem, l. ii. ep. 44.

opinion, that he was no ways allied to him. Symmachus married Rusticiana, the daughter of Orfices, who was for many years present of Rome under Constantius, and had by her one son, named D. Fabius Memmius Symmachus (7). Orfites, his fatherin-law, was acculed in 364. and convicted of having embezzled the public money; for which crime his estate was confiscated, and he banished; but he was recalled in 366, when part of his estate was restored to him, but nevertheless he died very poor about the year 370. leaving two daughters behind him, viz. Rusticiana, and another, who was married to a perfon of distinction in Hetruria (8). Though Symma-chus had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy fenators 9). He was high pontiff of the pagans, quæstor, prætor, corrector or governor of Lucania and Bratium in 365. and 368. proconful of Africa in 370. and 373. pre-fect of Rome in 384. and conful in 391 (10). He is styled in an ancient inscription count of the third order (11). He was a most zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account banished by Theodosius, but soon after recalled, as we have observed already. He brought up his fon with extraordinary care, and feems to have taken upon himself to instruct him (12). Being invited by Theodofius, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to Milan, and affift at the folemnity of his confulfhip in 399, he excused himself, alledging, that he could not leave his fon (13). His son was made by his interest, first quæstor, and afterwards prætor (14), quæstor about the year 392. and prætor in 397. The latter dignity cost him two thousand pounds weight of gold (15), and he would have spent on that occasion a far greater sum, had he not been restrained by Stilicho, who at that time ruled under Honorius (16). Young Symmachus was proconful of Africa in 415, and prefect of Rome in 419(17). In the date of a law of the year 424. he is marked conful(18); but most writers take that to be a mistake. He married, after the year 394. the grand-daughter of Flavianus, and had by her a son before the death of his father (19). He wrote some epigrams on illustrious men, and several letters, which are to be found among those of his father, who submitted his own compositions to the censure and judgment of his son (20). Symmachus, the father, was esteemed the most eloquent orator of his time; but his speeches not meeting with the applause he expected, he applied himself intirely to the writing of letters (21). His speeches have been long fince loft; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preserved by his amanuentis, and one of his friends, named Elpidius, and published after his death by his son (22). Prudensius, who wrote against him, while he was still living, on occasion of his endeavouring to persuade the emperor to restore the altar of victory, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden spade made use of to dig up ordure (23). Macrobius compares his elegant and florid style, as he terms it, to that of Pliny the younger, and equals him in that respect to the best

writers of antiquity (24). Apollinaris Sidonius and Caffiodorus admire his eloquence, and the purity of his style (25). Both these writers quote some passages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (26). Socrates (27), Photius (28), and fornandes (29), mention him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without fome elegance; but the same thoughts, tho', generally speaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his style savours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. Fornandes quotes the fifth book of the history of Symmachus; but as it does not appear, that either Symmachus the orator, or his son, ever wrote any history, most authors take the historian quoted by Jornandes to be different from both (30).

The Latin poet Rufus Festus Avienus is supposed to have flourished under Theodosius, because he inscribed a work to Probus, a consular man, whom most writers take to be the celebrated Probus, who died not long before the year 395 (31). St. Jerom, in his comments on the epiffle to Titus, writes, that the phenomena of Aratus had been lately translated by Avienus (32); which work, together with his translation of Dionysius's description of the world, and a third poem by the same author on the seacoasts, has reached our times. To the same Avieenus or Avianus are generally ascribed the sables of Afop in Latin verle, and the whole history of Livy in lambics; but the latter laborious performance, which is mentioned by Servius, has been long fince lost (33). Some other poetical pieces done by the fame author are still extant. He writes with more taste and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to those of Phadrus (34). Rufus Festus, who was proconful of Achaia under Valens, is thought to have been his fon (35). Victor the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on Theodofius, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have wrote foon after the death of that prince (36). The name of Sextus Aurelius Victor is common to him with another historian, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Valens; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of junior or the younger: in feveral manuscripts he is styled Victorius or Victorinus, and under both these names he is quoted by Paulus Diaconus (37). He wrote the Roman history; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called Victor's episome (38). Gregory of Tours quotes several things concerning the Franks out of an historian named Sulpicius Alexander (39), whom Gothofredas commends as an excellent writer, and supposes to be the same Alexander to whom Symmachus wrote several letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and was raifed by Valentinian II. about the year 387, to the post of tribune and secretary (40). Some writers are of opinion, that the Latin poet Manilius, who wrote on aftrology, flourished under Theodosius, or his son Hone-

(7) Sidon. l. ii. ep. 10. p. 54. Sym. l. ix. ep. 121. p. 386. l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442. (8) Cod. Theod. tit. G. 376. Sym. l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442. (9) Phot. c. 80. p. 197. Sym. l. v. ep. 5. p. 187. & ep. 66. 214. Ammian. p. 377. Macrob. p. 745. (10) Sym. l. ix. ep. 41. p. 31. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 386. (11) Rein. p. 399. (12) Sym. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. (13) Idem, l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335. (14) Idem, v. ep. 44. p. 202. & l. iv. ep. 12. p. 147. (15) Idem, l. iv. ep. 8. p. 146. (16) Idem ibid. (17) Cod. heod. tit. 6. p. 386. (18) Idem, tit. 1. p. 386. (19) Sym. l. iv. ep. 14. p. 14. p. 149. (20) Idem, l. viii. ep. 68. 21. p. 70. & go. appendix ad ep. Symmachi. p. 208. 201. (21) Idem liv. ep. 20. p. 16. (20) Idem, l. viii. ep. 68. p. 376. Sym. l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442. (11) Rein. p. 399. (12) Sym. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. (13) Idem, l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335. (14) Idem, l. v. ep. 44. p. 202. & l. iv. ep. 12. p. 147. (15) Idem, l. iv. ep. 8. p. 146. (16) Idemibid. (17) Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 386. (18) Idem, tit. 1. p. 386. (19) Sym. l. iv. ep. 14. p. 149. (20) Idem, l. vii. ep. 21. p. 70. & appendix ad ep. Symmachi, p. 298, 301. (21) Idem, l. iv. ep. 29. p. 159. & l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335. (22) Idem, l. iii. p. 101. & l. v. ep. 83, 84. p. 220. (23) Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 223. & l. 2. p. 215. (24) Macr. l. v. c. 1. p. 364. (25) Sid. l. i. ep. 1. p. 11. & car. 9. p. 361. l. viii. ep. 10. p. 231. Cassiod. l. xii. ep. 1. p. 175. (26) Sid. & Cassiod. bid. (27) Socr. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. (28) Phot. c. 80. p. 197. (29) Forn. rer. Goth. c. 15. p. 636. (30) Vide Voss. hist. Lat. p. 724. (31) Idem, l. ii. c. 9. p. 202. (32) Hier. in Tit. i. p. 248. (33) Voss. Lat. p. 56. (34) Vide Baillet. tom. vi. p. 475, 476. (35) Vide Spon. p. 100. (36) Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 12. p. 221. (38) Vist. epit. p. 531. (39) Greg. Tür. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, & c. (40) Cod. Theod. tit. g. p. 409. Sym. l. i. ep. 101. p. 58. & l. ix. ep. 25. p. 247. (11) Rein. p. 399.

rius; but from several passages in that poem, especially from the last verses of the sirst book, Extremas modo per gentes, &c. thost critics conclude him to have lived in the time of Augustus, and to have written soon after the defeat of Varus (41). The motitia, or state of the provinces of the empire, published by Surita, with the itinerary of Antoninus, is supposed to have been written in the time of Theodosius; for mention is made there of the provinces of Arcadia in Egypt, and Honories in Pontus, so styled from that prince's two sons, and no notice is taken of several other provinces formed by Arcadius after the death of his father (42). The sive books of Flavius Vegetius Renatus on the military art, are addressed to the emperor, by whose order the author undertook that work (43). But that prince is sometimes named Valentinian, and sometimes Theodosius (44). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of Gratian, and not long after the ravages committed by the Goths in that prince's reign, which he ascribes to his having suffered the infantry to lay asside their cuirasses and helmets (45). Vegetius is distinguished with the title of comes or count, and even with the epithet of illustrious. He is commonly blamed for confoundant with those of his time.

with those of his time. The philosopher Themistius flourished under Theodossis, and was no less efteemed by the Greeks than Symmachus by the Latins. He was sprung from a noble family, and one of his ancestors, a philosopher by profession, had been diftinguished with several honours by Dioclesian (46); perhaps his father Engenius, who was no less famous for the profession of philosophy, than for his eloquence and learning (47). Amongst the letters of the emperor Julian there is one to a philosopher by name Eugenius (48); whom some take to have been the father of Themistins; if so, he must have been too young in Dio-elesian's time to be raised to any public employment. From his elogium written by his son soon after his death, it appears, that he preferred Ariffolle to all other philosophers, and that in his old age he used to unbend his mind from the study of philosophy with cultivating his garden (49). Themselius was of the same age with the emperor Constantius (50), born in 317. He was a native of Paphlagonia, and not of Constantinople, tho' he spent almost his whole life in that city (51). He studied rhetoric at a place on the most distant borders of Pontus and Colchis, pear Phasis, a city of Colchis, on a river of the same name, his father having recommended him to a celebrated professor, who taught in that country (52), and under whom he made such progress, that he was furnamed Euphradus, or the fine fpeaker (53).

Gregory Nazianzen ftyles him the king of eloquence; and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but most of all in the art of speaking (54). When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on Ariffects for his own private use; but nevertheless they were published, and met with geart applause (55). His comments on Aristotle, and his notes on Plato, were still extant in the time of *Photius*, who styles them an useful work (56). The author of the book on

the categories or predicaments, fa'ily ascribed to St. Auslin, owns, that, in commissing that work, he had often recourse to Themislius, a great and wise philosopher of his time 57). Some fragments of the comments of Themislius on Arisonle are still extant (58); and Siobens quotes a passage out of that work concerning the immortality of the foul. When he had ended his studies, he went to Constantinople, and refided there for the space of at least torty years (60). He first taught philosophy, viz. that of Pythagoras, of Plate, and of Arifoste; but made most account of the latter (61). He had an incredible number of disciples, and a philosopher of Sicyon in Petoponnesus, who had studied under Iamblichus, sent him all his at once (62). He taught gratis; nsy, he affifted his disciples with money to tar as his imall estate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of sophist, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers (63). After he had taught some time at Constantinople, he went first to the court of Conflamius, before whom he pronounced his first oration at Ancyrs in 347. having been introduced to that prince by Saturninus, who was conful in 383 (64). Not long after, that is, before the year 350. he saw Constant in the west 65). In the year 355. Constantius created him senator of Constantinoste, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the senate of that city (66). Two years after, that prince caused a strue to be erected to his honour (67). Julian wrote frequently to him in the time of his disgrace; and being created Casar, snswered by a long letter that which Themistius had wrote to him from Constantinople, encouraging him to answer the mighty expectations the world enter-tained of him (68). Upon the accession of forian to the empire, Themissius was sent to the new prince by the senate of Constantinople, to congratulate him in their name; on which occasion he pronounced, or defigned to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (69', with feveral discourses pronounced by him before Valens, who would hear him at least once every year (70). He was with that prince in 369, when he concluded a peace with the Goths, to which the philosopher pretends to have greatly contributed (71). He attended Valens into the east, and in the Persian war in 372 (72). Socrates and Sozomen write, that he reconciled in some degree that prince to the catholics by a speech, which he pronounced before him, lies by a speech, which he pronounced before him, shewing, that he ought not to be surprised at the different opinions of men in points of religion, but on the contrary allow them great liberty (73). In the year 376, he was font by Valens to Gratian, then in Gaul. As on his return he passed through Rome, the inhabitants of that metropolis earnestly pressed him to continue there, and teach philosophy, but could not by any offers prevail upon him to accept that office; so that after a short stay in their city, he returned to Conflantinople (74). Theodosius raised him in 384. to the dignity of presect of Constantinople, and once had some thoughts of committing to his care the education of his fon Arcadius (75). He wrote several discourses in praise of that prince before the year 385, but as none of his orations are

(41) Spanh. l. vii. p. 643. Vost. poet. Lat. p. 36. Manil. p. 160, 161. (42) Vide Noris epoch. p. 298. 302. (43) Veg. l. i. p. 13. J. l. ii. p. 30. (44) Idem, p. 13. (45) Idem, l.i. c. 20. p. 24. (46) Orat. Constantii Aug. de Themist. or. xx. p. 234. (50) Idem, or. i. p. 375. (51) Idem, or. ii. p. 23. (48) Julian. ep. xviii. p. 135. (49) Themist. or. xx. p. 234. (50) Idem, or. i. p. 375. (51) Idem, or. ii. p. 28. (52) Idem, or. xxiii. p. 292. J. or. xviii. p. 214. or. xxviii. p. 332. 333. (53) Greg. Naz. ep. cxl. p. 866. (54) Idem, ep. cxxxix. p. 865. (55) Idem, or. xxviii. p. 233. or. xxiii. p. 294. 295. (56) Phot. c. 73. p. 164. (57) Aug. de categ. c. 2. p. 23. J. c. 22. p. 34. (58) Phot. c. 74. p. 161. (59) Euseb. p. 241. (60) Idem, or. xviii. p. 298. J. or. Const. p. 22. (62) Idem, or. xxiii. p. 295. (63) Idem ibid. p. 294. (64) Idem, or. xxiii. p. 165. J. or. xxxi. p. 354. or. Const. p. 18. (66) Or. Const. ibid. (67) Themist. or. iv. p. 54. (68) Julian. ad Themist. p. 479. (69) Themist. or. v. p. 69. (70) Idem, or. x. p. 129. (71) Idem ibid. p. 133. J. or. xxiii. p. 298. J. or. xxxi. p. 354. (73) Socr. l. iv. c. 32. p. 250. Soz. l. vi. c. 36. p. 696. (74) Themist. or. xxiii. p. 298. J. or. xxxi. p. 354. (75) Idem, or. xviii. p. 215. vol. VI. No. 6.

shought to be posterior to that year, he is supposed to have died foon after. All the emperors who reigned in his time, shewed him great respect, and distinguished him above all the other philosophers. Of his orations thirty-three have reached our times, comprising one in the Latin tongue, which several critics suppose not to be his. In Photius's time they were in all thirty-fix, and among them one addressed to Valentinian II. which since his time has been lost (76). Photius commends his style as grave, and at the same time florid and elegant (77). He declares himself in several places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheless commends all the emperors alike, and bestows as great encomiums upon Valens, as upon Theodosius. A poet, by name Palladius, charges him with ambitiously aspiring at the dignity of prefect, not with standing his pretended con-tempt of grandeur and honours (78). When Palladius lived, we know not. Themistius's thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one Eutychianus, who lived in the fixth century; but it is evident from his writings, that he professed paganism, tho' he was not perhaps such a fanatic as Libanius or Eunapius. Gregory Nazianzen, who admired his eloquence, wrote two letters to him, recommending several persons to his protection (79).

Eunapius, who wrote the lives of the sophists of the fourth century, was a native of Sardes, the metropolis of Lydia; but studied at Athens for the space of five years, under Proereses, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, professor of eloquence in that city. He returned afterwards to Lydia, and there taught rhetoric. He applied himself likewise to the study of physic, and to that of magic, under Chrysantus, who had married his cousin. He was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusina, and blindly attached to all the ceremonies of the pagan superstition (80). By Chrysanthus he was induced to write the lives of the fophists; which work he begins with the life of Porinus, who flourished in the middle of the third century. From Plosinus he proceeds to the lives of Porphyrius, of Iamblichus, and his disciples, who were all addicted to the study of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (81). He mentions the ravages committed in Greece by Alaric in 395 and 396. whence it is plain, that he did not put the last hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the history of the emperors, which consisted of fourteen books, and extended from the beginning of the reign of Claudius, the successor of Gallienus, where the history of Dexippus ended, to the death of Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius; that is, from the year 268. to 404 (82). His life of the emperor Julian was rather a panegyric, than a history (83). Some fragments of this history are still to be found in Suidas (84), and in the abstracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on em-bassies. Vossus writes, that the intire history of Eunapius is lodged in the public library of Venice (85). The history of Zosimus is but an abridgment of that of Eunapius (86). They were both declared enemies to all the christian princes, especially to Constantine the Great, tho Empapies retrenched, in the second edition of his work, most of the invectives against the christians, which he had inserted in the first (87). In his lives of the sophists, he betrays the same prejudice against the christian religion, and in several places inveighs with great bitterness against the monks. Photius commends his style as elegant, concise and expressive; but finds fault with his endless metaphors, which better suit an orator, than an historian (88). In the lives of the sophists, his style is often obscure, and not easily understood, which has led several able writers into gross mistakes (89). He frequently disagrees with the historians of his own time; nay, with those who were eye-witnesses of the events they relate. The two philosophers, Pappus and Theo, stourished at Alexandria, in the reign of Theodofius. The former wrote a general description of the earth, a treatise on the rivers of Lydia, and some other books on different subjects Theo, or Theon, belonged to the museum, says Suidas (91); that is, to the society of learned men, who composed the academy of Alexandria. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the Nile, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, aftrology, on Ptelemy's canon, and on other subjects (92). Dodwel published a fragment of Theo of Alexandria on Ptolemy's canon, with a book of fasti, which he supposes to have been done by the same writer (93).

(76) Phot. c. 76. p. 164. (77) Idem ibid. (78) Antholog. l. ii. c. 52. p. 188. Voff. poet. Grac. p. 93. (79) Greg. Naz. ep. 139, 140. p. 865. (80) Eunap. c. p. 8. 82, 102, 103. Phot. c. 77. p. 169. Jonf. l. iii. c. 17. p. 296—299. (81) Eunap. c. 21. p. 144. (82) Phot. ibid. Eunap. p. 75. (83) Phot. ibid. (84) Suid. p. 1099, 2237. (85) Voff. bift. Grac. l. ii. c. 18. p. 252. (86) Phot. e. 98. p. 272. (87) Phot. ibid. Suid. p. 1515. (88) Phot. p. 169, 172. (89) Vide Jonf. l. iii. e. 17. p. 298. (90) Suid. p. 424. p. 1307. (91) Idem ibid. (92) Idam ibid. p. Jonf. l. iii. e. 2. p. 219. (93) Append. ad Cypr. diff p. 1, 10, 98, 106.

## C H A P. XXIX.

The Roman history, from the death of Theodofius the Great, to the taking of Rome the first time by the Goths.

HEODOSIUS divided, as we have observed above, the empire at his death a between his two sons Acceding and Hamiltonian between his two fons Arcadius and Honorius; but as they were too young to Rufinus prime eleven he committed the format and he format Rufinus prime eleven, he committed the former to the care of Rufinus, and the latter to that of

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a Stilltho. Rufinus was a native of Eause in Gascony b, and not of Eusa in Bosporus, as fome have imagined, misled by the authority of Tire Prospers. He appeared first at court in the reign of Theodosius, who, being taken with his uncommon address, and extraordinary qualities, raised him, about the year 390. to the post of magister officiorum, to the consular dignity in 392. and the same year to that of presect of the east, leaving him at Constantinople vested with almost an absolute and unlimited power, when he fet out for the west in 394. to make war on Eugenius d. Rusinus was well- His character. Thaped in his person, tall, of a graceful mien, and sprightly genius. He professed the christian religion, and was baptized in 394. on occasion of the solemn consecration of a church, which he had built, together with a palace, near Chalcedon f. He b could never have gained the efteem and confidence of Theodosius, without the appearance, at least, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. St. Ambrose ranked him among his friends, and was glad to see him preferred 8. He lived in great intimacy with Symmachus, if the last letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addressed to him. In those letters Symmachus commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery h. He likewise extols his virtue, his fincerity and difinterestedness, and the penetration of Theodosius in chusing so worthy a minister . But the same writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time k. Claudian charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiousness, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature c is capable. Suidas and Zosimus speak of him as a great dissembler, and one who trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine, when they stood in the way of his unbounded ambition, and infatiable avarice . St. Jerom likewise charges him with avarice ; Orofius o, Philostorgius P, and Marcellinus in his chronicle 4, with having stirred up the barbarians against the empire, in order to raise himself, in that confusion of affairs, to the sovereignty. St. Ambrose reproaches him in Theodoret as the author of the massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. Zosimus ascribes to his treachery the death of Promotus, killed by the barbarians in 391. and the downfal and misfortunes of Tatianus, and his fon Proculus, in 392 . But other writers question the innocence both of the father and son, as we have already observed. Stid licho, who ruled with no less absolute sway in the west under Honorius, than Rusinus Stilicho first did in the east under Arcadius, was originally a Vandal, whence he is styled by St. Jerom minister to Honorius. a demi-barbarian. Claudian, who was no less biassed in his favour, than prejudiced against his rival Rufinus, mentions none of his ancestors, besides his father, who had a considerable command in the army under Valens u. Stilicho himself bore arms from His character. his childhood, and rose by degrees to the post of magister utriusque militiæ, that is, of general both of the horse and foot w. He commanded the Roman troops, according to Zosimus, for the space of twenty-three years; that is, from 385. to 408. and attended Theodosius in all his wars x. That prince must have entertained a great opinion of him, fince he preferred him to all those who courted his niece Serena, whom e he had adopted after the death of her father Honorius. By her Stilicho had a son, named Eucherius, born at Rome in 389. while Theodosius was in that city, and two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of our history. Theodosius would not have honoured Stilicho with his alliance, had he not professed the christian religion; but as he is more commended by the pagan than christian writers, and his son Eucherius openly declared himself against christianity, we cannot, upon the bare testimony of Baronius, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious christian. Zosimus writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the Roman armies, he never fold any military employments, or deprived the foldiers, as others had done to enrich themselves, of f the least share of their pay. The same writer extols his moderation, in not preferring

\* Oros. l. vii. p. 221. Ambr. ferm. de divers. p. 117. Zos. p. 780. B Claud. in Rut. 1. 1. p. 12, 25. Dz Marca histoire de Bearn, p. 24. d Zos. l. iv. p. 773. Cod. Theod tit. 6. p. 382. Mb. ep. 50. p. 309. Philost. l. xi. c. 3. p. 528. Soz. l. viii. c. 17. p. 780. f Pallati. 8 Amb. ep. 50. p. 309. h Symm. l. iii. ep. 82, 83, 88. p. 137. Symm. l. iii. ep. 82, 83, 88. p. 137. AMB. ep. 50. p. 309.

hift. Lauf. c. 12. p. 915.

AMB. ep. 50. p. 309.

hift. Lauf. c. 12. p. 915.

AMB. ep. 50. p. 309.

AMB. ep. 5 9 Mar. chron. p. 79. F Theodor. l. v. c. 17. p. 728. P. 93. Val. ser. Franc. l. i. p. 104. Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. p. 124. W Prosp. l. iii. c. 38. p. 150. Grut. p. 112.

his fon Eucherius to any confiderable employments, tho' he had a just title to the

first in the state . But other writers thatge him even with a delign of raising his a fon to the empire, and deposing his lawful sovereign Honorius, his ward and his sonin-law; for that prince married successively both Stilicho's daughters. Zosimus endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the fame time owns him to have been in the highest degree corrupt and partial in the administration of justice; to have countenanced those who plundered the provinces, provided they shared with him the

at the fovereignty.

tinus's cruelty and arbitrary proceedings.

ries Eudoxia.

spoils; and to have in a short time acquired, by the most unlawful means, immense riches 2. We read the same thing in Suidas b, who feems to have copied it from Eunapius. To resume now the thread of our history: Upon the death of Theodosius, Arcadius, to whom the eaftern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to Constantinople, while Honorius continued at Milan, to awe with his presence the bar- b barians inhabiting the countries bordering on Rhætia, who were faid to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As Honorius was but a child, and Arcadius a youth, without either parts or experience, both princes bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in Rufinus and Stilicho, of whom the former ruled with an absolute sway in the east, and the other in the west. These two mini-Both minifer, sters agreed, says Zosimus, in plundering the provinces, and impoverishing whole agree in plun- nations, to enrich themselves; but at the same time, jealous of each other's grandering the fee- deur, neither of them thought himself sase, while his rival continued in power c. Stilicho pretended, that Theodosius in dying had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires: hence looking upon the power which c Rufinus enjoyed in the east as a mere usurpation, he was constantly meditating with himself in what manner he might compass his ruin, and engross the whole autho-Rufinus aspires rity to himself d. On the other hand, Rusinus, not satisfied to rule with an absolute sway under Arcadius, began to aspire at the sovereignty; and thinking the readiest way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any disparagement to assume his father-in-law for his collegue, he caused overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmost fecreey; which however foon became the public talk, and heightened the aversion which the people had already conceived against him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings e. While this affair was on foot, Eucherius, the d emperor's uncle, thinking himself ill-used by Lucianus, count of the east, complained of him to Arcadius, who cast the whole blame upon Rufinus, by whose interest he had been raised to that post. Lucianus was the son of Florentius, presect of Gaul in the latter end of the reign of Constantius; and having purchased the favour of Rusinus, by presenting him with rich possessions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the east, in which office he is said to have acquitted himself with the greatest justice, moderation and integrity; insomuch that he refused even to comply with a request of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconsistent with equity. This being misrepresented to Arcadius, Rusinus, instead of protecting one who had purchased his favour at so great a price, lest Constantinople, without imparting his design to any one; and hastening to Antioch with Aremarkable a small retinue, entered that city in the dead of the night, caused Lucianus to be instance of Ru-apprehended, and when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho no one appeared against him, to be beaten with leaden balls fastened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of Antioch, and Rufinus, to appeale them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the most stately edifice in all Syria. From Antioch Rusinus returned in great haste to Constantinople, pleasing himself with the thoughts of his suture affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found Arcadius immoveably determined to marry Eudoxia, who had been proposed to him by the eunuch Eutropius; and f Arcadius mar- accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-seventh of April of this year 395. to the great disappointment of Rusinus . Eudoxia was a Frank by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general Bauto, who had been consul in 385. and not of the emperor Gratian, or of the famous general Promotus, as some have advanced Her charaster. Without sufficient grounds. As she was a woman of great address, of a haughty and imperious temper, she soon gained an absolute sway over the weak prince her

F Idem, l. v. p. 110, 111.

2 PHILOST. p. 461, 465.

2 Zos p. 780—789.

3 Suid. p. 690,

4 Idem ibid. p. 782.

5 CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. & conf. Hon. 3.

5 Idem, l. v. p. 780, 781.

5 Idem, p. 781, 782.

6 Chron. Alex.p. 710.

7 Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 65.

8 PHILOST. l. xi. c. 6. p. 729.

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a husband . Some writers have questioned her modesty k; but from that charge she is cleared by others, tho' all agree in accusing her of an insatiable avarice, which often prompted her to most flagrant acts of injustice. However, she had some outward appearance of piety, favoured the catholics, shewed great respect to the prelates and clergy; and having prevailed upon the emperor in 401. to demolish the temple of Marnas, and other temples at Gaza, she built in that city a most stately and magnificent church, which from her was called Eudoxiana. Hence St. Chrysoftom publicly commended her as the mother of the church, the patroness of the saints, the support of the poor, &c 1. But the cruel persecution she afterwards raised against her panegyrist, has rendered her name infamous in the history of the church. But to return to Rufinus:

b That minister found himself disappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the same time dreaded the credit of the eunuch Eutropius, but more the arms of Stilicho, who pretended to have been by Stilicho claims Theodosius appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the same p the east, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. In order therefore in the east as in to defeat the designs of Stilicho, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of Eutropius, and even of seizing the sovereign power, he resolved to set all in a slame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost consuston. With this view he privately Russius stirs firred up by his emissaries the Hunns, who penetrated as far as Antioch, destroying up the Hunns all with fire and found, and commissing every where upheard of cruelties and fact the and Goths to all with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties ". At the invade the em-

c same time he encouraged the samous Alaric to put himself at the head of his country-pire. men the Goths, and drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his standard, to break into Greece, affuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. Alaric at that time commanded a body of Goths in the Roman fervice; but being diffatisfied, that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, fince he had distinguished himself in the late war with Eugenius, he readily closed with the proposal of Rusinus; and being by him supplied with large sums, he affembled an incredible multitude of barbarians of different nations; and putting himself at their head, he ravaged all Thrace, Pannonia, Macedon and Thessaly. As he drew near the famous streights of Thermopyla, Gerontius, who guarded them, and was

d privy to the wicked defigns of his patron Rufinus, immediately withdrew, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into Greece, where they raged with incredible fury, Dreadful raputting those to the sword who offered to oppose them, and sending into their respe-vages commit-Ctive countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with ted by the the whole wealth of that opulent province. As Antiochus, at that time proconsul of the conduct of Achaia, and another of Rufinus's creatures, did not offer to make head against them, Alaric. they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing fuch ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between Dalmatia, the Adriatic gulf, and the Euxine sea, was laid waste, and turned into a desert, the inhabitants concealing themselves

e in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of Constantinople itself was in a manner belieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldness to the very gates of that metropolis. Rufinus, attired after the Gotbic manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery.

WHILE these things passed in the east, Stilicho was busied on the bank of the Stilicho renews Rhine, in renewing the antient alliances of the Roman people with the Franks, and the antient alliances with the other German nations. This he accomplished, says Claudian P, in less than fourteen German nadays; which Mr. Valois maintains to be absolutely impossible. That writer speaks sions. f much at length of Marcomir and Sunno, two princes or chiefs of the Franks in those days, as does likewise Gregory of Tours. Claudian, who distinguishes them with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, says, that they endeavoured to raise new disturbances after the peace concluded with Stilicho; but that one of them, after having been kept some time in prison, was banished into Tuscany; that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that Honorius appointed other kings over the Franks in their

m Oros. l. vii. c. 37. WAL. room.

Stillcho relief of Greece

turn into the

west.

Rufinus murdered

And his estate confilcated.

in his power and employments by Eutropius.

room. This feems to have happened, according to Claudian, before the revolt of a Gildo; that is, before the end of the year 397. Valefius writes, that Marcomir outlived Sunno; and confequently that it was he who was banished into Tuscany. He is thought to have been the father of Faramond, supposed to have been the first king of France ". Stilicho, having thus renewed the antient treaties with the Franks and Germans, resolved to march to the succour of Greece; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportunity of ruining Rufinus. and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving theremarches to the fore Gaul about the latter end of the spring, he set forward with all the western troops, and those likewise of the east, that had been lest in the west after the deseat of Eugenius. He marched, according to Claudian, over the Alps, no doubt the b Julian Alps, and consequently through Dalmatia. The barbarians, hearing of his arrival in those parts, resolved to make a stand in Thessaly, and with this view assembled into one body all their troops, that were in feveral parties dispersed about the country. Stilicho was already within a small distance of the enemy's army, and his men shewed a great forwardness to engage them, when Rusinus, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon Arcadius to fend for the oriental troops. Accordingly an officer He is ordered by was dispatched to Stilicho, with a peremptory order from the emperor to send them Areadius to re- forthwith, and return with the rest into the west. Stilicho was greatly surprised at this order, which, he thought, fnatched out of his hands a certain victory, and c exposed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to disobey, he not only fent the troops, but half the treasure which Theodosius had left w. In dismissing the forces, he appointed one Gainas, by nation a Goth, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to Constantinople, after having imparted to him his delign of dispatching Rufinus, and, no doubt, encouraged him to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to put it in execution. Under his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of November; and the emperor, according to custom, went out in person to meet them, attended by Rusinus, who, as he had gained over some of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occasion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the foldiery. d The army received the emperor with all the respect due to the son of Theodosius the Great; but at the same time, upon a signal given by Gainas, they sell upon Rusinus, and cut him in pieces, while he was pressing Arcadius to declare him his collegue x. This happened, according to Claudian, at the palace of Hebdomon !, where the emperors of the east were usually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a stone in his mouth to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a spear to Constantinople, where it was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy . They likewise cut off his right hand, and carrying it about the streets of Constantinople, asked alms for the infatiable Rusinus, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected confiderable fums, every one being glad to reward with some e small acknowledgment those who had contributed to the death of a person they so much abhorred. His estate and all his effects were confiscated; and the decree issued on that occasion was sent to Rome, where the people expressed the greatest joy at the death and deserved end of that insatiable robber, to use the expression of Symmachus, who had plundered the world b. His wife and daughter, fearing they should fall a facrifice to the sury of the people, took sanctuary in a church, whence they were suffered to retire to Jerusalem, where they spent the rest of their days. Palladius bestows great encomiums on Salvia or Silvia, the sister of Rusinus, who had embraced the state of virginity d. From a law dated the fifth of August of the ensuing year 396. it appears, that his wife's fortune was restored to her . Neither Stillicho f He is succeeded nor the empire gained any thing by the death of Rusinus, he being succeeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities, by the eunuch Eutropius, who had concurred with Stilicho in all his measures against their common rival. Eutropius was by birth an Armenian, by condition a

a flave, and had been made an eunuch foon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in His extraction, request, and consequently more advantageous to the seller, than common slaves. He employments, had frequently shanged masters, having been often bought and fold. When he and character. had frequently changed masters, having been often bought and sold. When he was already stricken in years, a soldier, named Ptolemy, gave him as a present to his general Arintheus, who was famous under Valens: Arintheus presented his daughter with him when she was matried, to comb her hair, and perform such-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer discharge on account of his age, the gave him his liberty. Being now his own mafter, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the lowest offices, till he was raised by the interest of Abundantius, who was consul in 393. to a more creditable posts. Theodob fius sent him in 392, as we read in Sozomen, to consult the holy hermit John in the wilderness of Thebaiss. That prince seems to have reposed some confidence in him. After the marriage of Arcadius with Eudoxid, he was made, no doubt at her recommendation, great chamberlain, and upon the death of Rufinus, vested with the same power and authority which that minister had enjoyed s. Rusinus seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to Eunapius, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous manh. That writer, after having drawn his pottrait in the blackest colours, concludes, that he has not painted him such as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deservedly charge him . He surpassed in avarice Rufinus himfelf, exposing to public sale the chief employments, and enc tertaining an incredible number of informers to accuse such persons as were possessed of estates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers : the prisons, and places of banishment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, stripped of their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned 1. As for Arcadius, who was a prince of very slender parts, he suffered himself to be intirely governed by this wicked minister, not daring in a manner to inquire into his conduct, or give ear to those who had the boldness to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by several laws of this year, he confirmed those that had been enacted by his father against heretics m; and by one addressed to Marcellus, then magister officiorum, he commanded that officer to inquire with great care whed ther any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to dismiss, but to banish such as he should discover in the palace, with those who had recommended them ". Honorius continued all this year at Milan, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

THE next confuls were, Artadius the fourth time, and Honorius the third. This year Stilicho, who was returned to Italy with the western troops, set out anew with stilicho rea defign to succour Greece, reduced to a most deplorable condition by Alaric, and the turns to the barbarians under his command. He embarqued on the Adriatic sea; and landing Greece. without opposition in Peloponnesus, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various fuccessful encounters; and in the end obliged them to retire to a mountain in Arcae dia, named Pholoe, at a small distance from Pisa. There he shut them up on all fides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the course of the river that supplied them with water o. But when he had them thus in his power, he suffered them to escape, to retire out of Peloponnesus, and to But suffers pillage Epirus in their retreat P. Orosius supposes him to have conmived at their Alaric so of escape, and therefore thinks him no less guilty than Rushus, who first stirred them cape. up against the empire q. Zosimus writes, that they owed their safety to the negligence and misconduct of Stilichot. But Claudian tells us, that Eutropius, looking upon Stilicho as a more dangerous enemy than Alaric, persuaded Arcadius to conclude a peace with the latter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the best f provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order Stilicho to withdraw his troops forthwith out of Greece, which belonged to Arcadius. Thus was Stilicho robbed the second time by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians'. Soon after, Alaric was by Arcadias, or father

by his governor Eutropius, appointed commander of the troops in East-Illyricum,

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Goth. p. 170. & in Eutrop. L ii. p. 113.

Stiliche, at the instigation of Eutropius, declared a public enemy.

which comprised Greece, as we read in Claudian' (N). As for Stilicho, though he immediately retired with his troops out of Greece, pursuant to the orders of Arcadius, yet that prince, in obedience to the commands of Eutropius, as Zosimus expresses it, caused him to be declared a public enemy by a solemn decree of the senate of Constantinople ", ordering at the same time all the lands and palaces he had in the east to be seized and confiscated w. Claudian adds, that Stilicho discovered an assassin, who had been hired to murder him, and several letters dispersed among his troops, in order to debauch them, and fir them up against him . Eutrofius, not fatisfied with having thus defeated all the measures of Stilicho, aspiring at the same post in the court of Arcadius which he held in that of Honorius, resolved to remove all those out of the way, in whom Arcadius seemed to repose any confidence. He h began with Abundantius, by whose means he had been first raised at court, and who on that account deserved, according to Claudian y, tho' not at his hands, the treatment he met with. Abundantius had ferved in the army with great reputation in the time of Gratian, and had been raifed by Theodosius to the post of general both of the horse and soot, to the prætorship, and in 393. to the consular dignity 2. But Eutropius, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known integrity, procured him at court, and panting after the immense wealth with which his eminent services had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince with his crafty and malicious infinuations, to banish him to Pityus, a city of Bosporus, to the north of the Euxine sea, and beyond Colchis; where he led a miserable life, stripped of all c his effects, till the death of Eutropius, when he was removed from thence, and confined to Sidon in Phanicia, in which city he died a. The credit which Timafius had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked minister, who could bear no competitor, more jealousy than that of Abundantius. He had been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had served Valens and Theodosius in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389. Histreacherous with the consular dignity b. Eutropius, resolving to procure by some means or other the ruin of so powerful a rival, had recourse to one Bargus, who lived in great intimacy with Timasius. Bargus was a person of a mean descent, and had been obliged for some notorious crime to fly from Laodicea in Syria, his native city, and d retire to Sardes in Lydia. There Timasius accidentally met him; and being pleased with his facetious conversation, without inquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with him to Constantinople; at which the magistrates were highly displeased, because he had been formerly banished that city. To this man, as a proper instrument for his villainous purpose, Eutropius applied, and easily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accusing him of treason, and producing against him a counterfeit writing, upon which he was without delay brought to his trial. Eutropius persuaded the emperor to judge him in person; but perceiving the people were highly provoked to see a person of Timasius's dignity and character arraigned upon the deposition of such an infamous and mercenary wretch as Bargus, he advised the e prince, whom he managed as he pleased, to withdraw, and substitute Saturninus and Procopius in his room. Of these the former had discharged the chief employments in the state, and the consulship in 383. but is said to have dishonoured his old age by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling minister d. Procopius was son-in-law to the emperor Valens, of a rough and savage temper, but not easily prevailed upon to swerve from what he thought just and equitable, as appeared in this case; for he boldly maintained, that such an infamous wretch as Bargus ought not to be admitted as evidence against a person of Timasius's rank,

practices against Timafius.

Eutropius

banished.

causes Abundantius to be

> \* Idem in Eutrop. ibid. 
> \* Zos. p. 788. 
> \* CLAUD ibid. Zos. l. 5. p
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> \* CLAUD. Zos. ibid, Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. Ast. or. iv. p. 76.
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> \* Zos. p. 786, 787. 
> \* Idem ibid. \* Zos. p. 788. W CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l.i. p. 130. X Idem ibid. Zos. l. 5. p. 788. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 347. iii. p. 26. Ast. or. iv. p. 76. Zos. p. 786, 787. Ast. p. 76. \* Idem ibid. f

(N) His words are,

Ditatur; qui fervat, eget. Vassaror Achiva Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,

Prasidet Illyrico. Jam quos obsedit, amicus Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus, Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit. Sic hostes punire solent, hat pramia solvant Excidiis-- (8o).

a against his friend and benefactor. But Saturninus prevailing, the unhappy Timasius was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to Oasis, a barren and inhospitable Timasius baplace in Libya, from which there was no possible means of escape, it being sur-nished. rounded by a vast desart, full of sand, which moving to and fro with the wind, fuffered no track or footstep of any former traveller to be seen. Of this place, to which criminals began to be confined about this time, Zosimus gives us, on occasion of the exile of Timasius, a most frightful description. The same historian adds, that a report was spread, that Syagrius, the son of Timasius, accused as privy to the crime of his father, having escaped from those who had been sent to seize him, rescued his father, with the assistance of some robbers, out of the hands of the solb diers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the son were ever after heard of f. Others write, that Timasius was found dead in the fands that furrounded Oasis, having perhaps attempted to make his escape 8. St. Jerom, writing in this year 396. says, that Timasius lived then an exile at Assus, a city of Asia h. But as Sozomen, Zosimus and Asterius agree, that he was confined to Oasis, some, instead of Assus, read in the text of St. Jerom, Oasis; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was first banished to Assus, and afterwards, by Eutropius's orders, conveyed to Oasis. Bargus did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedness; for Eutropius, who was a man of too great discernment to trust a traitor, and well knew, that one who e had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, resolved to get rid of him as foon as possible; and accordingly, having fent him upon some advantageous commission out of Constantinople, during his absence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her husband, to present to the emperor some treasonable papers, which she pretended to have found in his custody. Hereupon Bargus was upon his return arraigned, fentenced to death, and executed. Thus His accuser was the crime of that treacherous wretch punished, as it deserved, by the very Bargus put 10 person who had induced him to commit it k. Pentadia, the wife of Timasius, was death. deaconess of the church of Constantinople in 404. when St. Chrysostom was banished that city: he wrote, while in exile, several letters to her, in one of which he ind quires after her family and relations, and calls her house a house of bleffing!. It was, according to Sozomen, in order to apprehend Pentadia, and some others who had taken fanctuary in the church, that Eutropius persuaded the emperor to enact a law forbidding any one to fly to the church for refuge; and commanding those who should, to be dragged from the altars, and punished the more severely . This law raised a general odium against Eutropius n: Socrates pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that afterwards befel him o: Sozomen and Chrysostom exclaim loudly against it P, and observe, that in a few years after Eutropius himself was forced to fly to that afylum, from which he had excluded others, owning, fays Chrysoftom, more by his actions than his words, the injustice of his law q. It was e revoked immediately after the difgrace and downfal of Eutropius, and erased out of all the public registers. Churches are still held as asylums in Italy, and the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal; which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cause of the many murders committed in those countries. This year dreadful earth- Great earthquakes were felt in most provinces of the east, and the sky appearing all in a flame quakes, &c. in over the city of Constantinople, terrified the inhabitants and the emperor himself to the east. such a degree, that, abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. It was revealed, as St. Austin writes, to a pious person, that the city of Constantinople was on a certain day to be confumed by fire fent from heaven: when that day came, the above-mentioned phænomenon appeared over the city, but vanished some time after, leaving it unhurt, the inhabitants, who had given credit to the prediction, having by a fincere and timely repentance prevented the execution of the fentence pronounced against them. Thus St. Austin, in a sermon which he preached a sew years after s. From the several laws of this year, most of which tend to the utter suppression of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that Arcadius continued the whole time at Constantinople, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-second of March is dated from Regium, which is supposed to have been an im-

r. 26. I. iv. c. 3. p. 257.
P Soz. Chrys. ibid. m Soz. p. 766.

q Idem ibid. Vol. VI. Nº 6.

perial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year a Fritigil, queer in the west worthy of notice, except the conversion of Fritigil, queen of the Marof the Mirco-comans, to the christian religion. At the request of St. Ambrose, who wrote several mans, converted to the christopher in the holy mysteries, she is said by Paulinus sed to the christopher in the holy mysteries, she is said by Paulinus sian religion. Diaconus to have induced the king her husband to enter into an alliance with the Romans: it is certain that amongst the many barbarous nations that in the present reign broke into the empire, no mention is made of the Marcomans. Some mifunderstanding arose this year between St. Ambrese and Stilicho, the latter having caused a criminal, by name Cresconius, to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge: but Stilicho in the end acknowledged his fault, and atoned for it ". Honorius continued all this year at Milan, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

THE next confuls were Cafarius and Atticus; the former had succeeded Rusinus in the prefecture of the east, Eutropius being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of West Illyricum under Valentinian II. in 384. Casarius seems to have entered upon his consulship at Constantinople, and Atticus at Rome w. This year 397. Arcadius, leaving Constantinople in the month of July, went to Ancyra, and staid there till the latter end of September, when he returned to the metropolis with as much pomp and shew as if he had conquered the Persians, says Claudian, who supposes him to have constantly passed the summer at Ancyra, Eutropius diverting him by that progress from applying his mind to affairs of statex. Stilicho still claimed the administration of affairs in the east, and was preparing to c march anew into the dominions of Arcadius, in order to make good his claim by force of arms, and revenge on Eutrapius the injurious decree issued against him by the senate of Constantinople. But that wicked and crafty minister, not scrupling, for the support of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately Eutropius fer- persuaded Gildo, who commanded the Roman troops in Africa, to revolt from Honosuades Gildo to rius, and submit to Arcadius, hoping by that means to divert Stilicho from pursuing his intended expedition into the east y. Gildo was brother to the famous Firmus, who made war upon the Romans in 373. but was overcome by count Theodosius, the father of the emperor of that name. In that war Gildo sided with the Romans, and was afterwards, that is, about the year 387. by Valentinian II. or rather by Theodo- d fius, who governed in his name, appointed count of Africa, and commander of all the troops in that province. Theodofius, that he might have, as it were, some pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo, to Nebridius, nephew by the mother to the empress Flaccilla 2. St. Jerom, in a letter which he wrote to Salvina about the year 400. Ityles her a virtuous and truly christian widow; and at the same time commends the piety of her mother, and her father's fifter, who had embraced the flate of virginity. As for Gildo himself, he was, if not by religion, as Marcellinus will have it, at least in his manners, a pagan. Glaudian charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdness, the more shameful and scandalous, as he was already stricken in years b. c St. Austin speaks of him as one famous for wickedness and debauchery; and in one of his sermons styles him, tho' without naming him, a wicked wretch d. When Eugenius usurped the empire of the west, Gildo acknowledged Theodosius; but when that prince marched against the usurper in 394. he declined sending him any succours, as other governors of provinces had done, in obedience to the emperor's orders, expecting the issue of the war, as was supposed, in order to join the party that should prevail; insomuch that Theodosius would have treated him as an open enemy, according to Claudian, had he not been prevented by death. Eutropius having induced him to revolt from Honorius, as we have related above, he obliged most of the cities of Africa and Carthage itself to acknowledge Arcadius, placing such f governors in them as he knew were attached to his own interest, with a design of acknowledged feizing, when an opportunity offered, the province for himself, as he had but a very in most cities of mean opinion of both princes f. When news of his revolt was brought to Honorius,

Gido's character.

revolt from

Honorius.

Africa.

he acquainted the senate of Rome with it, who immediately declared Gildo a public

t PAUL. DIAC. vit. Amb. c. 36. p. 10. \* Idem, c. 34. p. 9. w Sym. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. Cod.

\* Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110.

Hier. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Thead. Theod. chronol. p. 136. Prosp. p. 470. Idat. in fast.

\*\*CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110.

\*\*Zos. p. 788.

\*\*Ammian. l. xxix. p. 399. Zos. l.v. p. 788. Hier. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. CLaud. bell. Gild. p. 70—78.

\*\*Hier. ep. ix. p. 73—76.

\*\*CLaud. bell. Gild. p. 74. 84.

\*\*Aug. ep. lxiv. p. 285.

\*\*Idem in fo. hom. v. p. 29.

\*\*CLaud. ibid. p. 76.

\*\*Idem ibid. & de laud. Stil. l.i. p. 130. Oros. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221.

a enemy, and dispatched a solemn embassy to Arcadius, intreating him to restore Africa to its lawful fovereign 8. Symmachus at the fame time wrote to Arcadius, probably by order and in the name of the fenate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendship and amity, with his brother . In the mean time a famine began to rage in Rome, Gildo not suffering any corn to be conveyed thither from Africa. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed against Gildo, and the other in bringing corn and other provisions to Rome from Gaul and Spain 1. The former sailed this year, and, with a seasonable supply, quieted the populace, ready to rife; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During these warlike preparations, died the celebrated bishop of Milan St. Ambrose, St. Ambrose b by no one more regretted than by Stiliche, who, looking upon the death of that dies. prelate as the greatest misfortune that could befal Italy, had, upon the first news of his illness, caused public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of Milan k. Honorius continued this whole year at Milan. Some of his laws are indeed dated from Rome; but that is generally thought to be a mistake 1. By one of these set up in the Some laws square of Trajan on the ninth of March, he forbids the Romans to follow in their enacted this dress foreign fashions m; for it is to be observed, that the Romans, by conversing year. familiarly with the Goths, grew, by degrees, fond of their fashions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened foon after. A blind submission to the modes and fashions of a foreign nation, has but too often c been the forerunner of a more dreadful flavery: may it not prove such in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predeceffors, moved by a due respect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the ecclefiastics, and particularly to the bishop of Rome p. In the east, Arcadius, by a law dated the first of April, commanded all the Apollinarian teachers to be banished Constantinople, and the houses where they had held their private assemblies to be confiscated . That of the seventeenth of June forbids any one to insult the Jews, or their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of illustrious, which was given to the first officers of the empire P. The law dated the first of July, exempts the ministers of their religion from the same burdens, from which the d bishops, priests and deacons were exempted q. By a law dated the eighth of November, Arcadius commanded all domestics, whether free-born or slaves, to be sentenced to death, who should inform against their masters, except in cases of treason r. This year, on the seventeenth of June, the empress Eudoxia was delivered of a daughter, Flaccilla born. named Flaccilla from the emperor's mother, and distinguished with the title of nobi-

lissima, or most noble s. THE following year 398. when Honorius was conful the fourth time, with Eutychianus, who entered upon that dignity at Constantinople, Stilicho pursued with the utmost vigour his warlike preparations against Gildo; but was greatly at a loss how to manage that expedition with fuccess, and whom to trust with the command of the e troops. But from this perplexity he was foon delivered by the feafonable arrival in Italy of Mascezel, brother to Gildo, who gave him a true account of the state of affairs in Africa, and suggested to him the most proper means for suppressing the Mascezel was not only a christian, but a person of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon resolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked defign. Gildo however vented his rage on the two fons Mascezel had left behind him, caufing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beafts. Stilicho, not doubting but, to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry f on the war with vigour, and serve the republic with unshaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition against his brother a. Zofi- Mascezel, bromus writes, that Mascezel was attended by a very numerous army w; but Orosius x ther to Gildo, and the chronicle of Alexandria y affure us, that it was but five thousand strong. him.

E CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 131. SYMM. l. iv. ep. 4. p. 143. h SYM. ibid. p. 144. l Idem, p. 143. CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131. l. iii. p. 148. in Eutrop. p. 103. bell. Gild. p. 70. k Ambr. vit. c. 34. p. 10. c. 45. p. 12. l Cod. Theod. chron. p. 136, 137. m Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 16. leg. 22. p. 215. n Idem ibid. p. 133. ldem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 33. p. 151. ldem, l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 12. p. 227. ldem, leg. 13. p. 228. r Idem, l. ix. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 52. l Mar. & Alex. chron. p. 712. ldem, l. xxix. p. 400. Oros. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. CLAUD. bell. Gild. c. 79. p. 788. ldem ibid. w Zos. p. 788. Soros. p. 221. V Chron. Alex. p. 713.

Their authority is confirmed by Claudian, who fays, that Stilicho made small prepa- a rations for this first expedition, but had in readiness another fleet, and a more renowned general, to; be employed, in case any missortune should befal the first y. That poet names the several corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of

Gildo intirely defeated.

hands on him. felf.

His estate confiscated.

licho's orders.

which Mascezel's army was composed 2. It embarqued at Pisa, and putting to sea, tho' a storm, if we may depend upon a poet a, was then apprehended, steered along the east coast of Sardinia, and landed safe in Africa. Mascezel, without loss of time, led his troops against Gildo; and falling upon him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obstinate fight, a complete victory. Thus Zosimus b. But Orofiuse, Marcellinus d, and Paulinus Diaconuse, ascribe this success to the miraculous affistance of St. Ambrose, who, appearing to Mascezel, assured him, that in b three days time he should gain a complete victory in the very place where he was then encamped. Hereupon he continued, fay they, in the same post; and the third day, after having spent the preceding night in praying, and singing hymns with some holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the island Capraria, now Capraia, he saw himself surrounded on all sides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but not in the least daunted, he marched against them with his small army in battle-array. His piety prompted him to try first, whether he could by fair means bring them back to their duty; but one of the standard bearers answering him with great arrogance, he drew his fword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the ensign. The other standard-bearers, imagining he had submitted, strove who should c be the first in following his example, and lowering their ensigns, threw themselves at the feet of Mascezel. Some of the barbarians however, encouraged by Gildo, attempted to make a stand; but were soon put to the rout. Thus were seventy thousand men, says Orosius, defeated by five thousand, without any stratagem or treachery, nay, and almost without bloodshed. This miraculous success, continues that writer, would hardly be credited, were there not many persons still living, who were eye-witnesses of it f. Paulinus assures us, that he had this account from Mascezel's own mouth, after his return to Milan s. However, we will not take upon us to prefer it to that of Zosimus. Gildo made his escape, and reaching the sea, went on board the first vessel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour d Gldoistaken; of Tabraca near Hippo in Africa, he was there apprehended, exposed to the insults of but lays violent the populace, and then thrown into prison, where he strangled himself, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death . Upon the defeat and death of Gildo, all Africa submitted anew to Honorius. Claudian, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero Stilicho, ascribes the whole success of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that minister. He wrote a poem on the war with Gildo; but that piece is imperfect, since the poet leaves the Roman fleet on the coast of Sardinia in their way to Africa. The leading men of Gildo's faction were fent to Rome, to be tried there; and some of them were publicly executed. Optatus, bishop of the Donatists at Tamugadi in Numidia, one of Gildo's most zealous partizans, died in prison. As c feveral innocent persons were, as it frequently happens on such occasions, accused, and dragged to prison, Honorius, by a law addressed to Victor proconsul of Africa, put a stop to such unjust prosecutions, ordering false informers and witnesses to be punished according to the rigour of the several laws enacted against them. Gildo's estate fell to the exchequer, and proved so large, that a particular treasurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of comes Gildoniaci patrimonii, or count of Gildo's patrimony . Africa being thus restored to its former tranquillity, Mascezel returned to Italy, and was received at Milan by Stilicho, in appearance with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting so speedy an end to a war, which the minister had so much apprehended, f giving him no small jealousy, he resolved to dispatch without delay this new rival. Accordingly, as he was one day passing a bridge in the neighbourhood of Milan, Mascezel, who attended him, with many other persons of distinction, was, by his Mascezel put private orders, pushed into the river, and drowned 1. Orosius writes, that Mascezel, to death by Sti- elated with his success, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the

> Y CLAUD. de laud. Stil. I. i. p. 131, 132. 
>
> 2 Idem, bell. Gil. p. 80. 
>
> 3 Idem ibid. 
>
> 4 Zos. ibid. 
>
> 4 Oros. p. 221. 
>
> 5 Mar. in chron. 
>
> 5 Amb. vit. c. 15. p. 13. 
>
> 6 Oros. p. 221, 222. 
>
> 8 Amb. vit. c. 51. 
>
> 6 CLAUD. de laud. Stil. I. i. p. 132. 
>
> 7 Zos. p. 788. Oros. Paulin. ibid. Mar. 
>
> 6 Chron. 
>
> 1 Cod. Theod. tit. 3. p. 288. CLAUD. ibid. p. 148. 
>
> 8 Idem, tit. 2. p. 349, 352-1 Zos. l. v. p. 788, 789. & tit. 34 P. 347.

a altars several criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cause of his unfortunate end . About the time of the defeat of Gildo, Honorius married at Milan, Maria the daughter of Stilicho Honorius by Serena, cousin german to that prince ". He was then but thirteen, and Maria marries Maria, the daughter of not yet marriageable 9; whence some authors pretend, that the marriage was never Stillcho. confummated, fince Maria died very young long before the year 408 P. Claudian wrote several poems on this marriage q, which, according to him, was first proposed, nay, and commanded, by Theodosius. But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it, shew he was a poet, and not a prophet. By the deseat of Gildo, an intire harmony was re-established between the two brothers, as that b poet tells us :; but the same misunderstanding continued between the two ministers. who nevertheless agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires a. Eutropius persuaded Arcadius Eutropius conto name him, tho' an eunuch, for the consulship of the ensuing year; but Stilicho sul. would not fuffer him to be acknowledged in the west w. Claudian writes, that when news of the consulate of Eutropius was brought to the court of Honorius, that prince was busied with Stilicho in receiving the submissions of the Alemans, Suevians and Sicambrians; in giving kings to some; and commanding others to raise levies for recruiting his armies x. Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The c same poet, in enumerating the great things Stilicho had performed by himself or others before his consulship, that is, before the year 400. says, that he succoured Britain, sellicho proattacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the Scots, who, arming all Ierne or vides for the Ireland against it, had covered the sea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition against the not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the Piets; and that he had fecured the Bri- Scots, Piets, tish coast against the descents of the Saxons, which the inhabitants apprehending before, and Saxons. were constantly on their guard, through fear of a surprize y. He adds elsewhere? that the Saxons being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the Pists having lost their strength, Britain was delivered from her fears. The learned Usher ascribes to Stilicho the establishing of a legion in Britain, to defend it against the Pists, the Scots, and d the Saxons 2. This legion is mentioned by Claudian b. About the same time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of comes limitis Saxonici, or count of the Saxon coast, that is, of the coast overagainst the country of the Saxons . In the east, the cities of Constantinople and Chal- Earthquaket cedon were shaken with violent earthquakes; several buildings were confumed with and other calalightning; and the sea, breaking in upon the land, laid whole countries under water. mities in the Claudian mentions several other prodigies, which were all the forerunners, says that poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, viz. an eunuch conful '; for the following year 390. Eutropius prevailed upon Arcadius to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of father to the emperor, and to raise him to the consular dignity. He e was the first and the last cunuch that ever held, or rather disgraced, the fasces. His image, with the enfigns of his dignity, was carried, as it were in triumph, through all the cities of the east; but Stilicho refusing to acknowledge him in the west, Man-Manlius Theolius Theodorus alone is named consul in some fasti, and in the laws of Honorius. Some dorus consulting writers, mistaking his two names for the names of two different persons, mark Man-the west. lius or Mallius, and Theodorus, as confuls of this year . Manlius Theodorus is famous from the praises bestowed upon him by Claudian, in a poem which he wrote on his confulfhip ; and by St. Auftin, who, having known him at Milan in 384. inscribed to him in 386. his book de beata vita, of a bappy life, which he published soon after his conversion s. Claudian does not commend him on account of his family, but for f his learning, his eloquence, and his virtue h. After he had pleaded some time at the bar, he governed, first, part of Libya, in quality of proconsul of Africa, and afterwards Macedon; whence he was called to court, and created quæftor, whose province

CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.

CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.

Idem, p. 63.

Idem, bell. Gild. p. 70.

Idem de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140.

Colef. Britan. antiq. p. 595. \*\* OROS. l. vii. c. 36, p. 221. 

\*\* CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4, p. 55. 

\*\* ibid. 

\*\* CLAUD. p. 56—69. 

\*\* Idem, p. 57. 

\*\* Idem, p. 63. 

\*\* Zos. l. v. p. 789. 

\*\* CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111. 

\*\* Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 102, 103. 

\*\* Uss. ii. CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 167. & epith. in Pallad. & Celer. nupt. p. 200. 

in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 108, 109. 

\*\* Idem in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 200. 

\*\* Uss. ii. Eutrop. l. ii. p. 108, 109. 

\*\* Idem in Eutrop. l. iii. p. 108, 109. 

\*\* Aug. de beat. vit. p. 212. 

\*\* CLAUD. ibid. p. 84. Uss. ecclef. Britan. antiq. p. 595.

Uss. ibid. p. 226.

CLAUD. e Uss. ibid. p. 336. CLAUD. f CLAUD. in Man. Theed. conf.

it was to draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he

was raised by Gratian in 380. Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from a public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was recalled to court by Honorius, or rather by Stilicho, who appointed him prefect of Gaul in 395. and prefect of Italy in 397 k. Symmachus bestows great encomiums upon him i; and St. Austin, who informs us that he was a christian, extols his modesty, his learning, his eloquence and generosity m. Claudian, in the poem he wrote on his consulship, admires his integrity, moderation, affability, and other virtues "; but elsewhere o, divesting himself of the character of a panegyrist, he owns, that Italy would have reaped greater advantages from the prefecture of Theodorus, had he slept less.

Varanes king of Perlia mur-

DURING the consulship of Theodorus in the west, and Eutropius in the east, died Varanes, or Vararanes IV. king of Persia, who, during the eleven years of his reign, b had lived in friendship with the Romans. He was killed, we know not upon what dered, and suc- provocation, by his own subjects, and succeeded by his brother Isdegerdes, or, as Abulceeded by Isde- faragius styles him, Yasdejird P. Eutychius, who calls him Al Aitham, supposes him to have been the fon of his predecessor q. He reigned twenty-one years, ever maintaining a friendly correspondence with the Romans; but was, according to Eutychius, a prince of great severity, or rather cruelty; whence he was surnamed Al Aitham, or Athim, that is, the had. Procopius gives him a quite different character, describing him as a generous-spirited prince s. He is famous in the history of the church, on account of the perfecution which he raised about the end of his reign against the christians in his dominions. The most remarkable event that happened in the east during c the consulship of Eutropius, was the downfal of that samous and powerful minister, which Zosimus ascribes chiefly to Gainas. He had commanded the Goths, and other barbarians, under Theodosius; and, after the deseat of Eugenius, reconducted the eastern army to Arcadius, on which occasion he caused Rusinus to be cut in pieces, in the manner we have related above. For this eminent piece of service he did not think himself sufficiently rewarded by Eutropius, who, as he used to brag, was indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common foldier he had been raised by Theodosius to the chief command of all the Goths, and other barbarians, in the Roman fervice, and by Eutropius, after the death of Rufinus, to the post of general of the Gain saissais. Roman horse and foot; but yet not satisfied, and scorning to depend upon a slave d and an eunuch, he refolved, by fome means or other, to dispatch him, hoping, if he were once removed, to succeed him in his power and authority. While he was pleasing himself with these thoughts, count Tarbigild, or Tribigild, who was by nation a Goth, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at Nicolia in Phrygia, came to court; and after a flort stay at Constantinople, was preparing to return to his quarters, highly diffatisfied with the haughty behaviour, and arbitrary conduct, of the prime minister, when Gainas, to whom he was allied, according to Socrates u, refolving to improve his discontent to the ruin of Eutropius, imparted to him the design he had formed against Eutropius, and encouraged him to revolt, assuring him, that he would, to the utmost of his power, assist and support him under-hand. Tribigild, who was a man of great intrepidity and resolution, and ready to embarque in any desperate undertaking, immediately closed with the proposal; and returning to Nicolia, took arms early in the spring, pillaged that and several other cities in Phrygia, and putting all to the fword who fell into his hands, without distinction of fex, age or condition, he threw the whole province of Asia into the utmost consusion, the inhabitants, struck with terror and dismay, abandoning their habitations, and slying for resuge to the most distant provinces. When news of these disorders was brought to court, Eutropius endeavoured first to gain Tribigild with large presents, and greater promises; but finding he could not, by fair means, bring him back to his duty, he dispatched a body of troops against him, under the conduct of one Leo, a person f greatly attached to his interest, but in every respect unfit for that command. Leo, having passed the streights of the Hellespont, continued in that neighbourhood, not daring to encounter the enemy. Gainas, who pretended to be highly provoked against Tribigild, on account of his revolt, was enjoined to guard Thrace, and the sea-coast, in order to prevent an irruption on that side; but he, keeping the whole

fied with Eutropius.

He induces Tribigild to revolt.

Tribigild pillages several provinces.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 388. \* CLAUD. ibid. p. 87, 89. Cod. Theod. ibid. & l. xi. tit. 6. leg. 11. p. 33. 

Sym. l. v. ep. p. 10. 189, ep. 4, 8. p. 11, 15. 

Mag. ibid. 

CLAUD. ibid. p. 89, 90. 

Stem, epig. xxiv. p. 261. 

PABULFAR. p. 91. 

EUTYCH. ibid. 

Lidem, tom. 2. p. 79. 

PROCOT. bell. Perf. l. i. c. 2. p. 8. 

Zos. l. v. p. 789. 

Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760, 761. 

Sozr. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. 

Sozr. ibid.

a time a private correspondence with the rebels, instead of defending Thrace, advised

Tribigild to march his forces without delay to the fea-fide, and, croffing the Hellespont, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themselves masters of Constantinople without opposition; but Tribigild, bending his march towards Pisidia, was met there by one Valentine, a citizen of Selga, at the head of a small body of slaves and peasants. Tribigila despised them at first; but as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent disputes with the robbers in those parts, learnt to make sudden onsets, and lay ambushes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length shut him up on all sides, in such manner, that no room being left for him to escape, he must ine- Is reduced to b vitably have perished, had he not, by a large sum, prevailed upon one Florentius, great distress. who guarded a narrow pass called Cochlea, to withdraw, and suffer him to retire. However, his men, by the ambuscades, frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets of the Pisidians, were now reduced to three hundred. With these he marched into the plain, where he was again shut up between the two rivers Melane and Eurymedon. In this extremity, he found means to acquaint Gainas with the desperate posture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour of reinforcing Leo's army, detached a strong body of barbarians, with private orders to join Tribigild; which they did accordingly. With their affiltance Tribigild opened himself a passage out of Pisidia, and falling unexpectedly upon Leo, cut most of his men in pieces. Leo himself, attempt- But escapes, c ing to make his escape, perished among the marshes w. From Pisidia, Tribigila and defeats returned into Phrygia, where Gainas, who had advanced into that province, as if against him. he designed to attack him, suffered him to rage with greater sury than ever, magnifying in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and suggesting, that the only means to save the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that Eu-Gainas lays the tropius, the author of all the present calamities, should be delivered up into his hands. whole blame on Eutropius, At the same time news was brought to court of the death of Varanes king of Persia, and a report spread, that his successor was preparing to invade Syria. false alarm, and the accounts that were by Gainas daily transmitted to Constantinople d of the progress made by Trigibild, some were for recurring to Stilicho, and others for fatisfying the rebels, by facrificing the minister to the welfare of the state x. Areadius, who was under the greatest perplexity, chose the latter; and sending for Eutro-pius, caused him to be stripped of the consular ensigns, and discharged him?. Thus Zosimus. But Socrates, Philostorgius, Sozomen, and Chrysostom, relate the downfal of Eutropius, without mentioning either Gainas or Trigibild. Socrates only says, that he had offended Arcadius 2; Sozomen, that he had affronted the empress 2; and Chryfostom, who was then at Constantinople, that he had injured the emperor b. Philostorgius writes, that Eutropius having insolently threatened to drive the empress out of the palace, she went, with her two little daughters, Flaccilla and Pulcheria, in her e arms, to throw herself at the emperor's feet, and demand satisfaction. Arcadius, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and fending for Eutropius, discharged him, and commanded him that Whois disgrainstant to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a ced, and deposed. fingle person, tho' he had been hitherto constantly surrounded with crouds of pretended friends and adorers c. Claudian seems to favour the opinion of Zosimus; for in his second book against Eutropius, he describes at length the war of Tribigild, which would have been quite foreign to his purpose, had it not had any connection with the downfal of Eutropius, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expariated on that war, only describes the consternation it occasioned at Constantinople, and introduces the east recurring to his hero Sti-licho d. Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book. Eutropius, thus disgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took fanctuary in a church, Hetakes san-But the people exclaiming against him in the theatre, and Gainas, with the soldiery, stuary in a pressing the emperor to restore the state to its former tranquillity, by either putting charch. to death or banishing the abhorred minister, a band of soldiers was sent to drag him

W Zos. l. v. p. 789, Philost. p. 531. Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110, 116, 119.

Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 119, 120.

Y Zos. ibid.

Socr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 304.

C. 7. p. 767.

CHRYS. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p. 486.

Philost. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. \* Zos. p. 793. \* Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 767. ibid. p. 129—122. 4 QLAUD.

from his afylum, some of those who had appeared till that time most zealously

attached

attached to him, taking upon them that province. But Chrysoftom, then bishop of a Constantinople, presenting himself before them, and resolutely declaring, that he would not fuffer them to profane the church, they seized him, and carried him to

Where he is protectes by St. Chrylostom.

the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to Eutropius, from which many guilty of smaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded f. The next day, incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the fatif-

He is taken in endeavouring to make his nished.

He is accused anew, tried, and executed.

Many temples Bulledere 27.

faction of seeing Eutropius, whom they all hated, divested of his power, and, by a just retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occasion Chrysostom made a speech to the affembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring at the fame time to awake in the hearts of his auditor's fentiments of compassion for the unhappy by criminal. When he saw them begin to relent, he ended his speech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and throwing themselves at the prince's feet, to beg his life 8. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are no-where told. All we know is, that a few days after, Eutropius, having privately left his afylum, in order to make his escape, was taken, and banished to the island of Cyprus h. Zosimus writes, that when he was banished, he was assured, that escape, and ba- his life should not be taken from him; and Claudian, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to Cyprus, says, that though he had caused an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he should not undergo the same punishment k. The law has reached our times, by which Arcadius confiscated his estate, stripped him of the dignity of c great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be erased where-ever he was styled consul, his statues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the same law Aurelian, the prafectus pratorio, is injoined to cause him to be conducted under a guard to the island of Cyprus, and to be there narrowly watched, lest he should raise new disturbances. This law is dated the seventeenth of January of the present year; which must certainly be a mistake, since all historians agree, that he was banished after the revolt of Tribigild, who took arms in the spring. Chrysostom gives us room to believe, that several other persons were banished with Eutropius m; and truly a favourite seldom falls alone. However, his fifter, tho' very rich, was suffered to continue at Constantinople . Gainas, not yet d fatisfied, caused several charges to be brought against him; upon which he was conducted from the island of Cyprus to a place called Pantychium, between Chalcedon and Nicomedia, where he was tried by the prefect Aurelian, and several other persons of distinction, who, upon his being convicted of having in his consulship made use of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him, and he was beheaded on the last day of the present year o. Zosimus, who pretends he had been promised his life upon oath, says, that, to cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only with respect to Constantinople, and caused him to be beheaded at Chalcedon P. This year is remarkable in the history of the church, for the many temples that were demolished both in the east and west, and the severe laws that were enacted by the two princes against all manner of idolatrous worship; which may be said to have given the last blow to the pagan superstition. The temples, says Tiro Prosper in his chronicle, were this year demolished throughout the Roman world 4. By a law dated the thirteenth of July, Arcadius commanded all the temples throughout his dominions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewife in the country's and by another dated the first of November, the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities. By other laws, all manner of superstitious worship was forbidden, both in publick and private, under the feverest penalties, and the priests and ministers of the idols deprived of all the privileges granted them by former princes'. In the west Honorius enacted f a law, dated the twenty-ninth of January of this year 399. forbidding heathenish facrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where pulled down, and the statues of the idols to be broken in pieces, that no footsteps might remain of the ancient superstition ". Notwithstanding this law, several temples were

CHRYS. tom. 3. p. 671, 667.

f Idem, tom. 4. p. 486.

SOCR. p. 304.

SOZ. p. 767.

CHRYS. tom. 4. p. 482—487.

h CHRYS. in pfal. xliv. hom. 2. p. 667.

ZOS. l. v. p. 797.

CLAUD. ibid. p. 107.

COd. Theod. l. ix. tit. 11. leg. 17. p. 312.

CHRYS. ibid. p. 671.

ZOS. p. 793.

PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 6. p. 519.

SOCR. l. vi. c. 5. p. 305.

AST. orat. iii. p. 76, 77.

P ZOS. p. 794.

PROSP. in chron.

Cod. Theod.

xvi. tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 283.

Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 310.

Idem, tit. 10. leg. 13. 

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a spared at the request of the bishops, who begged them, and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. Among these was the samous temple of the goddess The temple of Calestis, the chief deity of Carthage, one of the most stately edifices in the whole Carthage empire; for it is faid, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the turned into space of two miles, the whole being inclosed by a wall of an extraordinary height a church. and beauty. This temple was with great pomp and folemnity confecrated on Easterday by Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, attended by several other bishops, and an incredible multitude of christians, who had flocked from all parts to affist at that ceremony w. Besides the destruction of several temples recorded by the ecclesiastic writers, nothing happened this year in the west which historians have thought worth transb mitting to posterity. Honorius was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of Jenuary at Ravenna, from the fixteenth of February to the fourth of June at Milan, at Brixia or Brescia on the fixth of June, at Verona in July, in August at Padua, and at Altino in September; whence he returned to Milan, and there passed the winter x.

THE next confuls were Stilicho and Aurelianus; the latter entered upon this new Stilicho conful. dignity at Constantinople, and the former at Milan, with the greatest pomp that had ever been seen in that city v. In the east no advantage accrued to the public from the death of Entropius, the empress Eudoxia, a bold, enterprising, and avaricious woman, as Zosimus styles her, having, upon the downfal of that minister, gained c an absolute ascendant over her husband. She was constantly beset by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to fuch crying acts of violence and injustice, that every good man wished for death, to avoid seeing such enormous disorders . In the mean time, Gainas, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to Gainas and march back to Constantinople, followed by Tribigild, whom he joined at Thyatira, Tribigild joins where they both agreed to march to Sardis in Lydia, and plunder that metropolis; their forces, and plunder but not being able to pass the rivers that were swelled by the heavy rains, they parted several proonce more; and bending their march to the sea, Tribigild took his rout towards vinces. Lampsachus on the Hellespont, and Gainas towards Chalcedon, allowing their foldiers to plunder all the countries through which they passed. Their approach caused a d general consternation at Constantinople; nay, the whole empire seemed to be in imminent danger. As Arcadius had no troops to make head against them, and prevent their entering Thrace, he was advised to send deputies to Gainas, and to save the empire from utter ruin, by granting him whatever he demanded. Gainas, with great insolence, required three of the most eminent men in the state, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious designs, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. These were Saturninus, who had been consul in 383. and employed for the space of thirty years in public affairs; Aurelianus, this year's conful, who had been prefect of Constantinople in 393. and the preceding year the præsectus pratorio; and John, secretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince reposed great e trust . The emperor complied, tho' much against his will, with this arrogant and Arcadius tyrannical demand, those three illustrious persons pressing him of their own accord forced to com-to sacrifice them to the public welfare b. With the emperor's consent they lest Con-ply with his un-just demands. stantinople, and presented themselves before Gainas, encamped in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the fentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to discharge the satal blow c. They were chiefly indebted to Chryfostom for their lives, which were granted them at his intercession d. They were all three fent under a guard towards Epirus; but having, either by corrupting the Goths that guarded them, or by some other means, made their escape, they appeared, f when least expected, at the court of Constantinople, to the great joy of the emperor, and the whole city. Zosimus is the only writer who mentions John among those

Gainas, not yet satisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in person; and And to confer with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, passing for that purpose with him in over to Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with Person.

\* Cod. Theod. chron. p. 140, 141, 417. 

\* Sym. l. iv. ep. 31.

p. 161. 

\* Zos. p. 800, 802. 

\* Zos. p. 793—795. Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760. Socr. l. vi. c. 6.

p. 306. Synes. ep. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxviii. p. 177—179. 

\* Socr. ibid. Soz. p. 761. Chrys. tom. v. hom. 72. p. 895. 

Vel. VI. N° 6.

Gainas, in the church of St. Euphemia, where it was agreed, that both Gainas and

whom Gainas demanded; all other writers speak only of Aurelianus and Saturninus.

Tribigild should lay down their arms, and return, if they pleased, to Constantinople; a

and that the former, besides the command of all the Goths in the Roman service, should have that of the Roman horse and foot, with the consular ornaments, and an authority almost unbounded P. We find nothing henceforth in history relating to Tribigild, except that he perished in Thrace soon after q. As for Gainas, upon his return to Constantinople, he demanded a church in that city for the Arians, whose doctrine was held by him, and most of the Goths his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give him an absolute denial, referred him to Chrysostom, The intrepidity bishop of the city, who shewed him the edict of the emperor Theodosius, forbidding of St. Chryso- all heretics and sectaries to hold any assemblies in the city. Gainas replied, that the services he had rendered the empire deserved at least one church, in which he b and those of his persuasion might have the free exercise of their religion. To this the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards already exceeded his deferts; that from the mean condition of a common foldier, he had been raised to the high station of commander in chief of all the Roman forces; and ought to be satisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. Gainas, finding he had not to deal with an Arcadius, but a Chrysoftom, thought it adviseable to drop his demand r. Socrates and Sozomen mention a church in Constantinople belonging to the Goths'; but they must be understood not of the Arian, but the orthodox Goths, fince Marcellinus, a zealous catholic, styles it in his chronicle our church. However, the Arians were, it feems, at this time allowed to e affemble without the walls of the city. About this time appeared over Constantinople a comet of unufual magnitude, portending, as was faid, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiousness of Gainas. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of Arcadius, having filled Constantinople with his Goths, and re-Gainas forms a moved from thence all the Roman troops, formed a delign of feizing first the wealth design of seiz- of the bankers, and then setting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being ing Constantifrustrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at length by Socrates ", Sozomen w, and Philostorgius x, he withdrew from the city on the tenth of July, as it were to take the air, fays Zosimus y, or to perform his devotions, as we read in Socrates 2, in the church of St. John Baptist, seven miles from the city, pretending to d be possessed, say Sozomen and Socrates b, with an evil spirit. He lest in the city the greater part of his Goths, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a fignal, that he might return and join them with those who attended him c. Gainas defeated his own design, according But fails in his to Zosimus, by returning to force the gate before the signal agreed on; which alarmed the city 4. Socrates e and Sozomen f write, that the foldiers, who guarded the gates, observing those, who went out with Gainas, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to stop them. Hereupon the Goths, having killed feveral of the guards, opened themselves a way sword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time taking the alarm, flew to arms; and Arcadius, acquainted with what e His men maf. had happened, declared Gainas a public enemy, and ordered all the Goths in the city to be put to the sword. Upon this Gainas returned in great haste; but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. Philostorgius supposes him to have been still in the city, and to have retired in the nights. What happened the day following, we are no-where told; but the day after, the

sacred.

attempt.

nople;

twelfth of July, the citizens fell upon the Goths, who were still remaining in the city to the number of seven thousand, and cut most of them in pieces; the rest, overpowered with numbers, took fanctuary in the church of their nation, which stood close to the palace; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack f them even in their alylum, they first uncovered the roof; and after having for some time plied them warmly with showers of darts and arrows, they set fire at last to the church, which was reduced to ashes, with all who were in it . This was looked upon, says Zosimus, by every good christian as an enormous crime i. Gainas, highly

P Idem, p. 794. Socr. p 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. Theodor. l. v. c. 32. p. 744. 

P Philos. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. 
P Philos. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. 
Soz. p. 762. 
Theodor. p. 774, 775. 
Socr. p. 308. 
Soz. p. 762. 
Theodor. l. v. c. 30. p. 743. Soz. p. 761. 
Socr. l. vii. c. 6. p. 307. 
Soz. p. 762. 
P Philost. l. i. c. 8. p. 531. 
Y Zos. l. v. p. 795. 
Socr. p. 307. 
Socr. p. 308. 
P Philost. p. 762. 
P Philost. p. 795. 
Socr. p. 308. Chron. Al. p. 712. Soz. p. 762. 
Chron. Al. p. 712. Soz. p. 762. 
Soc. p. 796. Marc. chron. Zos. ibid.

a provoked at the massacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the masque; and making open war upon the state, ravaged all Thrace; but not being able to Heravages make himself master of a single city there, the inhabitants, who were accustomed Thrace. to fuch incursions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to fally out, and distress the enemy, he left that province, and marched into the Chersonesus, with a delign to cross the streights of the Hellespont, and enrich himself and his army with the spoils of Asia. But Fravitus, who commanded in those parts, having assembled in great haste a considerable number of vessels, attacked him in his passage; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coast whence he had sailed, is defented with the loss of many thousands of his men either killed or drowned. Fravitus with great loss b was himself a Goth, and a pagan, according to Zosimus k, but greatly attached to by Fravitus. the Roman interest, having married a Roman of distinction in 380. and ever since that time served the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of those Goths, who being driven out of their own country by the Hunns, were allowed by Theodosius to settle in Thrace. Eunapius writes, that soon after he killed with his own hand Eriulphus, another of their chiefs, because he was for taking arms against Theodosius, pursuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themselves, before they left their own country in 376. to do the Romans, however kindly by them received, all the mischief that lay in their power! As he was a man of great courage, a strict observer of military discipline, vigilant, and indefatigable, he had c been employed on feveral occasions, and acquitted himself in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the east of the robbers, who had long infested it, roving up and down the country in great bodies ". However, he was suspected of having suffered Gainas and the rest of his countrymen to escape, when he might have easily cut them all off: but Zosimus ", and most historians, clear him from this charge, which seems the more groundless, as he was for his conduct on that occafion rewarded the following year with the consulship. From the Chersonesus, Gainas returned to Thrace, and was there, according to Socrates and Sozomen o, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the Romans, who pursued him. Zosimus writes, that His death. after he had massacred all the Romans whom he found in his army, lest they should d betray him, he passed the Danube, being desirous to end his days in the ancient country of the Goths. But Uldes or Uldin, king of the Hunns, then masters of those countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions so renowned a commander with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a sharp dispute, put him and all his men to the fword. His body being found, Uldes caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to Arcadius P, who received it at Constantinople on the third of January of the ensuing year 401 9. During these troubles, Eudoxia, who had been hitherto distinguished only with the title of Nobilissima, received that of Augusta on the ninth of Eudoxia January; on which occasion she caused her image to be carried through all the created Aue provinces of the empire, to receive the fame honours that were paid to the images gusta. of the emperors. This no empress before her had presumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the rest Honorius, in a letter which he wrote to his brother . But not many years after, the empresses claimed the same honours; nay, and assumed the same titles of pious, bappy, most pious, perpetual, vistorious, &c. that were given to the princes their husbands. On the third of April Arcadia born. of this year, Eudoxia was delivered of Arcadia, her third daughter s. In the beginning of this year the city of Constantinople was shaken with violent earthquakes, which

the facrament of baptism'. During the above-mentioned disturbances raised by Gainas in the east, the western provinces, especially Italy, were alarmed by a sudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Alaric, and Radagaisus king of the Hunns. Of the former we have already made frequent mention; but as he is to act a chief part in the history of Honorius's reign, we shall here acquaint our readers with what we have copied from the best writers concerning a man so famous in the

lasted three days; on which occasion great numbers of pagans demanded and received

<sup>1</sup> Zos. Socr. Soz. ibid. Philost. p. 531. Lidem ibid. <sup>1</sup> Eu ibid. Zos. p. 769. Philos. p. 531. Socr. p. 309. Zos. p. 798. P. Zos. p. 798. 9 Socr. p. 309. Chron. Al. p. 12. Marc. chron. l. ii. p. 66. & fpicileg. veter. fcript. tom. x. p. 8. Chron. Al. p. 712. 1 EUNAP. p. 21. m EUNAP. Socr. p. 309. Soz. p. 763.

F Vide VAL. rer. Franc. \* SYN. ep. lxi. p. 204. CHRYS. in Act. hom. vii. xli. p. 69, 360.

The origin, birth and employments of Alaric.

records of those times. Alaric was by nation a Goth, born in the island of Peuce a at the mouth of the Danube, whence Claudian calls that river his paternal god ". He was not sprung from the family of the Amali, the most illustrious of the Gothish nation, but from that of the Balthi, which held the fecond rank; and to him, in particular, his countrymen had given the name of Balt, which in their language fignified bold and enterprising w. Though Claudian introduces him speaking in the language of a pagan x, yet it is certain he was a christian, but an Arian, the doctrine of that herefiarch having prevailed among the Goths ever fince the year 375 v. Long before the year 410. in which he took Rome, he used to brag, that he would one day extend his conquests to that great metropolis, pursuant to the prediction of an oracle?. This we learn of the poet Claudian, who little imagined then, that the b prediction would ever be fulfilled. Prudentius likewise, who wrote some years before Alaric took Rome, tells us, that he was often heard to say, he should one day set fire to that city 2. He passed the Danube in 376. with his countrymen, driven out of their own country by the Hunns. Claudian says, that he often engaged the imperial troops, and once shut up the emperor Theodosius in the windings of the Hebrus in Thrace b. However, in 382. he submitted to him with the other Goths, and received lands in Thrace, where they were allowed to fettle, upon condition of their ferving, when wanted, in the Roman armies. Pursuant to this agreement, they attended Theodosius in his last expedition against the usurper Eugenius in 394. on which occasion Alaric commanded a body of his countrymen. He had no other c rank in the beginning of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius; whence Rufinus, finding him dissatisfied, easily prevailed upon him to revolt, and plunder Greece in 395. Stilicho gained several advantages over him in Peloponnesus; but suffered him to escape in 396. as we have related elsewhere. Arcadius entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him general of the Roman troops in East-Illyricum, which post he held when Tribigild revolted, that is, in 399. The Goths, who were subject to the empire, created him about the same time, if Jornandes is to be credited, their chief and general, with the title of king of the Visigoths d. The same writer adds, that the Goths, despising both Arcadius and Honorius, and discontented because they had not fent them the usual presents, began to mutiny, and resolved to make war upon the d empire, in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces. Whatever was the motive that prompted them to take arms, it is certain, that this He ensers Italy year 400. the Goths, under the conduct of Alaric, and Radagaifus king of the Hunns, with Radagai- entered Italy in a hostile manner on the side of Pannonia, leaving Sirmium on their right f. Jornandes writes, that they met with no opposition 8: according to St. Jerom, they besieged Aquileia; and after having opened themselves a way into Italy, they laid the country waste far and near ". This happened the present year; but they were still in Italy in the beginning of the sollowing year 401. for Paulinus, in his annual poem on the birth-day of Felix of Nola, the fourteenth of January, writes in 401. that the Goths, and other foreign nations, were still pursuing their ravages in Italy. As we have no distinct account of this first irruption of Alaric e into Italy, we know not how it ended; but as it seems altogether improbable, that he continued in that country till the battle of Pollentia, fought two years after, in which no mention is made of Radagaisus, we are inclined to believe, that Stilicho induced them both, by some means or other, to retire, and that Alaric returned about the end of the year 402.

fus, and lays waste several provinces.

He retires.

Theolofius born.

THE next consuls were Vicentius prefect of Gaul, and Fravitus or Fravita, of whom we have spoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of Theodosius, the son and fuccessor of Arcadius, born, according to Socrates k, and the chronicle of Alexandria, on the tenth, according to Marcellinus, on the eleventh of April, and, soon after his birth, declared Casar m, and baptized with extraordinary pomp and solem- f nity. This year Arcadius published a law, forbidding any one to beg the estates of condemned persons, till two years after they had been confiscated a. The Euxine sea

<sup>\*\*</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 177. BAUDR. PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. w Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 14. 29, p. 630, 651. \* CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 179. y Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. 2 CLAUD. ibid. p. 159. PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. b CLAUD. ibid. p. 170. Idem conf. Hon. 6. p. 177. Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346. Zos. l. v. p. 783. d Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. & de regn. fucc. c. 43. p. 653. Idem ibid. Prosp. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. Ruf. p. 15. Hier in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6. p. 239. Paulin. car. xxiii. p. 585. d Jorn. ibid. p. 651. h Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6. p. 239. l Paulin. carm. xxiii. p. 585. d Socr. p. 763. l Chron. Al. p. 712. Theod. l. ii. p. 568. Soz. p. 763. Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 17. p. 345.

a was this year frozen over for the space of twenty days . A band of slaves and deserters pillaged part of Thrace, pretending to be Hunns; but Fravitus, marching against them, put most of them to the sword; and dispersed the rest P. In the west, Honorius, by a law dated the twenty-fifth of June, forgave all the debts owing to the Aninstance of exchequer before his first consulship; that is, before the month of September 386, the generosity of By the same law, he ordered all prosecutions and suits for what was owing from that Honorius. time to the year 395. that is, to his accession to the empire, to be suspended, till he had inquired into the circumstances of the debtors q. The following year, when Arcadius and Honorius were both confuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the east, except the promotion of young Theodosius to the imperial dignity; b which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of Hebdomon, on the tenth or eleventh of January . In the west, Alaric entered Italy Alaric enters anew. Claudian, who wrote a poem on this war, supposes, that he set out from Italy anew; Thessaly'; but Socrates tells us in a very confused manner, that not presuming to take upon him the title of emperor, he left Constantinople, and, upon his arrival in Illyricum, put all to fire and fword; but as he was passing out of Thessaly Into Epirus, he was attacked in the narrow passes of mount Pindus by the Thessains, who killed three thousand of his men in the neighbourhood of Nicopolis. Notwithstanding this loss, he pursued his march, carrying all before him. What prompted him to these acts of hostility, we are no-where told. Claudian lays the whole blame on Alaric, e charging him with treachery ". On the other hand, Orofius accuses Stilicho, as if he had been the chief author of this war, and had provoked the Goths, by refuling to grant them certain lands, which they demanded upon terms very advantageous to the empire w. He hoped, says that writer, when a war was once kindled in the bowels of the empire, to improve it to his own advantage, and fettle the fovereignty on his fon Eucherius. Be that as it will, Alaric entered Italy in the latter end of the autumn, the winter being more favourable to his men, enured to a cold climate, than to the Romans, not accustomed to bear the hardships of war in that season y. He passed the Alps without opposition, the Roman troops being then employed in driving out a body of barbarians, who had made an irruption into Rhatia. As there d was then no army in Italy to oppose him, he ravaged without controll the provinces And ravages of Venetia and Liguria; which threw Rome itself into the utmost consternation: the several prowalls of that metropolis were repaired with great expedition by Flavius Macrobius opposition. Longinianus, then prefect of the city 2; and the citizens, not being suffered to retire with their families and effects, were buffed night and day in preparing arms, and putting themselves in the best posture of defence they could . The court was no less alarmed than the people, Alarie threatening to besiege the emperor himself, and force him to comply with his demands b. Honorius was for retiring into Gaul; but Stilicho would neither suffer him, nor his own wife and son, to abandon Italy . However, the emperor left Milan, and retired to Ravenna, which thenceforth became The emperor the usual place of his residence. The news of this irruption soon reached the most retires to Radistant provinces of the east; for we are told, that this very year the christians of venna. Edessa in Mesopotamia, repairing to the church of St. Thomas, begged in their public prayers, that the Arian robber, who plundered Italy, might meet with the just doom, which had overtaken his countryman of the same sect, meaning no doubt Gainas e. THE next confuls were Theodosius Augustus and Rumoridus. Who the latter was,

in the service of *Honorius*; for, generally speaking, one of the consuls belonged to the eastern, and the other to the western empire. This year 403. Eudoxia was, on the tenth or eleventh of February, delivered of Marina, her fourth and last daugh-Marina born.

wife his own statue to be placed on a column, which, according to some writers, was CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 169. w Oros. l. vii. c. 37, 38. p. 221, 222. 

\* Idem ibid.
6. \* Grut. p. 165. Prud. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242.

b Idem, conf. Hon. 6. p. 186. 

\* Idem, bell. Get. CHRYS. tom. 6. p. 272-274. reared

we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a Goth, probably

ter f. A statue of filver was erected to the empress on a column of porphyty, near the church of St. Sophia; which occasioned a misunderstanding between Eudoxia and St. Chrysostom, bishop of the city, who could not endure the profane sports that were

exhibited before the statue at the very entry of the church s. Arcadius caused like-

reared this year in the quarter of the city called Xerolophos, and is described by Gyl- a lius. The same year Arcadius built the city of Arcadiopolis in Thrace k, or rather gave that name to the antient city of Bergulæ 1. To return to Italy: Stilicho, having in fome degree removed the young emperor's fears, fays Claudian, croffed the lake of Como, and passing the Alps in the depth of winter, entered Rhætia, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians, and not only obliged them to fue for Stilicho affim- peace, but persuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the same time he disbles an army, patched messengers to the troops that guarded the coasts of Britain, and the banks of the Rbine, ordering them to march immediately, and with all possible expedition, into Rhætia. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to pursue their march into Italy; but fet out himself before them, attended by a small number of troops, in b order to return with all speed to court. When he came to the Adda, he found the enemy encamped on the opposite bank, and masters of the bridge; but not in the least daunted, he threw himself into the river as soon as it was dark, and forcing his way fword in hand through the midst of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court, to the inexpressible joy of the emperor m. The troops arrived soon after out of Rhatia; and Stilicho, putting himfelf at their head, marched against the enemy; against Alaric. but could not hinder Alaric from passing the Po, and advancing to Pollentia, now Pollenza, on the Tanaro in Piedmont , where the two armies engaged, almost on the same spot, says Claudian, where Marius had formerly defeated the Cimbrians ?; but he was therein mistaken, for the Cimbrians were overcome in the neighbourhood & of Vercelli P. There is a great disagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: Jornandes writes, that Alaric having advanced to Pollentia, in virtue of a treaty, by which Honorius had yielded to him the provinces of Gaul and Spain, then held by the Vandals, Stilicho followed him, and without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehension of an enemy q. But it is certain, that the Vandals had not yet entered either of those provinces. Claudian, Cassiodorus and Prudentius suppose Stilicho to have been present, and to have commanded the army in person; but Orosius tells us, that Saul, a pagan and barbarian, was vested with the chief command; and that he, imagining the Gotbs, out of respect to their religion, (for they were for the most part christians, tho' Arians) would not fight on Easter-day, attacked them on that solemn festival. In the present year 403. Easter sell on the twenty-ninth of March'; which is agreeable to what we read in Claudian, viz. that the war of Alaric began and ended with the winter: In the Roman army served a body of Alan horse, commanded by an officer of that nation, who, advancing with more courage than prudence, was flain at the head of his men; which put them into no small confusion: but Stilicho coming feafonably with the foot to their affiftance, they rallied, and returned to the charge". Claudian and Prudentius " suppose the battle to have been gained by the Romans; but Cassiodorus in his chronicle writes, that Stilicho and the Roman army were defeated, and put to flight; and Jornandes, that the Goths, when surprised by e Stilicho, betrayed no small fear; but afterwards took courage, and put most of his men to the sword, obliging the rest to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight\*. According to Orofius the Romans gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory y. The Romans, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the spoils of several provinces, and the wife of Alaric, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took prisoners. Alaric was no fooner informed of their misfortune, than he fent deputies to Stilicho to fue for peace; which was readily granted him, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of Italy 2. Pursuant to this agreement, Alaric repassed the Po, and retired as far as Verona, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and f commit other acts of hostility. Hereupon Stilicho detached against him a strong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome, and obliged to take refuge amongst the mountains. He endeavoured to pass the Alps, and seize on Gaul or Rhasia; but found all the passes guarded by Stilicho, who kept him blocked up, till most of his

Alaric sues for peace.

<sup>\*</sup> Theoph. p. 66.

1 Vide BAUDR. p. 120.

186, 187.

2 Idem ibid. p. 170—180.

2 P. 662.

1 Orose GYLL. de Constant. geograph. l. iv. c. 7. p. 300.

THEOPH. p. 66.

Vide BAUDR. p. 60,

114.

CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 165—168. cons. Hon. 6. p. 186, 187.

Idem ibid. p. 170—180.

Idem, bell. Get. p. 171.

PLUT. vit. Mar. p. 767.

JORN. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653.

OROS.

Vii. c. 37. p. 221.

Buch. cycl.

CLAUD. ibid.

CLAUD. p. 172. & cons. Hon. p. 181, 182. PRUD. ibid.

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a men forsaking him, and joining the Romans, he thought it adviseable to withdraw Abandons Italy, in the night-time, and return through by-ways into Pannonia. Thus Claudian a and return to Orofius writes, that the barbarians could not agree among themselves; that the Goths were divided into two factions; and that the Alans and Hunns, who ferved under Alaric, often quarrelled, and destroyed each other b. Italy being thus delivered from the barbarians, Honorius, to satisfy the senate and people of Rome, who, by frequent embassies, had intreated him to honour their city with his presence, lest Ravenna, Honorius examples and set out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having Stilicho with ters Romein him in the chariot, about the beginning of December. He was received with loud triumph. acclamations by the fenate in a body, by the nobility and people in their best apparel. b He would not suffer the senate to attend, according to custom, his triumphal cha-

riot on foot; but allowed his fifter Placidia, and Eucherius his brother-in-law, to pay While he was still at Ravenna, he suppressed and utterly abo-He abolishe: him that honour c. lished the shews of gladiators, which, the forbidden by Constantine the Great in 325. the shews of had been tolerated by his successors, even by Theodosius himself, out of complainance gladiators. to the people, fond beyond expression of that inhuman diversion d. Theodoret writes, that an anchoret, by name Telemachus, attempting to prevent the gladiators from engaging in the amphitheatre at Rome, whither he was for that purpose come out of the east, was by the incenfed populace stoned to death; and hence Honorius, according to that writer, took occasion to suppress those sports. Be that as it will, they

c were forbidden after the battle of Pollentia, as appears from Prudentius, and before Honorius's triumphal entry into Rome; since Claudian, in describing the shews that

were exhibited on that occasion, makes no mention of gladiators 8.

THE following year 404. Honorius was conful the fixth time, with Aristanetus, of whom we find no further mention in history. The empress Eudoxia died this year The empress of a miscarriage, on the sixth of October, a few days after she had prevailed upon Eudoxia dies. the weak prince her husband to banish St. Chrysostom, whom she had for some time persecuted with great bitterness, on account of his reflecting in his sermons, as she imagined, and perhaps not without reason, on her conduct, and his exclaiming against the profane sports that were exhibited before her statue, which stood near the d church. On the very day he left Constantinople, a fire broke out in the great church, which intirely confumed it, with the palace where the fenate used to affemble, and the neighbouring edifices. This calamity was imputed to the exiled bishop's friends, and several of them were thrown into prison, and racked to death. But of these violent proceedings against Chrysostom and his friends, the reader will find a distinct account in the ecclesiastic writers. The empress was interred on the twelsth of Octo-ber, in the church of the Apostles, where her tomb was to be seen many ages after. Before her death the Hunns had broken into Thrace, and the Isaurian robbers commit- Most of the ted great diforders in Asia and Syria. The former, having pillaged great part of eastern provin-Thrace and east Illyricum, retired of their own accord beyond the Danube, loaded Isaurian rebe with booty k. Against the latter was sent Arbazacius, who cut great numbers of bers. them in pieces, and shut them up on all sides; but suffered them in the end to escape, being bribed by the large sums they offered him'. Suidas, who calls him a native of Isauria, and a few lines after an Armenian, says, that, from his insatiable rapaciousness and avarice, he was nicknamed Harpazacius, or the Harpy m. The Isaurians, having now nothing to fear from Arbazacius, over-ran the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, and Lower Syria, extending their ravages to the frontiers of *Persia* on one side, and to the *Euxine* sea on the other, ransacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even passed over into the island of Cyprus, and caused a general conf sternation in Phanicia, Caria, Judea, and Jerusalem itself; insomuch that the people were every-where busied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themselves in a posture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inaccessible mountains, with an immense booty, which they took care to share with

Arbazacius ". In the west, Honorius began his sixth consulship at Rome, which is the Honorius his fixth confulfing.

\* CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 178—183. b Oros. p. 221. c CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 188, 189. d Socr. l. i. c. 18. p. 48. Soz. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 11. leg. 2. p. 395. c Theod. l. v. c. 26. p. 741. f Prud. in Symm. l. ii. p. 242. s CLAUD. in conf. Hon. 6. p. 190, 191. b Socr. l. v. c. 4. p. 34. &l. vi. c. 4. p. 16. Pallad. vir. Chryf. Cange de Confrant. l. iv. p. 110. k Socr. l. viii. c. 25. p. 793. Philost. l. xi. p. 530. l Zos. l. v. p. 802. Chrys. ep. 120. p. 754. m Suid. p. 412. Theod. vir. patr. c. 10, 21, p. 828.

**Subject** 

The feat of the western empire transferred to Ravenna.

subject of the poem that Claudian pronounced on occasion of that solemnity o. The a emperor continued at Rome at least till the fifteenth of July, as appears from the dates of his laws. From Rome he returned to Ravenna, and there fixed his relidence, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the inhabitants of Milan inviting him back to their city. From this time Ravenna became the feat of the western or Roman empire; whence the country in which it stood was called Romania, which name it still re-

THE next confuls were Stilicho the second time, and Anthemius, who was soon after appointed prefect of the east, and is mightily commended by St. Chrysostom P. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of him in the reign of Theodosius II. This year the Mazichi and Auxoriani, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country b between Cyrenaica and Tripolitana, laid waste great part of Egypt 9. Arcadius was on the twelfth of June at Nice; on the tenth and twenty-third of July, and twelfth of August, at Ancyra in Galatia, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to Confrantinople r. This year Italy was again alarmed with a fudden irruption of barbarians, led by Radagaisus, or Rhodogaisus, as the Greeks style him. He was one of the kings with a numer- or chiefs of the Goths, a pagan by religion, and a sworn enemy to the Roman name. He is by some writers styled king of the Hunns'. He entered Italy, as we have observed above, with Alaric in the year 400. but returning afterwards beyond the Danube, he affembled an army, confifting, according to Zosimus, of four hundred thousand, according to Orosius and Marcellinus, of two hundred thousand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the Danube and the Rhine, who were then all blended under the common name of Goths z. The commanders, who were distinguished with the title of lords, amounted, according to Photius a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred y. With this formidable host he broke fuddenly into Italy, vowing to facrifice to his gods, says Orofius, all the Roman blood he could shed z. The news of his approach threw all Italy, and Rome itself, into the utmost consternation. As Radagaisus was a zealous worshipper of the gods, and facrificed every morning to Jupiter, the pagans in Rome gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not so much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful Romans had banished from a city, which they had so d often defended. Unless the antient religion, said they, be restored, and christianity, the only cause of our calamities, utterly abolished, the city must fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their side, whom we have forsaken. With these complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Christ every-where blasphemed, as the true cause of the present calamities b. In the mean time Stilicho, having affembled at Pavia all the Roman forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them with great numbers of Goths, Hunns and Alans, under the command of Sarus a Goth, and Uldin king of the Hunns, he left that place, bending his march towards Hetruria, where Radagaisus was busied in the siege of Florence, which city

enters Italy o us army;

Radagaisus

CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 191.
 P CHRYS. ep. 147. p. 780.
 P PHILOST. l. xi. c. 8. p. 350, 351.
 Cod. Theod. chron. p. 148.
 Aug. in pfal. cv. c. 10. p. 547.
 PROSP. chron.
 Zoš. l. v. p. 803.
 W Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222.
 X Zos. Oros. ibid.
 PHOT. c. 80. p. 180.
 Oros. ibid.
 Aug. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 23. p. 63.

(N) The city of Ravenna is faid by some to have been sounded by the Thessalians; but Pliny calls it a colony of the Sabines. It was once reckoned amongst the cities of Umbria; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called Flaminia, and belonging to Cifalpine Gaul, and the vicarship of Italy (1). It was inclosed on all sides, either by the sea, by an arm of the Po, conveyed thither by Augustus, or by marshes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city; so that it was, in a manner, a peninsula, and accessible only on one side (2). The sea washed the walls of the city, and formed a spacious harbour, in which two hundred and fifty ships could ride fafe (3). Augustus, and after him several other emperors, kept constantly two fleets for the defence of Italy, one of which was stationed at Ravenna on the Adriatic, and the other at Misenum on the Mediter-

ranean sea. But Jornandes, who was bishop of Ravenna about the middle of the fixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into three quarters, or rather cities, of which the highest was called Ravenna, the second, in which was probably the imperial palace, Cafarea, and the third Classis, because in that place, then distant three miles from Ravenna, was for-merly the harbour with the seet (4). A city, thus fituated amidst waters and marshes, could not be healthy; but, on the other fide, it could not be eafily attacked, and might with great ease be succoured by sea, affording at the same time a safe retreat into the east, when it could be no longer maintained. These reasons, without all doubt, prompted Hone-rius to fix the seat of the empire there, notwithstanding the pressing and reiterated remonstrances of the inhabitants of Milan and Rome. a was already reduced to the utmost extremity. As Stilicho came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the Hunns, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thousand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loss of Which is deone man on the fide of the Romans'. Thus St. Austin, Zosimus and Prosper. Rada-feated by Stilligaisus retired with the rest to the neighbouring mountains of Fesulæ, where he was cho, closely belieged by Stilicho, and reduced, with his numerous army, to such extremity, that he attempted to escape secretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the Romans; but as all the passes were well guarded, he fell into Stilicho's hands, and was And he himself by his orders put to death foon after. His men, finding themselves abandoned by taken prisoner, and just to b their leader, and destitute of all manner of provisions, submitted to the Romans in death. fuch numbers, that they were fold like beafts, in droves, at a crown a head 4; but as by the famine that had raged among them while shut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill state of health, they all died in a few days. Orofius and St. Austin :

ascribe this victory to a miracle.

THE following year Arcadius was conful the fixth time, with Anicius Probus, the younger brother of Olybrius and Probinus, consuls in 395 8. A dreadful fire happened this year at Constantinople on the twenty-fifth of October h; and Palestine was infested with such multitudes of grashoppers, as quite darkened the sky, and turned Palestine inday into night. St. Jerom, who was then composing his comments on the prophet multitules of c Joel, writes, that, after they had done great mischief, they were driven by the wind, grashoppers. partly into the Dead sea, partly into the Mediterranean, and thrown soon after on both shores in such heaps, that they insected the air, and occasioned a plague i. This year Arcadius enacted, amongst several others, a law dated the twenty-eighth of April, threatening with death, not only the authors of libels, but such as should read fuch defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them k. Honorius continued all this year at Ravenna, where he enacted a law dated the feventeenth of April, encouraging all persons, whether free-men or slaves, to take arms in desence of their country, and promising to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and seven more after the war 1. This law was, without all d doubt, occasioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the last day of this year 406. entered Gaul, and fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the Roman empire in the west. Orosius, Marcellinus, Tyro Prosper, and St. Jerom, assure us, that they were stirred up, and invited into Gaul, by Stilicho, who even supplied them with large sums, hoping, by their means, to raise his son Eucherius to the empire m. The barbarians who, at his instigation, broke into Gaul this The Alans, the year, were the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians. The Vandals, in attempting to cross Suevians, break the Rhine, were attacked by the Franks, who cut twenty thousand of them in pieces, into Giul, with their king Godigiscles, and would have put them all to the sword, had not the Alans and Suevians, hastening to their assistance, obliged the Franks to retire. Upon e their retreat, the barbarians passed the Rhine without opposition, and entered Gaul. Thus Gregory of Tours, upon the authority of an antient writer named Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus n. The Vandals appointed Gonderic or Gontharius, the fon of Godigiscles, king in his room o. The following year, when Honorius was conful the seventh time, and Theodosius the second, the eastern empire enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but in the west the Vandals, Alans and Suevians, committed dreadful ravages in Gaul, where they were joined by the Burgundians, and many other nations, stirred up, says Orosius P, by Stilicho. The first city that selt their sury was Mentz, which Andtake sevethey took by storm, and levelled with the ground, after having inhumanly massa-rat ciries. cred many thousands of the inhabitants in the churches, to which they had fled for f refuge. Worms held out for a considerable time; but was in the end taken, and laid in ashes. Strasbourgh and Spires underwent the same fate. Thence they marched to

och c. 2. p. 60.

\*\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246.

\*\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246.

\*\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246.

\*\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 39. leg. 10. p. 246.

\*\* Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 39. leg. 10. p. 246.

\*\* Oros. ibid. Hier. ep. 11. p. 93. Mar. Prosp. in chron.

\*\* Idem ibid. & Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 184. Oros. ibid. Aug. ARC. chron.

b Chron. Alex. p. 714.

1 Idem, l. vii. tit. 13. leg. 16, 17.

GREO. Tur. hift.

Chron.

Chron. civ. Dei, p. 63. Jock c. 2. p. 60. p. 387, 388. m O Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. P OROS. ibid. 9 HIER. ep. 11. p. 95.

Rheims, to Tournay, to Amiens, to Arras, made themselves masters of all Aquitain, Gascony, the provinces of Lions and Narbonne, and extended their ravages from the Alps to the ocean, the governors of the provinces having no troops to oppose them 4;

. Vol. VI. Nº 6.

and set up Constantine for emperor; into Gaul.

which submits

to him.

lence.

Constantine master of all Gaul.

His issue.

for Stilicho had withdrawn, as we have related above, the forces that guarded the a banks of the Rhine, on occasion of the war with Alaric. The whole country, says St. Jerom, writing about this time, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the ocean, is over-run and pillaged by the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Alans, the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Alemans. In the mean time the Roman troops quartered in Britain, apprehending the barbarians would, after the intire reduction of Gaul, cross the sea, and, jointly with the Scots and Irish, fall upon them, and expecting no affiltance from Honorius, refolved to fet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one Mark, whom after a few days they murdered, upon some dislike, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room '. Gratian, after a short reign of four b The Romans in months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by Constantine, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, which was common to him with Constantine the Great, who, being advanced to the imperial dignity in Britain, had made himself master of the whole empire, and governed it with great prosperity Who passes over and success. The new prince, immediately after his promotion, passed over into Gaul, taking with him all the Roman forces quartered in the island, and the slower of the British youth; by which means the country, thus left quite naked and defencelefs, was not long after obliged to submit to the yoke of new lords. Constantine landed at Bologne, and continued there, till he was joined by the Roman troops, who were dispersed up and down Gaul, and who chose rather to submit to him, than to the c barbarians. Hereupon Limenius, prefect of Gaul, and Cariobaudes, commander of the Roman forces, fled into Italy, leaving the barbarians to waste the country on one side, and Constantine to pursue his success on the other ". Honorius, who was at Rome when news of this revolt was brought him, immediately dispatched an express to Stilicho then at Ravenna, who hastening to Rome, ordered Sarus, by nation a Goth, but an officer of known valour, bold and enterprifing, to march with a fufficient force into Gaul, and make head against the usurper. Sarus was met on the frontiers of Gaul by Justin, one of Constantine's commanders, whom he easily defeated and killed, feated by Sarus, after having put to the sword the greatest part of his forces. He then led his men, besieged in Va- encouraged with this success, to besiege Valence in Dauphiny, whither the usurper had d retired. Upon his approach, Constantine sent Neobig astes, another of his generals, to treat with him of an accommodation; but him Sarus caused to be murdered, contrary to the law of nations, and the affurances he had given him w; but Constantine having placed, in the room of the two generals he had loft, Edobincus and Gerontius, the former a Gaul, the latter of Britain, Sarus, fays Zosimus with little appearance of The sugeraised truth, dreading their courage and experience, raised the siege of Valence, and retired in great hafte. Constantine's army pursued him to the Alps, over which he was obliged to purchase a passage of the Bagaudæ, by quitting to them all his booty x. However that be, it is certain, that Sarus railed the fiege, and repaffing the Alps with his army, returned to Italy. Upon his retreat, Constantine fixed his residence at Arles v, overcame the barbarians in feveral battles, and in the end forced them to fue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit Gaul, probably because he designed to maintain himself by their means in his usurped power 3. These disturbances did not prevent Honorius from enacting this year fevere laws against the Donatists, Manichees, Phrygians, Priscillianists, and all sectaries in general a.

> THE following year 408, when Anicius Bassus and Flavius Philippus were consuls, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the east died at Constantinople on the first of May the emperor Arcadius, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death b, or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen days. He was buried near the empress Eudoxia, in the f church of the Apostlesc, where their tombs of porphyry were to be seen several ages after 4. He left behind him but one fon, viz. Theodoftus, then eight years old, but just weaned, says Sozomen c. We shall examine elsewhere what we read in Procopius, viz. that Arcadius by his last will appointed Isdegerdes, king of Persia, guar-

Plus, Viz. Lilac 22. Col. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. c. 80. p. 180. Col. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Bed. hift. gent. Aug. l. i. c. 10. p. 12. Soz. Zos. ibid. Oros. Soz. Zos. ibid. Phot. p. 181. W Zos. p. 803, 804. Phot. p. 181. Oros. p. 223. Soz. ibid. Zos. p. 824. Fidem, p. 807. Col. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 40. p. 160. leg. 48. p. 168, 169. leg. 20. Col. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 40. p. 160. leg. 48. p. 168, 169. leg. 10. c. 23. p. 332. Theod. ibid. Cange w Zos. p. 803, 604.
2 Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223.
2 Cod. Theod. i. xvi. tit. 5. 165. 7.
41. p. 160, &c.
3 Theod. l. ii. p. 568. Sock. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332.
3 Const. l. iv. p. 110.
4 Soz. l. ix. c. 1. p. 799. Chron. Alex. p. 712.

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a dian to the young prince. We have observed in the history of his reign, that he had four daughters, Flaccilla, Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina: Flaccilla is never mentioned by historians but on occasion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that she died soon after. The other three embraced the state of virginity, and led exemplary lives f. They were all styled queens, as appears from the councils s; but only by courtefy; for, excepting Pulcheria, who was declared Augusta in 414. they had no other title but that of most noble. Arcadia and Marina built a palace at Constantinople, which for many ages retained their name. The former built likewise a church in honour of St. Andrew, which was many ages after, when become a monastery, rebuilt by Theodora, the niece of Michael Paleologus. Arcadia died in 444. and b Marina on the third of August 449 i. Arcadius himself was a prince naturally inclined His character. to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very slender parts, and therefore intirely governed, and shamefully imposed upon, by his ministers, and the empress, who abused his authority to oppress the people in a most despotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the west: Constantine, having reduced all Gaul to his obedience, fent a body of troops into Spain, in order to oppose Didymius and Verianus or Verinianus, who having affembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with fuch flaves and peafants as were willing to take arms, had seized on the passes of the Pyrenees. Didymius and Verinianus were brothers, natives of Spain, and nearly allied to Honorius, for whom they openly declared, while e most of the cities of that province were ready to revolt from him, and submit to the usurper k. The troops that were first sent against them not being able to open themselves a passage through the Pyrenees, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, Constantine obliged his eldest son, by name Constant, who professed a monastic life, to quit his retirement, created him Cafar, and dispatched him with Constans, the the flower of his army, commanded by Gerontius, an experienced officer, into Spain. Son of Constan-Didymius and Verinianus defended the passes for some time with great resolution and tine, declared intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. Constant pursued them close; and coming up with them in Lusitania, now Portugal, cut most of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives prisoners. d Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers Theodosius or Theodosiolus, and Lagodus, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned Spain to the usurper, and retired, the former to the court of Honorius, and the latter to that of Theodofius, who had succeeded his father Arcadius in the empire of the east !. Constans, having thus reduced all Spain, and appointed Gerontius to command the army He reduces all and guard the Pyrenees, returned to Gaul, where he presented the two illustrious Spain, and is captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. declared Augustus To reward his fon for his eminent services, he created him Augustus, honouring gustus. him, says Zosimus m, with a diadem. At the same time he sent a solemn deputation to Honorius, excusing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the foldiery to accept e of the fovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged by him as his partner in the empire. Honorius, not finding himself in a condition to make war upon the usurper, thought it advisable to comply with his request; and accordingly sent him Honorius the imperial purple, honouring him, at the same time, with the title of Augustus n. acknowledge Italy was at this time threatened with a new invasion of the barbarians, under the for his colle conduct of the famous Alaric, who, at the instigation of Stilicho, leaving Pannonia and Dalmatia, where lands had been granted to him and his Goths, passed unexpectedly the Alps, and breaking into Noricum, threatened to invade Italy, and lay Alaric all waste before him, unless a certain sum, which he pretended to be due to him threatens Italy. and his troops, were immediately sent him. Upon this demand, Honorius, who was I then at Rome, affembled the senate, when several senators of great distinction were for rejecting his demand, and marching the army without delay against him, urging, that to comply with an arrogant and unreasonable demand was not buying a peace, but figning a contract of perpetual flavery. However Stiliche, who maintained a private correspondence with Alarie and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four The money he thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him. Lampadius, who had with great demanded is

f Soz. l. ix. c. 5. p. 804.

MAN. chron. & chron. Al. p. 734.

P. B13. Phot. p. 184.

T Zos. p. 830. Soz. Phot. Oros. ibid. Greg. Tur. hift. Fr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62.

Zos. ibid.

B Idem, p. 818.

Phot. p. 180. Greg. Tur. ibid.

Stilicho difgraced, and put to death.

Stilicho supposed by some guilty, by others innocent.

Honorius divorces his

daughter

Thermantia.

liberty of speech opposed this motion, and by that means incurred the displeasure a of Stilicho, as foon as the fenate broke up, took fanctuary in a neighbouring church o. A few days after Honorius, leaving Rome, fet out for Bononia; whence, after a short stay, he removed to Ticinum, now Pavia, attended by one Olympius, who, by an outward shew of christian piety, says Zosimus, had gained the considence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his person. As every one was now well apprised of the wicked designs of Stilicho, Olympius thought himself obliged to disclose them to the emperor, which he did accordingly on the road from Bologna to Pavia, and so thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of his minister, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no fooner arrived at Pavia, than he dispatched an express to Ravenna, where Stilicho then was, with two different orders, b the one commanding him to be secured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the messenger, Stilicho took sanctuary in a church; but the next day, being in the presence of the bishop assured by the soldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arrest him, he left his asylum, and delivered himself into their hands; which he had scarce done, when the messenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the same day, the twenty-third of August of the present year 408 P. It was no fooner known at Pavia, that the emperor had ordered him to be arrested, than the army encamped there, encouraged by Olympius, says Zosi-Several of his mus 9, flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner flew all those who were known to friends are cut be well-affected to the difgraced general, and amongst the rest Limenius, presect of c in pieces by the Gaul, Chariobaudes, commander of the troops in the same province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by Constantine, Longinianus, formerly presect of Italy, Vincentius, general of the horse, Salvius and Petronius, the one comes domesticorum, the other comes largitionum, another Salvius, who was quæstor, Nemorius, then magister officiorum, and many other persons of great distinction. All authors, except Zosimus and the poet Claudian, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, viz. that he maintained a private correspondence with Alaric; that he invited the barbarians into Gaul, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent fervices, after he had driven them out, with affuming him for his collegue; that he had formed a design of murdering the two princes Honorius and Theodosius, d and seizing on both empires for himself; that by a potion given to Honorius, he prevented his having any issue, &c. But Zosimus pretends these crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice Honorius against him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end confented. The same writer adds, that after his death several of his friends were cruelly tortured, and amongst the rest Deuterus, the emperor's great chamberlain, and Peter his chief secretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the several charges that were brought against him or them as privy to his wicked defigns s. Stilicho professed the christian religion; but his fon Eucherius was not only a pagan, but a professed enemy to the christians; nay, he used to brag amongst the pagans, says Orosius, who wrote about that time, e that if he ever attained the empire, he would fignalize the beginning of his reign with the re-establishment of the pagan, and utter extirpation of the christian ceremonies. If what that author writes be true, the partiality which Zosimus, a zealous patron of paganism, shews for Stilicho and Eucherius, may be easily accounted for. The emperor had married in the beginning of this year Thermantia, Stilicho's fecond daughter, Maria, his eldeft daughter, whom Honorius had married in 398, being dead fome years before "; perhaps when the emperor was at Rome in 404. for her body was discovered in the Vatican church on the fourth of February 1544. with several things of great value: her body, when exposed to the air, mouldered away; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the rest sell to ashes, weighed thirty-six f pounds w. Honorius married Thermantia at Rome, where the match was concluded by Serena, alledging, fays Zofimus, to her husband Stilicho, who was averse to it as incestuous, that the other fister died a virgin . Upon the death of Stilicho, Honorius divorced his daughter, and fent her back untouched to her mother Serenay. Zosimus writes, that she died soon after; but, according to the chronicle of Alexan-

> <sup>o</sup> Zos. p. 805. Philost. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. Rutil. l. ii. p. 142. P. Zos. p. 810. Soz. l. ix. c. 4. p. 806. Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. P. Zos. p. 808, 809. Zos. Socr. Oros. ibid. Zos. p. 811, 819. Oros. p. 222. Zos. p. 804. Phot. c. 80. p. 177. W. Anast. Childerici, p. 53. Aringhi Rom. subterr, l. ii. c. 9. p. 173. Mabill. iter Italic. p. 145. Zos. p. 804. Tidem. p. 811, 804.

dria,

a dria, news of her death was brought to Constantinople on Friday the thirtieth of July 415. Her body too was found in the Vatican in 1543, adorned with the imperial robes, and all the enfigns of majesty . As for Eucherius, when he heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, he was fent under a strong guard to Rome, and Eucherius, his there executed b. Thus were the empire, says Grosius c, and the church, by the son, executed. death of a few persons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wish for the reputation of Honorius, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for such as suffer without being heard, have a right to be deemed innocent. All the ecclefiastic writers supb pose Stilicho to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence Zosimus looks upon them as false imputations, and groundless suspicions. Stilicho's estate was confiscated, and Stilicho's likewise the estates of all his avowed partizans, and of such as had been preserved estate confishing for money decay and Heliocrates was sent to Romano saign them which cated. by him for money d; and Heliocrates was fent to Rome to feize them, which commission he discharged with great humanity and good-nature, warning underhand those who were the least guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation cost him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commission, but sent in bonds to Ravenna, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to escape out of prison, and save himself in a church. Such was the end of Stilicho, c after he had commanded in chief the Roman armies for the space of twenty-three years. He was no doubt a person of extraordinary qualities, a great statesman, a His character. valiant foldier, and experienced officer. He gained such an ascendant over Honorius, who was blindly guided by his counsels, that, till the time of his disgrace, he governed with a more absolute sway, than the emperor himself. Zosimus, however partial to his memory, accuses him of rapine and oppression, of great partiality in the administration of justice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire f. Stilicho was succeeded in the administration by Olym-Olympius pius, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country bordering on prime minister. the Euxine sea, and not only professed the christian religion, but outwardly affected d an extraordinary piety, says Zosimus 8, infinuating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. Austin entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he bestows upon him h; as did likewise Symmachus, tho a zealous pagan i. Olympiodorus writes, that he owed his first preferment to Stilicho, who recommended him to Honoriusk; which would render the return he made that minister highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in Stilicho's life-time a confiderable employment at court, and was after his death raised to the post of magister officiorum, or steward of the emperor's houshold, one of the greatest employments in the state 1. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. Austin, desiring that zealous prelate to suggest to him from time to time what He favolers e he thought would conduce to the good of the church. In the very beginning of the church. his administration, he caused several laws to be enacted against the pagans, Jews, and heretics, especially the Donatists in Africa. By a law dated the sourteenth of November, all those who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court o. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the Roman service, resigned his command, and his example, if Zosimus is to be credited P, was followed by many others, who were either pagans or Arians. Amongst the several laws of this year, relating both to civil and ecclesiastic matters, one was enacted forbidding all persons of quality to trade, not that trade was by any means looked upon as degradf ing, but because others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redress?.

WHEN the Roman soldiers quartered in the cities of Italy heard of Stilicho's death, they flew to arms, and, out of harred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and The wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the service, and whom they children of the

the Roman

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Al. p. 716. ARINGH. MABILL. ibid. Philos. l. xii. c. 3, p. 533. Zos. p. 813. fervice mur
© Oros. p. 222. Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319. Zos. p. 811, 819. Idem, dered.

p. 780, 789. Bldem, p. 810, 811. Aug. ep. cxxiv, cxxix. p. 242, 245. Sym. l. ix. ep. 60.

p. 362. Phot. c. 80. p. 177. 1 Zos. p. 808. Aug. ep. cxxix. p. 245. Cod. Theod.

l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165. Idem ibid. leg. 42. p. 163. P. Zos. l. v. p. 820. Cod. Juft. l. iv.

sit. 62. leg. 2. p. 306. p. 302. 1. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165. tir. 63. leg. 3. p. 395.

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enters Italy, and befreges Rome.

on that account looked upon as privy to his wicked designs, as public enemies. The a barbarians, highly provoked at this unheard of cruelty, vowed revenge; and quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, to Alaric, who, tho' thus reinforced, fent deputies to Honorius, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, and never more to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would fend him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears. Honorius refuling to comply with his demand, he dispatched an express to Ataulphus or Athaulphus, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of Pannonia, ordering him to hasten with his troops, consisting of Goths and Hunns, into Italy. In the The barbarians mean time, Alaric himself advancing with long marches from Noricum to the Po, join Aliric, who crossed that river without opposition; and passing in sight of Ravenna, where the b emperor then was, pursued his march almost without halting till he arrived at Rome, which he immediately invested, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth and on the banks of the Tiber, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provisions by water t. By this means the city, which was crouded with people, was foon reduced to great diffress: a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, arising from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the streets unburied ". Olympiodorus writes, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the fatal necessity of feeding upon human flesh, and devouring each other w; and Zosimus, that they were almost brought to that extre-

Which is re-Streights,

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mity x. During this calamity, the pagans, and among the rest Pompeianus, presect & of the city, began to cry aloud, that recourse ought to be had to the gods of their ancestors, who had so often relieved the city, and delivered it from the greatest dangers. Zosimus adds, that Innocent, at that time bishop of Rome, consented to their offering sacrifices to the gods, provided it were done privately; but that they were, notwithstanding his consent, afraid to perform the ceremony?. Sozomen writes, that, at the instigation of some Hetruscan aruspices, they actually revived the ancient facrifices; which were so far from relieving the city, that thenceforth it laboured duced to great under greater difficulties than ever z. Be that as it will, the unhappy citizens were in the end obliged to fend out deputies to treat with Alaric. These were Basilius, who had been prefect of Rome in 395. and John, the emperor's first secretary. d Alaric hearkened to their proposals, and agreed to raise the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the Romans, upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand filk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper -For the railing of the required sum, the senators were taxed according to their estates; but as they had not so much ready money by them, that wicked genius, fays Zosimus b, which then governed the affairs of mankind, prompted those, who were concerned in levying the faid fum, to the height of iniquity; for to make good the deficiency, they had recourse to the ornaments of the temples and images of the gods: some of the latter, that were of gold or filver, they melted down, • and among the rest that of Valour, which being destroyed, the ancient Roman valour was utterly extinguished, as had been foretold by persons skilled in divine matters, and well versed in the rites and ceremonies of their country. The treaty was ratified The fiegeraifed by Honorius, and the fum thus raised sent to Alaric, who thereupon raised the siege, and retired with his army into Hetruria. When he first appeared before Rome, the fenate, with the confent and approbation of Placidia, the emperor's fifter, then in the city, caused Serena, the widow of Stilicho, to be put to death, upon a false widow of Still- supposition, says Zosimus, of her privately corresponding with the enemy d. Lata, the widow of the emperor Gratian, and her mother Pissamene, signalized their good

> the famished citizens. While the western empire was thus miserably harassed by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the usurpation of Constantine, whom Honorius had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the fovereigney, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces subject to young Theodosius, though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happiness they enjoyed to Anthemius, who taking

nature during the siege, relieving with great generolity, as Zosimus himself owns , f:

d Idem. p. 114, 115. . Idem ibid. 121.

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a upon him the administration, discharged the office of prime minister with an inter The happy adgrity hardly to be matched in history. He was grandson to Philippus, who had ministration of been presect of the east under Constantius, which office Anthemius himself discharged the east. from the year 405. to 414 . Ammianus Marcellinus mentions one Simplicius, the son of Anthemius the elder, and probably the father of Anthemius the younger, who was disgraced in 3591. The latter was magister officiorum before the year 404. embassador to the king of Persia before the year 405. consul in that year, and soon after præsesus prætorio. He had at least one daughter, who was married to Procopius, by whom she had Anthemius, advanced to the empire in 465 ". Anthemius, who go- His charaster. verned the eastern empire during the minority of Theodofius, is commended by all b the writers of those times as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous christian, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince, and the happiness of the people ". He was, says Synesius, who constantly styles him the great Anthemius, in my opinion, and in that of all men, the greatest, the best, the most virtuous, difinterested, and well-meaning minister, that ever governed a state. Procopius writes, that Arcadius, either distrusting his brother Honorius, or apprised that the distracted state of his own affairs would divert him from minding those of the east, begged in his will Isdegerdes, king of Persia, with whom he had entered Whether Islainto a strict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the gerdes, king of same writer adds, that Isdegerdes, who was a prince of great generosity, sent embass-appointed fadors to acquaint the senate of Constantinople, that he accepted the charge, and was guardian to resolved to make war upon such as should presume to raise disturbances in the state P. the young Theophanes, who wrote after Procopius, and has borrowed from him the greatest part prince. of his history, adds, that Isdegerdes, not being at leisure to attend the administration in person, sent Antiochus to Constantinople in his room, a person of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemished character, who discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity till the year 414. when Pulcheria taking upon her the administration, he was deprived of his authority, and even of his life 4. Zonaras follows Procopius and Theophanes, as does likewise Cedrenus. It is surprising, that such an event, one of the most remarkable in history, should by no historian be taken notice of before Procopius, who wrote a hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no small mistakes, being missed by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this supposed last will of Arcadius; for Azathias tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to fon; but that he found it vouched by no writer, except Procopius, not even by those who had given a particular account of the death of Arcadius. And truly Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Zosimus, Philostorgius, both Prospers, and Marcellinus, take not the least notice of this memorable transaction. Isidore of Pelusium, and Synesius ", mention an eunuch, by name Antiochus, who passing from the service of a Persian lord, named Narses, to that of Theodosius II. became preceptor to the young prince; which perhaps gave rife to the above-mentioned tradition. This year the Hunns The Hunns and Squiri, or Scyri, a northern nation, broke suddenly into Thrace, under the con- and the Squiri

lord, named Narses, to that of Theodosius II. became preceptor to the young prince; which perhaps gave rise to the above-mentioned tradition. This year the Hunns The Hunns and Squiri, or Scyri, a northern nation, broke suddenly into Thrace, under the con- and the Squiri duct of Uldin, of whom we have made mention above; but some of their officers break into abandoning them to join the Romans, they retired with great precipitation; how- the latter are ever, the emperor's troops, coming up with the Squiri before they could reach the almost intirely Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the rest prisoners. By this cut off.

overthrow, that nation was almost utterly extirpated w.

The next consuls were, Honorius the eighth time, and Theodosius the third. In Gaul, Constantine, who reigned there, caused himself to be acknowledged consul in the room of Theodosius x. As Honorius, under various pretences, declined delivering up to Alaric the promised hostages, and executing some other articles of the treaty not mentioned by historians, the senate sent Attalus, Cacilianus, and Maximianus or Maximilianus, to represent to him in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, especially to the capital. But their remonstrances were utterly disregarded by the emperor, missed, says Zosimus, by Olympius and Alaric's enemies at court y. However, he raised Attalus to the post of comes largitionum, and Cacilianus

h Socr. l. vii. c. 1, p. 324. 
AMMIAN. l. ix. p. 151. 
C.8. p. 813. 
Sid. cat. ii. p. 291, 292. 
CHRYS. p. 780. Socr. Syn. ep. lxxv. p. 220. 
Syn. cat. p. 299. & ep. lxxii. p. 220, 221. 
Procop. bell. Perf. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. 
Theoph. p. 69. 
Zonar. p. 43. 
Cedren. p. 334. 
AGATH. l. iv. p. 137. 
Syn. p. 84. 
Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p, 807, 809. 
GRUTER. p. 2052. 
Zos. l. v. p. 817—819.

Ataulphus enters Italy.

Olympius disgraced.

The generals Turpilio and Vigilantius put to death.

Alaric returns to that of prafectus pratorio 2. In the mean time, Alaric, provoked at the emperor's 2 before Rome. backwardness in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left Hetruria, and approaching Rome, blocked it up a second time, his army being reinforced with forty thousand flaves, who had made their escape out of the city a. Honorius sent fix thousand chosen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by Alarie's parties, and all either cut off, or taken prisoners, except Valens, their commander, Attalus, and about an hundred more, who with much ado got into Rome b. Maximilianus, one of the prisoners, was ransomed by his father with thirty thousand pieces of gold. Zosimus writes, that the fix thousand men fent by Honorius to defend the city, made up five legions; fo that a legion at this time confilted but of twelve hundred men. In the mean time, Ataulphus, whom Alarie had fent for, as we have b observed above, was advancing to join him; and had already passed the Julian Alps, and entered the province of Venetia, when Honorius dispatched against him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loss only of fifteen; but notwithstanding this check, Ataulphus pur-fued his march, and joined Alaric d. About this time, Olympius, the prime minister, was disgraced, divested of all his honours, and discharged, the eunuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the present calamities. He was succeeded by Jovius, then present of Italy, a person highly commended by Zosimus; which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is scarce ever to lavish of his praises on those who professed the christian religion. With Olympius e several other officers were changed. Attalus was made presect of Rome, and Demetrius comes largitionum, or treasurer, in his place. The soldiers, mutinying at Ravenna, demanded the heads of the two generals Turpilio and Vigilantius, and likewise of Terentius and Arsacius, the emperor's two first chamberlains. Hereupon the timorous prince, at the instigation of Jovius, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a vessel, in order to be sent into exile; but the foldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. Terentius was banished into the east, and Arsacius confined to the city of Milan f. Eusebius was made great chamberlain in the room of Terentius; Valens succeeded Turpilio in the post of general of the horse; and the office of comes domesticorum, held by d Vigilantius, was given to Ellebichus or Allobichus. These were all creatures of Jovius, whose authority was thus thoroughly established F. At the same time, Generides, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in Rhatia, Noricum, Dalmatia and Pannonia; which countries he protected with great fidelity against the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. Zosimus writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his fake Honorius revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments ". The same law was revoked with respect to heretics, especially the Donatists, to whom some churches were restored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of Jovius, of Heraclianus, count of Africa, and of Macrobius, the author of the Saturnalia, as is commonly believed, e at that time proconful of Africa i.

Alaric being returned before Rome, as we have observed above, the senate sent a fecond deputation to the emperor, pressing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himself had ratified. Alaric approved of this step, and appointed a body of Goths to escort the deputies, among whom was Innocent, bishop of the city. At the same time Alaric, by the advice of Jovius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in Epirus, advanced with part of his army to Ariminum or Rimini, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, then at Ravenna. Jovius himself met him at Rimini; and after some conferences with him, wrote to court, advifing the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or if he thought f them unreasonable, to satisfy Alaric by preferring him to the post of commander in chief of all the Roman forces. To this letter the emperor answered, that he was resolved never to preser Alaric, not any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to Jovius, while he was in Alaric's tent, and he with the utmost imprudence reading it out aloud, Alaric was so provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards Rome: but soon after changing his mind, he sent some bishops to Honorius, with very moderate pro-

Honorius refuses to comply with the proposals of Alaric.

b Idem ibid. c Idem ibid. d Idem, Eldem ibide Phot. p. 181. h Zos. ibid.

a pofals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with Honorius, and to defend the empire against all invaders, provided he would only fend him a small sum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when disbanded, and allow them to fettle in Rhatia and Noricum, which provinces paid but an inconsiderable tribute, and nevertheless obliged the emperor, as they were exposed to the incurfions of the neighbouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himself to do, without putting the empire to the least charge. These proposals, however reasonable, were rejected, Jovius having, by a second fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, suspect him of privately favouring Alaric, he overb acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to swear, that he would never make And swears peace, but wage perpetual war with Alaric: this he swore himself by the emperor's never to make head, and obliged all the officers both civil and military to take the same oath k. him. Alaric, tho' informed of these unaccountable proceedings, sent back the bishops to Ravenna, earnestly intreating the emperor, who had not sufficient forces to withstand him, not to fuffer that stately metropolis, which for so many ages had been revered Alaric's modeby all nations as mistress of the world, to become a prey to her enemies. But the ration. emperor continuing obstinate in his former resolution, Alarie pursued his march to Rome; and approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obstinacy, inviting them at the same time to consult their own safety by joining him against Honorius. This proposal they rejected at first with indignation; but Alaric having, after a few days siege, taken the castle at the mouth of the Tiber, He besieges in which all the public provisions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, Rome, which and received him into the city, which he entered attended by a small guard, and acknowledges obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowledge, not Attalus for himself, as he might have easily done, but Attalus, then prefect of the city, for emperor. emperor '. Attalus was a native of Ionia, and greatly beloved by Alaric and his Goths, because he had been baptized by Segisarius their bishop m, and consequently professed the doctrine of Arius, tho' he was in his heart a pagan, according to Pbilostorgius n. Attalus, thus created emperor by Alaric, made him in return commander d in chief of all his forces, and Ataulphus his comes domesticorum, distributing the other great employments amongst pagans and Arians. As it was a matter of the utmost importance to secure Africa, whence Rome was supplied with provisions, Alaric advised the new emperor to send thither without delay a considerable body of troops under the conduct of Drumas, who was by nation a Goth, but an officer of great experience and address: but Attalus, contrary to the advice of Alaric, sent one Constantine or Constans, a person quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a small number of troops, being assured by the aruspices, says Sozomen, that Africa would immediately submit o. But Constantine was upon his first landing cut off with The usurper's all his men by Heraclianus, who took care to place guards in all the ports of Africa, troops defeated e that no corn might be thence conveyed to Rome, which by that means was foon by Heraclianus reduced to great streights P. In the mean time, Attalus, without waiting news from Africa, fet out from Rome with the fuccours he received from Alaric, with a defign to beliege the emperor in Ravenna, who, alarmed at his motions, dispatched Jovius, the prime minister, Valens, general of the foot, Potamus, the quæstor, and Julian, his first secretary, to wait his arrival at Rimini, and acquaint him, that the emperor Honorius offers was willing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But Attalus would only to acknowledge grant Honorius his life, and the liberty of retiring to what island he pleased 4. Jovius, Attalus; Who insists upon in a private conference with Attalus, not only advised him to insit upon these terms, bis religning. but fuggested to him, that he ought to maim the emperor so as to prevent his f having iffue; which wicked fuggestion was rejected with horror, if Olympiodorus is to be credited, by Attalus himself. That treacherous minister returned to court; but being fent back to the usurper with new proposals, he continued with him. Honorius, finding himself thus betrayed by his friends, and no-ways in a condition to oppole so many enemies at once, resolved to abandon Ravenna, and retire by sea into the east; but was diverted from that resolution by the seasonable arrival of sour thou-Honorius refand men, sent him by his nephew Theodosius; which encouraged him to continue ceives a seasone at Ravenna, and there wait the issue of the war in Africa. And truly his arms were from Theodo.

\* Soz. l. ix. c. 7. p. 808, 809. Zos. p. 822—824. \* Philost. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. Soz. p. 810. Phot. p. 181. Phot. ibid. Vol. VI. Nº 6.

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or,

Soz. Zos. ibid.
 Zos. p. 819. Soz. ibid.
 Zos. p. 828.

6 B

attended

attended there with uncommon success; for Attalus having, after the death of Con- a flans, fent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the first, Heraclianus cut them likewise in pieces; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, so that no provisions could be conveyed to Rome, but sent a seasonable supply of money to Honorius, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, and by that means re-established his affairs. In the mean time Alaric reduced all the cities of Liguria and Æmilia, except Bononia, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a considerable time before it. He caused Attalus to be every-where proclaimed

emperor, and obliged the people to swear allegiance to him '.

Maximus fet up in Spain by Geroncius.

The Britons

And the Armorici.

empire,

Alans and Sucvians enter Spain,

Spanish provinces among shemselves.

WHILE these things passed in Italy, Geroncius, to whom Constans, the son of Constantine, had committed the government of Spain, as we have related above, revolt- b ing, upon some disgust, from Constantine, set up one Maximus for emperor, whom Olympiodorus supposes to have been his son ", while other writers style him his client or creature w. Orofius speaks of him as a person of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown z. It was no sooner known in Gaul, that Geroncius had revolted, than the Vandals, Suevians, Alans, and other barbarians, whom Constantine had suffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the new usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities. The people, finding themselves thus harassed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from Honorius or Constantine, resolved to defend themselves. The Britons were fall off from the the first, who, falling off from the empire, established a new form of government c among themselves, after having driven out the barbarians, the Germans, according to Zosimus, but more likely the Scots or Irish, who had invaded their country y. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421. or 422. when, overpowered by their warlike neighbours the Scots, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor, and submit anew to the laws of the empire, as we shall relate hereafter. All the Armorici, says Zosimus, that is, in the language of the Gauls, the maritime people, followed the example of the Britons, and shaking off the Roman yoke, gave rise to a new state and government z, which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved but short-lived. The barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expecteed from the inhabitants of Gaul, who had taken arms in their own defence, and acquainted d with the distracted state of Spain, which was represented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether they could settle there. With this design, the Vandals, the Alans and Suevians, bent their march towards the Pyrenees, which they passed without opposition, the guards, who had been placed there by Geroncius to defend the narrow passes, either retiring at the approach of such multitudes, or joining them 2. Thus the barbarians first entered Spain in 409. on a Tuesday, says Idatius, the twenty-eighth of September, or the thirteenth of October b; but in the year 409, the thirteenth of October fell on a Wednesday. The passes of the Pyrenees being once opened, the barbarians, who had over-run Gaul, poured in swarms into Spain, and there made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds, deseated the troops which Constantine had sent, under the conduct of his son Constant, to suppress the rebellion of Geroncius, and obliged Constans himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at Arles. As for Geroncius, they entered into a kind of alliance with him against their common enemy Constantine d. The barbarians, having And over run no enemy to oppose them, after the retreat of Constant, over-ran the whole country, the whole count committing every-where unheard-of cruelties; which the reader will find described at length by Idatius, who, in this very century, was bishop of a city in Spain. Olympiodorus writes, that the Romans, who had taken refuge in fome strong-holds, were reduced to the dreadful necessity of feeding upon one another; and adds, that a mother, who had four children, killed and devoured them all; for which unnatural cruelty she was stoned to death by the populace f. The barbarians continued their f ravages, putting all to fire and fword, till the year 411. when being absolute masters of the country, they applied themselves to the tilling of the ground, and And divide the other works of agriculture, after having divided among themselves by lot the Spanish provinces. In that division Galicia fell to the Vandals and Suevians, the for-

<sup>\*</sup> Zos. p. 819. Oros. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. 

† Idem ibid. 

В Риот. с. 80. p. 184. 

« Soz. p. 814. Greg. Tur. p. 63. Oros. p. 224. Prosp. 2nn. 412. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Zos. l. vi. p. 817. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 184. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 184. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 184. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 184. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 184. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Oros. l. vii. p. 817. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

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\* Oros. ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Oros. ibid. 

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\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

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\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* Idem ibid. 

\* f PHOT. c. 80. p. 189.

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a mer having Gonderic for their king, and the latter Ermeric; Lusitania, and the province of Carthagena, to the Alans; Batica to the Silingi, who were likewise Vandals, and are supposed to have given to their lot the name of Wandalusia, which was afterwards changed into that of Andalusia. Such of the natives as had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, submitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the gospels, swore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they observed so religiously, that many Romans chose to live in poverty, says Orosius, under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire b. The inhabitants of Galicia however maintained their liberty, and formed a new state in a corner of that province, where they were often b attacked, but without fuccess, by Emeric or Ermeric, king of the Suevians . Nothing happened this year in the east worthy of notice, except a tumult at Constantinople, Atumult at Constantinople, Constantiwhere the people riling on account of the scarcity of bread, burnt the house of Mo-nople. naxes, prefect of the city; but the senators, and other wealthy citizens, having, by voluntary contributions, raised a large sum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practifed when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled k.

THE following year 410. when Varanes alone was conful, is remarkable for the taking of Rome by Alaric. Varanes began his consulship at Constantinople; but the western empire, especially the city of Rome, was involved in such troubles, that Hoe norius was not at leisure to think of a consul. Attalus however raised Tertullus, a pagan, to that dignity; but he was acknowledged only by the partizans of the usurper; whence Varanes alone is named consul in the fasti, and in the laws, some of which are dated thus; the year after the eighth confulship of Honorius, and the third of Theodosius!. As Heraclian continued to keep the ports of Africa blocked up, and the lands in Italy had not been tilled for several years, by reason of the wars, the Roman people were reduced to feed upon chesnuts; nay, human sless was publicly Agreat famine fold, and several mothers were said to have devoured their children w. This obliged both Alaric and Attalus to hasten to Rome, in order to advise with the senate about the proper means of supplying the city. Most part of the senators were for sending d into Africa a body of Golhs, Alaric engaging, that Drumas, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred only; but Attalus openly declared, that he would not by any means employ Goths in that war; which so piqued Alaric, who had already begun to look upon Assalus as one no-ways qualified for the high station to which he had raised him, that he resolved to depose him, lest, by his obstinacy and imprudence, he should quite ruin his affairs. He was consirmed in this resolution by Jovius, who persuaded him, that Attalus, scorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to destroy him. This conduct of Jovius has induced some writers to believe, that he maintained a private correspondence with Honorius; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray e Attalus ". Be that as it will, Alaric, finding the new emperor unequal to so great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and misconduct with respect to the affairs of Africa, fent deputies once more to Honorius, with very reasonable terms; which the emperor feeming inclined to comply with, Alaric publicly stripped the mock prince Alaric deposes of all the badges of fovereignty, and fent them to Honorius. He would not however Attalus, deliver up either Attalus, or his son Ampelius; but insisted upon their being pardoned, fince their crime was owing more to him than to them o. Attalus being thus deposed, Alaric approached Ravenna, and stopped at a place called the Alps, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation between And attempts him and the emperor P. But this peaceable face of affairs was foon changed by an an accomm f unlucky and unforeseen accident: Sarus the Goth, of whom we have made frequent dation with mention commanded a body of three hundred men in Picenum, without declaring Honorius. mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in Picenum, without declaring

A great famino

either for Honorius or Alaric. However, Ataulphus, who bore him an irreconcilable

hatred, resolved to destroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a strong

party against him; which obliged him to declare for Honorius, and retire to Ravenna.

Olympiodorus writes, that Alaric was so provoked at the kind reception Sarus met with

<sup>\*\*</sup> OROS. C. 41. p. 223. IDAT. ISID. chron. 

\*\* OROS. l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. I Hem ibid. 

\*\* Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 84. Lib. orat. i. p. 64. Chron. Alex. p. 716. 

\*\* Cod. Theod. chron. 156. 

\*\* Socr. l. ix. p. 810. Zos. l. vi. p. 830. 

\*\* Philost. p. 181. 

\*\* Phot. Chron. Alex. p. 716. 

\*\* Phot. Phot. Chron. Soc. p. 810. Philost. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. 

\*\* Soc. p. 809. Zos. P. 809. Zos. p. 80

Which is unbappily broke

And Rome anew besieged, taken, and

plundered.

Alaric orders churches.

from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms q. On the other hand, Sozomen a tells us, that Sarus, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the Goths, and put some of them to the sword. However that be, it is certain, that Alaric departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of Ravenna. and returned to his army, encamped near Rome, as foon as Sarus had joined the emperors, restoring the purple, and other badges of majesty, to Attalus; but in a few days degrading him anew, as if he defigned to traduce and expose to ridicule the imperial dignity. Socrates writes, that having shewed him to the foldiery with all the enligns of fovereignty, he exposed him the very next day to public view in the dress of a flave ". To this was the majesty of the Roman empire now reduced. Alaric no fooner arrived before Rome, than he blocked it up on all fides, and by that means, b as provisions were already very scarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmost extremity. Some authors, and among the rest St. Jerom w, write, that it held out a long time; while others fay, Alaric reduced it with such expedition, that Honorius, when told by one of his courtiers, that Rome was lost, understood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of Rome was belieged x. There is likewise a disagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. Procopius writes, that Proba, an illustrious Roman matron, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the nighttime to the enemy v. Sozomen fays it was taken by treachery, without explaining c himself farther 2; but Orosius uses the word irrumpit 2, which seems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by affault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, styled the metropolis of the universe, after having triumphed over fo many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of August of the present year 410. taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As the had, for the space of one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years, pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, she underwent in the end the same fate, and suffered in her turn the same calamities, which she had brought upon others. Alaric, when upon the point of d breaking into the city, addressing his foldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to feize it; but at the same time he strictly injoined them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find his mento spare in arms, and above all to spare those who should take fanctuary in the holy places, the lives of the citizens, especially in the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, which he named because ally of fuch as they were most spacious, and consequently capable of affording an asylum to great numshould fly to the bers of people. Having given these orders, he abandoned the city to his Goths, who treated it no better, according to St. Jerom, than the Greeks are faid to have treated antient Troy b; for after having plundered it for the space of three, or, as others will have it, of fix days, they fet fire to it in several places; so that the stately palace of c Salust, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to ashes; nay Procopius writes, that there was not in the whole city one house lest intire; and both St. Jerom d and Philostorgius e, that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to a The miserable heap of ashes and ruins. Tho many of the Goths, pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from shedding the blood of such as made no resistance, yet others, which the city more cruel and blood-thirsty, massacred all they met; so that the streets in some quarters of the city were feen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and swimming in blood f. However, not the least injury was offered to those who had fled to the churches; nay, the Goths themselves conveyed thither, as to places of safety, such as they were defirous should be spared s. Many of the statues of the gods that had f been left intire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occasion destroyed, either by the Goths, who, tho' mostly Arians, were zealous christians, or by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the same time upon the city, as if it had been fent on purpose to complete, with them, the destruction of idolatry, and abolish the small remains of pagan superstition b. The learned bishop

<sup>\*</sup> Idem ibid. Philost. p. 534. t Oros. I. vii. c. 42. w Hier. ep. 16. p. 121. \* Prosp. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. p. 811. Oros. p. 222. b Hier. ep. 16. p. 121. f Idem ibid. f Hier. & p. 180. 7 Idem 1010.

e Procop. p. 179. 

HIER. ep. 12. p. 100.

Procop. p. 179. 

Oros. l. vii. c. 39, p. 222. & l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. f Idem ibis.

a of Meaux wrote a famous treatife, showing, that the taking of Rome by Alaric may be looked upon as one of the chief mysteries foretold by St. John in his revelations. The pagans ascribed the calamities which Rome suffered on this occasion, to its having banished the gods, by whom it had been often protected against far more powerful enemies. These calumnies St. Austin fully consuted in his 81st, 105th and 106th fermons, in another intituled of the destruction of the city of Rome k, and in his great work de civitate Dei, wherein he shews, that Rome had fusfered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preserved by the christian religion from utter destruction 1.

<sup>t</sup> Explication de l'apocalypse.

k Aug. serm. p. 546. & Rom. excid. p. 330.

1 Idem de civ. Dei.

## C H A P. XXX.

## The history of Rome, from the taking of the city by the Goths, to the death of Theodosius II.

ALARK, having staid, according to some, six, according to others, only three days in Rome, retired from thence into Campania, carrying with him immense Alaric retires, wealth, and a great number of captives, among whom was Placidia, the fifter of miththe Honorius, whom he treated with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After he Rome, into had ravaged and laid waste Campania, Lucania, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, and the Campania. country of the Brutii, he approached the streights of Sicily, with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into Africa, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpose being shipwrecked in the streights, he continued in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, deliberating what further measures he was to take; but before he came to any resolution, he was suddenly seized with a fit of sickness, c which carried him off in a few days 1. The Goths were deeply concerned for the He dies in the death of their king, (for they had given him that title, as we have observed above) neighbourhood and fearing the Romans should offer some indignity to his bones, they turned the of Rhegium. course of the Busento near Cosenza in the Farther Calabria; and having buried him, with many rich spoils brought from Rome, in the bed of the river, they restored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the flaves they had employed in the work ". After this, they chose Ataulphus king in his room. He was brother- Ataulphus in-law to the deceased prince, who had married his fifter. Fornandes writes, that chosen king in he returned to Rome, and pillaged that city a second time n. But of this second destruction of Rome, as he styles it, no mention is made by any of the writers who d flourished at that time. While the barbarians were thus ravaging Italy on one fide, Constantine, leaving Gaul, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, Constantine that he was marching to the affistance of Honorius, tho' his real design was to strip invades Italy; him of the few provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as Verona; but while he was preparing to pass the Po, in order to march to Ravenna, and there confer, as he pretended, with the emperor about the most proper measures in the present juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deserved end of Alabicus or Allohicus, one of Honorius's generals, whom that prince had caused to be put to death, upon a well-grounded suspicion of his privately corresponding with the usurper . This Constantine no sooner understood, than he repassed in great But repasses the e haste the Alps, and retired to Arles, where he found his son Constants driven out of Alps in great Spain by the above-mentioned barbarians. Geroncius, who had joined them against raires to Arles. him, pursued him into Gaul; which obliged Constantine to send Edobicus, one of his generals, to procure supplies among the Franks and Germans, and to commit the

1 Oros. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 347. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 3. 534. Aug. civ. Dei, l. i. 19. p. 8. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. 

\*\* Jorn. ibid. \*\* Idem, p. 654. 

\*\* Soz. l. ix. C. 10. p. 8. JOHN. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 673. \*\* Joi C. 12. p. 814. Phot. c. 80. p. 181. Zos. l. v. p. 821. n Idem, p. 654.

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Conflans takon, and put to death by Geroncius. who besieges

guard of Vienne, and the other cities on the Rhone, to his fon Constans. But Geroncius, arriving in the mean time before Vienne, took the place; and having put Constans, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without opposition to Arles, and there closely besieged Constantine himself P. While the western empire was thus involved in endless calamities, the provinces all over the east enjoyed a profound peace Constantine in under the wise administration of Authenius; so that nothing remarkable happened there, except the difference of one Andronicus, governor of the Pentopolis, who, by his tyrannical extortions, deserved to be first excommunicated by Synesius bishop of Ptolemais, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by Anthemius from his government 9.

Constanting fent against Constantine.

fes the fiege of into Spain,

Where he lags violent hands on himself.

Maximus taken; but his ared.

The Germans coming to the assistance of Constantine defeated.

THE following year 411. Theodosius alone was the fourth time conful, Honorius b being diverted, by the troubles in the welt, from naming any one to that dignity r. This year Honorius sent Constantius, an officer of great experience and address, and inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into Gaul, with what troops he could spare, to make war upon Constantine, whom, after his entering Italy, the emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. Constantius was not by birth a barbarian, but a Roman; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to Olympiodorus, in the city of Panaisa in Illyricum'. Valesius supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of Naissus in His character. Dacia, the birth-place of Constantine the Great. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped in his person, agreeable in conversation, frank, generous, an c enemy to all diffimulation and reftraint, difinterested, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army, and governing the state ". He was no sooner named for this expedition, than he fet out at the head of a confiderable army for Gaul, where he was joined upon his first arrival by most of the troops of Geroncius, then bussed in reducing the city of Arles, in which was Constantine himself, as we have related above. Geron-Geroncius rai- cius, finding himself abandoned by his men, raised the siege in great haste, and sled Jes the siege of into Spain, where the few soldiers who attended him, provoked at his unseasonable feverity, attacked him in the house where he was lodged; which he defended, tho affifted only by one friend, and a few flaves, with great resolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the aggreffors. In the end the flaves, confulting their own d fafety, made their escape, which Geroncius too might have easily done, had he been able to prevail upon himself to forsake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When he found himself overpowered, he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. His wife, by name Nonnichia, apprifed of this resolution, earnestly intreated him to put her to death, rather than fuffer her to fall into the hands of the incenfed foldiery. Moved with her tears, he first dispatched her, then his friend, and lastly himself w. It is furprifing, that Sozomen should commend this in Nonnichia, as an action worthy of the christian religion, which she professed x. As for Maximus, whom Geroncius had set up for emperor, as we have related above, he was secured by his own men, and brought to Constantius, who stripped him of the ensigns of majesty, but spared his e life, looking upon him as a person of himself inostensive, and incapable of giving the least umbragey. He retired into Spain amongst the barbarians, and was still alive when Orofius wrote his history, that is, in 417'. To return to Constantius: he pursued the siege of Arles, which Geroncius had begun. Constantine, who was in the place with his second fon, by name Julian, held out for the space of four months, in expectation of the succours which Edobicus was sent to procure amongst the Franks, and other German nations. Edobicus arrived at length, at the head of an army far more numerous than that of Constantius; which so terrified the emperor's generals, that they were for abandoning the siege, and retiring into Italy. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the iffue of a battle. f Ulphilas therefore, who commanded under Constantius, passing the Khone with a strong detachment of foot, concealed himself among the woods, till the enemy passed, and were ready to engage Constantius; when falling unexpectedly upon their rear. while Constantius charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. Edobicus shed to the house of a Gaulish lord, by name Ecdices, who, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at his hands, struck off his head, and carried it to Constan-

P Soz. ibid. Phot. p. 184. Oros. p. 224. 9 Synes. 2. 74. p. 184. Oros. p. 224. 1 Synes. 2. 74. p. 187. C. 80. p. 103. 1 Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 107. 9 Synes. 7. 74. p. 220.

Plant. Pros. C. 43.

Phot. p. 185. Oros. c. 43.

Phot. p. 186. X Soz. ibid. &c. PHOT. C. 80. p. 193. p. 124. Soz. l. ix. c. 16. p. 817. 7 Oros. ibid. Plem ibid. w Oros. p. 224. Soz. p. 815. Phor. ibid.

a tius, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that instant, lest his presence should draw down from Heaven some missortune upon the whole army . Constantius returned without loss of time before Arles, which still held out with great obstinacy, till news being brought to the Roman camp, that Jovinus, having usurped the imperial title in Farther Gaul, was advancing full march to Arles, at the head of a formidable army, confisting of Alemans, Franks, Burgundians, and Alans, with a design to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, Constantius thought it adviseable to comply with the terms which had been proposed before by the besieged, but rejected by him, viz. to grant a general indemnity, and to promise upon oath, that the lives of Constantine and Julian should be spared. Hereupon the gates were opened, dered to Conband the victorious army received into the town. Constantine had some time before stantius. divested himself of the purple, and taking fanctuary in a church, caused himself to be ordained prieft, thinking that character would screen him from the emperor's just Constantius nevertheless caused both him and his son to be secured, and fent into Italy, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty Constantine miles from Ravennab. Honorius would not grant them their lives, because they and his son behad put to death his two cousins Didymius and Verinianus; but as they had been pro-headed. mifed indemnity by his lieutenant, the christian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the same time Jovinus causes that Constantine divested himself of the purple, Jovinus, or, as he is styled by Sozo-bimself to be men and Philostorgius, Jovianus, assumed it at Mundiacum, says Olympicdorus; which emperor. fome take to be Mentz. He was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Gaul, and is faid to have caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at the instigation of Goar king of the Alans, and Guntarius, or Gondicarius, prince of the Burgundians d. It appears from his medals, that he made himself master of Treves e; but his reign was short-lived, as we shall see anon. In the east, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was disturbed this year by the Ausurians, a Moorish nation, who, breaking into the Pentapolis, laid waste that province; but were soon driven out by Anysius, who had succeeded Andronicus in that government. The Saracens likewise committed great disorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Palestine, Phanicia, and & Syria; but retired of their own accord.

THE following year 412. when Honorius was conful the ninth time, and Theodosius the fifth, the Goths at length left Italy, either in virtue of a treaty between Honorius The Goths and Ataulphus their new king, as Jornandes seems to suppose f, or because they had leave Italy, and break into already quite drained that country of its wealth, which, from the sequel of the history, Gaul. appears more probable. However that be, quitting Italy, they broke into Gaul, ravaging the countries through which they passed. Upon their arrival in that province, Attalus, whom Ataulphus had brought thither with him, advised the Goth to join Jovinus against Honorius, and divide Gaul between them. Ataulphus and Jovinus met upon that proposal; but all we know of their interview is, that Jovinus was e not at all pleased to see Ataulphus and his Goths in Gaul E. Sarus, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from Honorius, because he refused to punish the authors of the murder of one of his officers, by name Bellerid, was going into Gaul, to offer his fervice to Jovinus; which coming to the ears of Ataulphus, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him, at the head of a thousand men. Sarus, tho' attended only by twenty persons, defended himself with such resolution, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his Sarus taken own hand great numbers of the enemy. Ataulphus caused him soon after to be put prisoner by to death; which, as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a misunder-put to death. standing between Jovinus and Ataulphus. Jovinus soon after took his brother Sebaf stian for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of Ataulphus, who was so provoked at his promotion, that he dispatched privately deputies to Honorius, offering to restore to him his sister Placidia, and to send him the heads of the two usurpers. provided he would supply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor having readily complied with his demand, Ataulphus foon found an opportunity of dispatching Sebastian; but Jovinus, upon the news of his death, fled to Valence, where he was closely besieged, and in the end forced to submit to Ataulphus, who delivered

<sup>\*</sup> Idem, p. 223. Phor. c. 80. p. 184. Greo. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. Soz. l. ix. c. 14. p. 815. b Phor. Soz. Greg. Tur. ibid. c. Phor. c. 80. d. Soz. p. 816, 817. Oros. p. 224. Phor. p. 184. c. Synes. catast. p. 299. & cp. 78. p. 223; 224. f. John. res. Goth. c. 31. p. 655. c. Oros. p. 224. Риот. ibid.

Jovinus is taken, and put to death.

him up to Dardanus prefect of Gaul, by whose orders he was put to death at Nar- 2 Idatius ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the generals of Honorius, who had perhaps joined Ataulphus. Dardanus, at this time prefect of Gaul, is highly commended by St. Jerom and St. Austin, who wrote several letters to him; but Apollinaris Sidonius, who is likewise honoured with the title of saint, paints him as a person of a most infamous character, in whom centred all the vices of the three usurpers Constantine, Jovinus and Geroncius (O). This year Theodosius, or rather Anthemius, caused the walls of all the frontier towns of Illyricum to be repaired k.

Heraclianus revolts in Africa.

returns to Atrica.

covered, and cut in pieces by the joldiery.

The Burgundians allowed to settle in Gaul.

THE next confuls were Lucius and Heraclianus: but the name of the latter was erased out of the fasti; for he revolted this very year from Honorius, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in Africa, which he had with so much bravery b defended against Attalus, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, according to fome, of three thousand seven hundred, according to others, if there is no militake in the numbers . Orofius writes, that his fleet was more numerous than those of Xerxes, of Alexander, or any other monarch mentioned in history m. With this Lands in Italy; formidable armada he failed from Africa, and landing fafe in Italy, marched strait but, seized with to Rome, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count Marinus marching out to meet him, at the head of all the troops he could affemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to slight, and hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to Carthage. Upon his slight, his men immediately submitted, and were received into savour by Honorius, who soon after published c a law, dated the fifth of July, and addressed to the people of Africa, wherein he declared Heraclianus a public enemy, and impowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, where-ever they found him ". He was, foon after his return Where he is dif- to Carthage, discovered by some soldiers in an antient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces o. His estate was confiscated, and bestowed upon Constantius P. The same year the Franks made an irruption into Gaul, set fire to the city of Treves, and laid waste the neighbouring country 9. The Burgundians, who had entered Gaul in 407. with the Vaudals and Alans, made themselves this year masters of the country now known by the name of Alface, or Alfatia. Constantius, who had reduced the rest of Gaul after the death of the two usurpers Constantine and Jovinus, marched d against them; but they demanding leave to settle in Gaul, as friends and allies of the Roman people, the Roman general, not caring to reduce them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered . Such was the rife of the kingdom of the Burgundians in Gaul, under the conduct of Goudicarius or Guntiarius. Socrates commends them as a peaceable people, for the most part artificers, and willing to earn a livelihood with labour s. Orajus writes, that is 417. they had all embraced already the christian religion, and the catholic faith, and treated the Gauls, who lived under them, not as their vassak, but their friends: About the year 440, the herefy of Arius began to prevail among them ", which was probably owing to their intercourse with the Goths. Ataulphus had promised, as we have observed above, to restore to Honorius his sister Placidia, taken prisoner in Rome, but treated by him, as she had been by Alaric, with the utmost respect. Constantius, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually prefing Ataulphus to comply with this article; but as Honorius had not yet fent to the Goths the corn he had promised them, Ataulphus, who desired to marry Placidia himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promise, which he was

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h Oros. ibid. Phor. p. 184. Soz. l.ix. c. 15. p. 817.

I Sid. l. v. ep. 9. p. 132.

MARC. chron.

P Phor. c. 80. p. 185.

Bucu de Belg. p. 4
                                                                                                 Side, l. v. ep. 9. p. 139. * Cod. Luxur. n Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit.
l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 29. p. 322.
40. leg. 21. p. 320. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63.
                                          F Oros. c. 43. p. 224. VAL. p. 136. Buch. de Belg. p. 440. Convr. annal.

Socr. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371.

Oros. p. 219.

Socr. p. 272.
eccles. Fran. ann. 407.
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(O) From an antient inscription discovered near Sisteron in Provence, it appears, that Dardanus, or Claudius Postumius Dardanus, as he is styled there, had been governor of Vienne, and its territory, prefect of Gand, quartor, and in the end raised to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was Nevia Galla; and that his brother, Claudius Lepidus, who is distinguished in the inscription with the title of count, had been governor of Germania Prima, and

treasurer. This inscription was made in honour of Dardames, and his wife Galla, for having built a castle on a steep rock which stood on their estate, that the country-people, in the fudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a fafe place to retire to with their families and effects. This caftle was then called Theopolis; but is known at present by the name of Rochetaillée.

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a not at that time in a condition to do: however, the Romans promised to send the corn as foon as Placidia was reftored; and Ataulphus to reftore Placidia as foon as the corn was fent'. After matters had continued for some time in this situation, Ataulphus, at last, thinking himself deluded by the Romans, began hostilities anew; and having reduced the cities of Narbone and Toulouse, advanced as far as Marseilles; Ataulphus but met there with such vigorous resistance from count Bonifacius, that he was forced makes himself to abandon the enterprize and retire, after having lost great numbers of his men, major of home and and been himself wounded. From Marseilles he bent his march to Bourdeaux, where Toulouie. he was received as a friend ". In the east, one Lucius, a pagan, who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young Theodofius in extirb pating idolatry, refolved to fave it from utter ruin by affassinating his prince. With this design he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his Lucius arfword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpose by a woman of an extra-tempts upon ordinary stature, and a threatening aspect, who, as often as he put his hand to his the life of Theodorius.

Thus Damascus, a pagan writer, who flourished about the latter end of the present century. Photius, who copied it from him, calls it a most remarkable event, and not to be questioned, fince related by a pagan writer w: but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other historian. This year the city of Constantinople was surrounded with Constantithe walls, which Socrates styles the great walls x. Those which had been built by nople surc Constantine the Great were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, new walls. completed in two months v. But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of Nicepborus, an historian not much to be relied on. It was called the new wall, and the wall of Theodosius 2. The emperor published this year several laws against the Re-baptizers, the Eunomians, the Sabbatians, and the Protopaschites, that is, against

THE next confuls were Constantius and Constans, both generals, the former in the west, and the latter in the east. This year the negotiations between Honorius and d Ataulphus, interrupted by the taking of Narbonne and Toulouse, were resumed. But the more the Goth was pressed by Constantius to send back Placidia, the higher he raised his demands, that the emperor refusing to comply with them, he might have a more plausible excuse for detaining her. In the end, by means of one Candidianus, he prevailed upon her to marry him, and the nuptials were celebrated at Narbonne, Ataulphus in the month of January of this year 414. With the utmost pomp and solemnity. marries Placi-Placidia appeared on that occasion sitting on a bed of state, and Ataulphus in the dia. Roman dress. He yielded to the royal bride the most honourable place, and prefented her with fifty basons filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious stones of an inestimable value, part of the spoils brought from Rome. Attalus e affisted at the ceremony, and sung the epitbalamium or nuptial song; a degrading function for one who had been vested with the imperial dignity. This marriage was generally looked upon as an accomplishment of Daniel's prophecy, that the king of the north should marry the daughter of the king of the south b (P). Honorius did not, it feems, consent to this marriage; for soon after Ataulphus obliged Attalus He obliges Atto refume the purple, and caused him to be acknowledged emperor by his Goths, talus to resume However, he wished for nothing so much as to conclude a lasting peace with Hono- the purple. rius, and seems to have set up Attalus anew, with no other design but to intimidate

those, who, in the celebration of Easter, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore styled themselves Protopaschites, as if they followed the primitive practice

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OLYMP. ibid.

the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him and his Goths more favourable terms.

(P) At St. Gille in Languedoc was found an inscription made by the neighbouring people in honour of Ataulphus and Placidia, their princes and fovereigns, as they are styled, for having chosen Heraclea, that is, according to some, the present St. Gille, for the place of their residence (1). In this inscription, which both Spon and du Cange look upon as

genuine, Ataulphus is styled the most powerful king of kings, and the most just conqueror of conquerors: he is likewise commended for having driven out the Vandals, probably some of that nation, who had remained in Gaul. Placidia is styled Casarea, as if the had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the Cafars.

(1) Spon. p. 157.

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Orosius

Orofius writes, that at first he had nothing less in view than the utter ruin of the a Roman empire, and the establishing the empire of the Goths in its room; of giving the name of Gotbia to that country, which was then called Romania; and founding fuch a monarchy among his countrymen as Augustus Casar, had introduced among the Romans: but being by long experience convinced, that the Goths were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to restore, instead of destroying, the Roman empire; and with this view he courted the friendship of Honorius, especially after he had by Placidia a son, to whom he gave the name of Theodosius. But Constantius, and his party at court, defeated all the measures taken by Ataulphus and Placidia to bring about an accommodation: they would not fuffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, how- b ever reasonable; so that the war being renewed, Ataulphus was in the end obliged to quit Gaul, and retire into Spaine. Valesius is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and Constantius ; but the expression of Orosius, that be was forced to quit Gaul, seems to import, that he was driven out by force s. Honorius published a law this year, dated the twenty-third of March, forbidding any one to molest such as should take sanctuary in churches, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of high treason b. The law dated the twentieth of May allows every one full liberty to kill fuch lions as they should find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and fell them. These lions were kept for the public shews; but the interest of our people, says the emperor in that law, c must be preferred to our diversion.

Ataulphus obliged to quit Gaul, and resire into Spain.

Pulcheria is declared Augusta, and takes upon her

While these things passed in the west, Pulcheria, sister to the emperor Theodofius, being declared Augusta in the east, on account of her extraordinary wisdom and piety, took upon her the administration, Anthemius thinking her better qualified the administra- for it than himself, though she had just then entered only the sixteenth year of her tion in the east. age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as she was endowed with most extraordinary parts, and eminent for piety, her administration proved equally advantageous to the state and the church. Theodosius II. excelled perhaps in piety and religion even his grandfather Theodosius the Great, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care Pulcheria took in d inspiring him with those religious maxims, by which she ruled her own actions k. In the very beginning of her administration, she persuaded the young prince to dismiss the eunuch Antiochus, of whom hereaster, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368. to 407 !.

Ataulphus murdered in Spain.

THE following year, when Honorius was conful the tenth time, and Theodofins the third, Theodosius the son of Ataulphus and Placidia, died in Spain, whither his father had retired with his Goths; and was buried in a filver coffin near Barcelona, in a place of prayer, says Olympiodorus m, that is, in a church. Ataulphus himself did not long survive him; for he was killed this very year at Barcelona, in the month of August or September, fince the news of his death was brought to Constantinople on a Friday the twenty-fourth of the latter month. He was stabbed in his stable by one of his own countrymen and domestics, named Dobbius, whose former master, a leading man among the Goths, Ataulphus had caused to be murdered several years before °. Fornandes supposes him to have waged a long war with the Vandals in Spain, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by one Vernulphus, whose former master Ataulphus had murdered P. But in what relates to Ataulphus, we have all along followed Olympiodorus, a contemporary historian, who, generally speaking, agrees with the other writers of those times. Photius has transmitted to us an abstract of his work. We are surprised, that Giannone, in his history of the kingdom of Naples, should to his authority prefer that of Jornandes, f a writer of a much later date, who seldom agrees with other historians, and often disagrees with himself. Ataulphus, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our historian, to send back Placidia to the Romans, and to live in friendship with Be is succeeded them q. But the Goths, instead of his brother, chose for their king Sigeric, the broby Sigeric, who ther of Sarus, who immediately ordered the fix children that Ataulphus had had by

sauses all his children to be murdered, and is murdered ibid. himself.

d Oros. l. vii. c. 43. p. 224. COLYMP. ibid. p. 184. Icol. Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392. Col. Boo. Theod. p. 70. Isid. Peluf. l.i. ep. 36. p. 11. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. p. 203. Colymp. apud Phot. p. 88. Idem ibid. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. Colymp. apud Phot. p. 188. e OLYMP, ibid. p. 184. f Val. rer. Franc. 1. III. p. 392. lac. 2. D. 107. Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392. р. 800. 1 Тнеорі В Олумр. apud Phot. p. 88. P JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655.

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a a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging, by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother r. He even obliged Placidia to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was affaffinated by his own people the feventh day after his election', and Vallia chosen in his room, after he had caused all those to be murdered who stood in competition with him for the crown. This year a great tumult happened at Alexandria; the christians and Jews, who were very nume- A great turous in that city, quarrelling on account of certain sports exhibited on a Saturday, mult at Alex-St. Cyril, bishop of the place, threatened to drive the Jews out of the city; which the christians exasperated them to such a degree, that they resolved to vent their rage upon his and lews. whole flock, the more because they were favoured by Orestes, presect of the city, then at variance with the bishop. Accordingly having provided themselves with arms, some of them in the dead of the night began to cry fire, giving out at the same time, that the great church was in slames. Hereupon the christians, hastening out of their houses to save the church, were massacred in great numbers by the Jews, who lay in ambush for them, and knew one another by a certain mark or badge, which they wore for that purpose. The bishop, highly provoked at this barbarity, drove all the Jews out of the city; which the governor refenting as an encroachment upon his authority, the breach between him and the bishop was widened, and they both wrote to court, complaining of each other's conduct. In the mean time, the hermits or monks, who led a retired life on the neighbouring mountains, e being told, that Orestes had espoused the cause of the Jews against Cyril and the christians, slew to the city, and meeting the prefect in his chariot, reviled him with the names of pagan and idolater. Orestes, to appeale them, told them, that he was a christian, and had been baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. But while he was yet speaking, one of the monks, by name Ammonius, wounded him on the head with a stone. His attendants, believing him killed, for he was in an instant covered all over with blood, betook themselves to slight; but some of the citizens, coming to his rescue, seized the monk, and delivered him up to the presect, who caused him to be tortured till he died on the rack. The populace resolved to revenge his death, which they did in the following manner, to the great scandal of the chrid stian name and profession. At that time lived in Alexandria, Hypatia, the daughter The celebrated of the celebrated philosopher Theon, who had been brought up and instructed by her Hypatia inhu-father with extraordinary care, and was thought to excel in learning and quickness and murder-of apprehension all the philosophers of that age. She was thoroughly acquainted flians. with the different doctrines of the various fects of philosophers, and publicly explained them to an incredible number of disciples, who slocked from all parts to hear her. She was no less remarkable for her chasticy, and modest carriage, tho' her friendship was courted by all the great men of her age, than for her knowledge and erudition. As the was in great favour and esteem with the prefect Orestes, the populace, partly to revenge the death of Ammonius, and partly because they imagined, as she was a e pagan, that she incensed the prefect against the bishop and his friends, rose suddenly in a tumultuous manner; and being headed by one Peter, a reader in a church, they stopped her as she was returning to her house, and pulling her out of her chariot, dragged her to a neighbouring church, where they flayed her alive, and tearing her in pieces, carried her mangled members to a place called Cinaron, and there burnt them to ashes. This unheard-of barbarity reflected great scandal on the christian name, especially on the church of Alexandria. Thus Socrates u, whose authority is questioned by most ecclesiastic writers, who suppose him to have been a zealous Novatian, and consequently an enemy to St. Cyril, who, upon his first coming to the see of Alexandria, had caused the penal laws against those, and all other secta-f ries, to be strictly executed. This year Theodosius, by a law dated the seventh of December, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military w. The pagans By another law, dated the nineteenth of October, he deposed Gamaliel, patriarch of excluded from

the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary. THE next confuls were Theodosius the seventh time, and Junius Quartus Palladius, who was prefect of Italy this and the five following years 1. Vallia, lately created

the Jews, for having abused his authority \*. Gamaliel is supposed to have been the ments both last patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates chosen by civil and mili-

<sup>\*</sup> Idem ibid. Oros. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. 
\* OLYMP. ib
id. Prosp. chron. 
\* Socr. l. vii. c. 13. 
\* Cod. Theod
Idem, tit. 8. leg. 22. p. 239. 
\* Idat. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 376. \* OLYMP. ibid. OROS. p. 224. " Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 21, p. 293. ibid. Prosp. chron. x Idem, tit. 8. leg. 22. p. 239.

king of the Goths in Spain, resolved to pursue the war against the Romans, and

the island of Lipari.

ried to Contlantius.

The Franks allowed to fettle in Thongria.

Vallia gains great advantages over the Vandals in Spain.

Goths allowed to settle in Aquitain.

succeeded by Theodoric.

attempt the reduction of Africa; but the fleet he was fending thither being shipwrecked near the streights of Gibraltar, and most of the Goths on board of it drowned, Vallia, king of he entered into a treaty with Constantius, and in the end concluded a peace with the Goths in Honorius, delivered up hostages, and, upon his receiving six hundred thousand meaopain, concludes a peace fures of corn, fent back Placidia to her brother 2. Vallia not only concluded a peace, with Honorius, but entered into an alliance with the Romans against the barbarians, who had settled in Spain, adviling the emperor to let them fight it out among themselves, since whatever side prevailed, he was sure to be a gainer b. This advice Honorius followed, to the great advantage and relief of the empire, as we shall see anon. Attalus, whom the Goths had carried with them into Spain, seeing a peace concluded between them b and the Romans, endeavoured to make his escape by sea; but the ship was taken, and confined to and he carried to Constantius, then in Gaul, who fent him to the emperor, by whose orders his right hand, or, as others will have it, only the fingers of his right hand were cut off, to prevent his writing, and he confined to the island of Lipari, where the good-natured emperor caused him to be treated with great humanity. This year Theodosius, leaving Constantinople for the first time after the twenty-second of July, retired to Eudoxiopolis, called formerly Selymbria, on the sea-coast between Constantinople and Heraclea, and continued partly there, partly at Heraclea, till the twenty-ninth of September d. The following year 417. when Honorius was conful the eleventh time, and Constantius the second, the emperor, to reward the services of c that brave general, gave him in marriage his fister Placidia, an honour at which he had been long aspiring. Placidia could not by any means be prevailed upon to give her consent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it in spite of her to Constantius. They were thus married on the first of January of the present year, when Constantius entered upon his second consulship. A few months after, Honorius, leaving Ravenna, repaired to Rome, which he entered in triumph, caufing Attalus, brought for that purpose from Lipari, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, Attalus was remanded to the place of his exile, and Honorius returned foon after to Ravenna f. The Armorici, who had revolted in 409. and introduced a new form of government among themselves, were this year brought again under d subjection by Constantius 8. About this time the Franks, after having dwelt for the space of near two hundred years on the German side of the Rhine, were allowed to pass that river, and settle in Thongria, that is, in the territory of Tongres, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. But whether Faramond, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, or was only more powerful than the rest, is what we are no-where told. He was the fon of Marcomir, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, and the grandson of Priamus, whom Tiro Prosper calls the first king of the Franks mentioned in history k. In the east nothing remarkable happened this year besides an earthquake, which overturned several houses at Constantinople, and the city of Cybyra in Phrygia.

THE following year, Honorius being conful the twelfth time, and Theodosius the eighth, Vallia, making war upon the barbarians in Spain, cut off all the Vandals called Silingi, who had fettled in Bætica or Andalusia. He likewise made such a dreadful havock of the Alans, who had hitherto ruled over the Vandals and Suevians, that their king Ata being killed among the rest, they sled for protection to Gonderic, king of the Vandals, who had fettled in Galicia, and submitted to him. Hence the fuccessors of Gonderic used to style themselves kings of the Vandals and Alans m. Con-Vallia and his stantius, to reward these eminent services of Vallia and his Goths, gave them Aquitania Secunda, comprising the present archbishoprick of Bourdeaux, and some neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from Toulouse to the sea, to which he added f foon after Novempopulania or Aquitania Tertia, that is, the province of Auch, and Gascony. Vallia fixed his residence at Toulouse, which by that means became the capital of the kingdom of the Goths ". Vallia on the other hand yielded to the He dies, and is Romans the countries he had taken from the Vandals and Alans in Spain. He died foon after, leaving behind him one daughter, married to a Suevian, by whom the

> \* Oros. p. 224. Philost. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. Olymp. ibid. p. 189. Dros. Hilost. Oros. ibid. Socr. l. vii. c. 36. p. 381. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 163. C OLYMP. b Oros. ibid. e OLYMP. p, 192. Rut. l.i. p. 132. 1. i. p. 44. P. 483. f Cod. Theod. chron. p. 164. h GREG. Tur. hift. Fran. l.ii. c. 3. p. 64. BUCH. de Belg. p. 453. COINT. tom. i. p. 44. P. 483.
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> I IDAT. chron. Sid. carm. ii. p. 300. I IDAT. PROSP. chron. k Prosp. chron. 1 Chron. Al. p. 718. O JORN. C. 33. p. 658. IDAT. p. 32, 33.

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a had Riciner, who completed the ruin of the western empire. The deceased prince was succeeded by Theodoric, called by some Theodorus, and by others Theodorides P. In the east one Plintha, by nation a Goth, revolted, but was deseated in Palestine 9; which is all we know of this war. Plintha, notwithstanding his defeat, must have concluded an advantageous peace with Theodosius; for he was raised the following year to the confular dignity, and preferred to the post of general of the Roman horse and foot, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation and fidelity. In the confulship he had Monaxius for his collegue, another of Theodosius's officers; so that both consuls were in 419. Subjects of the eastern empire, as they had been in 417. of the western. Of the two consuls, one was, generally speaking, chosen in the east, b the other in the west; and he named the first, who was first in rank: if they were equal, each named in the first place his own consul. This year Honorius, by a law dated from Ravenna the twenty-second of November, extended the right and privileges of an afylum to all places within fifty paces of the church, declaring those guilty of facrilege, who should arrest any one within that space. On the second or third of July of this year, Placidia was delivered at Ravenna of a fon, who was Valentinian named Valentinian, and succeeded Honorius in the empire'. The barbarians in Spain III. born. being no longer harassed by the Goths, who had retired to Gaul, as we have related above, and settled there, began to quarrel among themselves. Gonderic, king of the Vandals, having gained great advantages over Eremeric, king of the Suevians, c obliged him in the end to fly for refuge to the mountains of Biscay, where he kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, Afterius, count of Spain, and the vicar Maurocelus, falling unexpectedly upon Gonderic, cut great numbers of his Gonderic, king men in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon Biscay and Galicia, and retire into of the Vandais, Batica ". Nothing happened this year in the east, which historians have thought Romans out of worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of Aetius, prefect of Constantinople, Biscay and Gar who was attacked by an affaffin, named Ceryachus, as he was returning from the licia, retires great church. We are not told what gave occasion to this attempt, nor what became of the affaffin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of September, Theodofius declared those guilty of death, who should teach the barbarians the art of building d ships, to which they were yet strangers x. The following year, when Theodosius was conful the eighth time, and Constantius the third, the army mutinied in the east, and put to death their general, by name Maximinus, as we read in the chronicle of Marcellinus: but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer. In the west nothing remarkable happened this year; but under the following confuls Agricola and Eustatius, the emperor Honorius, on the eighth of February, raised Constantius Constantius is to the imperial dignity, declared him his collegue, and gave the title of Augusta to raised to the his wife Placidia y. The images of Constantius and Placidia were sent to Constanti-dies soon after. nople, with the news of their promotion; but Theodosius refused, for what reason we know not, to acknowledge them; which would have kindled a war between the two e empires, had not Constantius died soon after, that is, on the second of September, after having reigned seven months wanting six days. He was buried at Ravenna, where he died of a pleurify, in a mausoleum, built by his widow Placidia, near the church of St. Vitalis 2. The same year the emperor Theodosius married Eudocia on Theodosius the seventh of June, on which occasion there were great rejoicings at Constantinople a. marries Eudo-Eudocia was the daughter of an Athenian philosopher, by name Heraclitus, upon cia. whose death her two brothers Gesius and Aurelianus defrauding her of the share that was due to her of her father's estate, she went to Constantinople to implore the protection of Pulcheria. As she had been instructed by her father with extraordinary care in several languages, and in every branch of literature, and was besides remarkf able for her beauty and engaging behaviour, Pulcheria, after several conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother Theodosius, whom accordingly she persuaded to marry her. Thus the modern Greeks; but the ancient writers tell us, that she was the daughter, not of the philosopher Heraclitus, but of Leontius, Her birth, an Athenian sophist, or professor of eloquence at Athens b. Before the nuptials were education, &c. celebrated, Theodosius caused her to be baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople,

P JORN. p. 659. OLYMP. p. 193. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166. Socr. l. y. c. 23. p. 292. Cod. Theod. p. 36. I IDAT. MARC. PROSP. OLYM. p. 192. CANGE Byz. fam. p. 66, 67. LDAT. Chron. W Chron. Al. p. 720. Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 40. leg. 24. p. 322. Theoph. p. 72. OLYMP. p. 192. MAR. chron. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 12. p. 537. OLYMP. p. 193. IDAT. chron. MABIL. it. Iral. p. 39, 40. Chron. Al. p. 724. Socr. l. vii. p. 360. Vol. VI. Nº 6. 6 E

War between the Persians and Romans.

Narles, the Persian gene-Ardaburius.

Ardaburius besieges Nilibis.

And the king of Pertia Theodoliopolis.

who changed the name of Athenais, which she bore before, into that of Eudocia c. a As Eudocia had been brought up to letters, she used to divert herself with making verses, and this very year she composed a poem on the victory gained by the Romans over the Persians d, of which anon (Q). The two brothers of Eudocia, informed of her good fortune, and conscious to themselves of their behaviour towards her, absconded; but she, instead of resenting the injury they had done her, invited them both to court, and raised them to great preferments. What Codinus, a modern Greek author, writes of the seven philosophers, who, he says, attended Eudocia to Constantinople, has the air of a sable f. This year the peace, which had long subfifted between the Romans and Persians, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occasion. Vararanes V. who in 420. had succeeded b his father Isdegerdes in the kingdom of Persia, having, at the instigation of the Magi, raifed a bloody perfecution against the christians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the Roman territories, and repaired to Constantinople, where they were received with great kindness by Atticus, bishop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor, who was so far from delivering them up when redemanded by the Persian embassadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his resolution of defending them, and the religion they professed, with the whole strength of the empire. Some misunderstanding had arisen before between the two princes, the Perfian king refusing to send back some workmen, whom he had hired out of the Roman territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately discovered. Besides, c the Persians had plundered and insulted some Roman merchants trading to their country v. Upon these provocations, as Vararanes continued to persecute the christians in his dominions, Theodosius proclaimed war with the Persians, and, without loss of time, dispatched Ardaburius, an Alan by nation, at the head of a considerable army, into Azazene, a Persian province beyond the Tigris, which he laid waste, after having gained a complete victory over Narses, whom the king of Persia had sent with a numerous army to oppose him. The battle was fought on the third of Sepral, defeated by tember, and the news of the victory brought on the fixth of the same month to Constantinople, tho' seven hundred miles distant from the borders of Persia, by a famous courier of those times, named Palladius. He travelled with the same sur- d prifing expedition to what part foever he was fent; whence of him it was pleafantly faid, that he had found means to reduce the Roman empire to a petty state. Narses, after his defeat, abandoning the province of Azazene to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into Mesopotamia, with a design to invade the empire on that side, which was then destitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. But Ardaburius, aware of his design, followed him close, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of Nisibis, which place he immediately besieged. In the mean time, the king of Persia, having received intelligence of the deseat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of Nisibis were in, affembled all his forces; and entering Mesopotamia, laid siege to Theodosiopolis, with a design to e divert Ardahurius from that of Nisibis. But the besieged, having at their head Euromius, bishop of the place, defended it with such vigour and resolution, that the Persians, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without intermission, were obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire i. The enemy were foon after reinforced with a numberless multitude of Saracens, under

d Socr. l. vii. c. 21. p. 360. \* Evag. l. i. c. 20. p. 297. E ZONAR. p. 44. Chron. Al. p. 724. f. Vide Codin. de off. Constantin. eccles. p. 30, 31. Socre. p. 557, 558. Idem ibid. Theodoret. l.v. c. 37, p. 243. Socr. 1. vii. c. 18. p. 353. h Socr. C. 19. p. 557, 558.

(Q) She likewise put into hexameter verse the five books of Moles, with those of Joshua, of the Judges, and of Rush. This performance, which confilted of eight books, is highly commended by Photius, as is likewife the paraphrase, which the same princess wrote in verse upon the prophecies of Zachariah and Daniel, and Photius found with a prometry on St. Cutrism and St. Zustin done without poem on St. Cyprian and St. Justin, done, without all doubt, fays that writer, by the same hand (3). The reader will find in Photius a long abstract of that poem (4). Zonaras mentions another work of

the same empress, which he calls Homer's rhapsody. It contained the history of our Saviour, and intirely consisted of verses borrowed from Homer. It was begun by a patrician, says Zonaras, but ended by Eudo ia (5). Some take this patrician to have been one Pelagius, who was killed in the reign of Zene, about the year 480. and is faid to have been the author of a rhapfody (6). But he was a pagan, as appears from Cedrenus (7), and confequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work, or any part of it.

(3) Phot. c. 183. p. 413-416. 71. (6) Voff. poet. Grac. p.78, (5) Zon. tom. iii. p. 37. Cange Byz. fam. (4) Idem, p. 420. (7) Cedr. p. 354. p. 71.

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a the conduct of Alamundarus, a renowned warriour, who, to raife the drooping spirits of the Persian monarch, bragged, that in a short time he would deliver into his hands, not only the Romans who belieged Nifibis, but Antioch itself, the metropolis of Syria. But not long after, his men, being seized with a panic, and not know- But are both ing whither to fly, threw themselves headlong into the Euphrates, where an hundred seized with a thousand of them are said to have perished. The Romans, seized at the same time panic, and rewith the like fear, upon a sale report, that the king of Persea was advancing to the size. with the like fear, upon a false report, that the king of Persia was advancing to the relief of Nisibis with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raised the

siege, and retired in the utmost confusion into the Roman dominions'.

THE following year, when Honorius was conful the thirteenth time, and Theodo- The Romans b fius the tenth, the war was pursued with uncommon success against the Persians, gaingreat ad-From Socrates, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main vantages over purpose, it appears, that Ariobindus, one of the Roman generals, killed in a single combat a Persian famed for his valour; that Ardaburius put to the sword seven Perfian commanders, surprised in an ambuscade; and that Avisianus cut in pieces the few Saracens who had escaped being drowned in the Euphrates. Notwithstanding these advantages, Theodosius, imagining the Persians, thus weakened and disheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over persecuting the christians, in whose defence he had taken arms, sent embassadors to Vararanes, with very reasonable proposals; which the Persian would have accepted with joy, had he not been c diverted from it by the immortals, that is, a corps of ten thousand chosen men, so called because they had never been conquered. These persuaded the king to keep the Romans in suspense, with a design to surprise them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themselves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuscade; but Procopius, who commanded a separate body of Romans, observing their motions from an eminence where he was posted, and apprised of their design, attacked them in the rear, while Ardaburius charged them in front; by which means they were furrounded, and all to a man put to the fword. Vararanes was no fooner d informed of this new calamity, than calling the Roman embaffadors, he agreed to the terms they had proposed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred Apeace conyears, which lasted, according to Evagrius, till the twelfth year of the reign of Ana-cluded between statius; that is to the year 502 k. The chief article of this treaty was, that the Per- and Persians sian king should recal the banished christians, restore them to their estates, and put for 100 years. a stop to the cruel persecution he had raised against them. While these things passed in the east, Honorius attempted in the west to recover Spain out of the hands of the barbarians, greatly weakened by their intestine wars. With this view he ordered Castinus, general of the foot, and comes domesticorum, or captain of the guards, to march against them, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army. Castinus e foon reduced them to fuch streights, that they were preparing to submit, and abandon the country which they had feized; but the Roman general having unseasonably ventured an engagement, twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he The Romans obliged with the rest to take refuge in Tarraco !. Idatius ascribes this deseat to the receive a great treachery of the Goths, who ferved in the Roman army; but all other writers to the Spain.

rash and imprudent conduct of Castinus. THE following year, when Marinianus and Asclepiodotus were confuls, a misunderstanding arose between Honorius and his sister Placidia, whom the emperor had entertained at court, ever fince the death of her husband Constantius, with such tenderness and affection, as gave occasion to some very scandalous reslections. Some f authors write, that the great sway she bore in the administration giving no small jealousy to the other courtiers, they persuaded the emperor, that she corresponded privately with the Goths, who still looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to them all his counsels m. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto shewn her being this year changed into an aversion no less extraordinary, Placidia thought it adviseable to quit the court, and retire, with her son Placidia obliged Valentinian, and her daughter Honoria, to Constantinople, where she was kindly received to quit the by her nephew Theodosius, tho' he had formerly refused to acknowledge her husband tire into the

\* Idem, c. 18. p. 357. \* Evagr. l. i. c. 19. p. 276. Theodor. forValentinian.

359. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63, 64. Salvian. l. vii.

96. h Socr. ibid. p. 357-360. l. v. c. 39. p. 245. Socr. c. 21. p. 359. p. 165-168. M OLYMP. p. 196.

Honorius dies. Constantius for emperor, and to give her the title of Augusta n. Soon after, Honorius a died at Ravenna of a dropfy, having reigned twenty-eight years since the death of his father Theodosius, and thirty-one since the time he was first created Augustus. He died, according to Theophanes, on the fifteenth, according to Olympiodorus, on the twentyfeventh of August of the present year 423°. His body is said to have been found in 1542. With those of his two wives, Maria and Thermantia, the daughters of Stilicho, in the church of St. Peter at Rome P. If so, it must have been conveyed thither from Ravenna, where his mausoleum, supposed to have been built by his sister Placidia, is still to be seen. Of the writers who sourished in his reign, we shall speak in note (R). Honorius no sooner expired, than an express was dispatched to Theodosius

> " Idem ibid. Cassion. chron. • THEOPH. p. 72. OLYMP. ibid. P MABILL. it. Ital. p. 145.

(R) Under Honorius flourished Olympiodorus, who wrote in Greek the history of that prince, from the year 407. the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work confifted of twenty-two books, and was inscribed to Theodosius II. or the younger (8). The reader will find an abstract of it in Photius (9), who censures the style as low, and altogether unworthy of an historian. However, both Zosimus and Sozomen feem to have copied it in feveral places, with some alteration in the phrase and expression. The author was a native of Thebes in Egypt, and a pagan by religion. He was fent, with others, in 412. on an embassy to a king of the Hunns, named Donatus. Of this voyage (for he went by sea) he gives us an account, and likewise of his journey to Athens, and of another to Syene in Egypt, and to the country of the Blemmyes (10). This is all we know of him. Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus wrote likewise the history of the reign of Honorius, from the year 406. to the death of that prince; but of his work only a few passages have reached our times, quoted by Gregory of Tours (11). Claudian may be ranked among the historians who have written of Honorius; for of him we have learnt several particulars of that prince's reign. He was a native of Alexandria in Egypt, as he himself tells us in different places (12), and not the fon of a merchant at Florence, as some modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He first applied himself to Greek poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the giants, has reached our times (13). His first Latin poem was on the confulthip of the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus, who were confuls in 395. He continued to write on different subjects till the fixth consulship of Honorius in 404. He was sent by the citizens of Rome in 396 to congratulate Honorius on his third consulfhip (14). He was honoured by the Roman senate with a statue, which, in consideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the square of Trajan (15). This honour was conserved upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of Pollentia, fought in 403 (16). He was then tribune and notary, or secretary of state, and enjoyed the title of clarissimus, which was given to the Roman senators. Having, by means of Serena, Stilicho's wife, married a lady possessed of great wealth in Africa, he thenceforth became a protessed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and statesman, inveighing at the same time with much bitterness against his rivals Rusinus and Eutropius (17); neither does he spare his countryman Adrian, who was prafectus pratorio in 40%, and 412. having probably been ill-used by him;

for in an epiftle addressed to him to appeale his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that of his friends some had been put to the rack, and others banished; and that he himself was reduced to beggary (18). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from Adrian, he retired, perhaps to the east; for Evagrias ranks him among the poets who flourished under Theodosius II (19). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of Jupiter, and all the other pagan gods. Orofius calls him & most obstinate pagan; but at the same time commends him as an excellent poet (20). St. Auflin likewise speaks of him as a person greatly attached to the pagan superstition (21). Hence such pieces as contain christian sentiments are by the best critics thought not to have been written by him, tho' they pass under his name, but perhaps by Claudian Mamertus, a christian poet of Vienne in Gaul. Bailles prefers Claudian to all the poets who have written ever fince the age of Augustus, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without some faults. His style is sometimes flat, and sometimes sublime, and most of his poems filled with youthful fallies (22). In all his poems there are feveral most beautiful passages. His invectives, especially the two books against Eutropius, are most esteemed by the learned (23). It is uncertain whether or no the poem on mount Ætna was written by him. Rutilius, or, as he is styled at the head of his poem, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus, flourished in the reign of Honorius. He was a native of Gaul, according to some, of Tou-louse. His father had been governor of Hetruria, quæstor, comes largirionum, and presect (14. The Hetruscans, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good nature, and impartiality in the administration of justice, erected several statues to his honour at Pifa, and in other places. He was dead when his fon wrote his poem. Rutilius bore two of the greatest employments in the state, viz. the office of magifler officiorum, and that of prefect of Rome (25). In his poem he declares himself a pagan, and a fworn enemy to the monks, especially to those who lived in the island of Capraria or Capraise, on the coast of Tuscany, a young nobleman of his acquaintance having renounced a plentiful estate, and abandoned his friends, relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life among them (26). Rutilins left Rome, where he had lived many years, to return to Gaul, where he had not been ever fince the barbarians entered that country in 407. He fet out from Rome in 417. or 420. about the month of October; and embarquing on the Tiber, repaired to Porto, where he waited a whole fortnight for the

(8) Phot. c. 80. p. 177. (10) Idem. p. 177-193. (11) Greg. Tur. hift. Franc. (8) Phot. c. 30. p. 1/1.

l. ii. c. 9. p. 62—64. (12) Claud. ep. 1. p. 235. ep. q. p. 24.

p. 236. (14) Idem, epig. 9. p. 240. (15) Idem, conf. Hon. 3. p. 39. (16) Bell. Goin. p. 17.

(17) Idem, ep. 2. p. 239, 240. (18) Idem, epig. 29. p. 261. Grep. 1. p. 257. (19) Evag. l. i. c. 19.

(20) Orof. l. vii. c. 35. p. 221. (21) Aug. civ. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 142. (22) Baill.

(24) Rut. p. 128, 137, 139. (y) Idem ibid. p. 236. (14) 10em, 175. (18) Idem, epig. 1 (17) Idem, ep. 2. p. 239, 240. (18) Idem, epig. 1 p. 278. (20) Orof. l. vii. c. 35. p. 221. (19) 10em, p. 23. (23) 1dem, p. 131, 138. (26) Idem, p. 137.

with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for fome days, and in the mean time gave private orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood.

new moon, and the fetting of the Pleiades (27). Those who are skilled in aftronomy, may learn from thence the precise year and day of his departure. In 417. and 420. it was new moon in the latter end of Offic-At Porto, twelve miles distant from Rome, he heard, or imagined to hear, the shouts of the peo ple in the circus. He embarqued there on b a small vessel, for the convenience of landing when he pleased to visit his friends, and of lying every riight ashore (28). He landed at Circumcella, now Chusa Vecchia, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence, called the baths of Theres. Putting to sea again, he discovered the ruins of Gravisca, and Cosa or Cossa, two cities famous in former ages. The inhabitants of the latter are faid to have been forced, by prodigious swarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (29). He came ashore like-wise at Porr-Ercole, beyond which he saw the island of Elbs, more useful, says he, on account of its ironmines, than the Togos for its golden fands. From Port-Ercole he pursued his voyage to Piombina, and from thence to Volterra, where he went to fee the fine house of Albinus presects of Rome, and the falt-pits at a fmall distance from it. At Volterra he found Victorinus his intimate friend, who, having abandoned Toulouse, the place of his nativity, after the settling of the Goths there, had retired to Italy, and led a country-life in the neighbourhood of Volterra. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of Britain, which office he discharged to the great satisfaction of the people. Honorius, upon his retiring from Toulouse, had invited him to court, and given him the title of count; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (30). From Volterra he failed to the island of Gorgon and from thence to the port of Pifa, where he landed, and went to the city of Pifa, to fee one of his old friends, by name Protadius, who, having loft a great estate in Gaul, seized, no doubt, by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happiness on a small farm he had in *Umbria*, than he had ever done when possessed of immense wealth, and large territories in his own country. He had been prefect of Rome, and had been diftinguished with several other great employments (31). Several letters written to him by Symmashus have reached our times (32). From the port of Pifs, where Rusilius was obliged to continue some time, by reason of the bad weather, he pursued his voyage to Portus Luna, now Lerice, as is commonly believed (33). Thus far his itinerary, that is, the poem in which he describes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the lat-ter is almost intirely lost. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpolished age, and informs us of several things relating to the history of those times (34). Some gross mistakes that are to be found in it, are, without all doubt, owing partly to the transcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have strangely mangled and confounded several passages. The author be-trays throughout the whole work an inveterate hatred both to the Jews and christians; whence we may conclude Lachalius, Lucilius, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. Lucilius wrote fome fatires, in no respect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of Rutilius, to those of Turnus and

Juvenal (35); but none of them have reached our times. One Flavius, faid by St. Jerom to have wrote in verse a treatise on physic, is supposed by Vossius to have stourished in the reign of Honorius, and likewise the author of a comedy, styled Durrius Rlansi, which is inscribed to one Russius (36). About this time flourished Macrobius, or, as he is flyled at the head of his works, Aurelius Theodosius. Ambrosius Macrobius; for all the persons he introduces in his saturnalia, lived under Theodosius I. and his fon Honorius. He was born in a country where the Lasin tongue was not common, that is, in Greece, or in the east (37). To his name is added, in an autient manuscript, the word Steerings, denoting perhaps his country (38); but to us quite unknown. He is diftinguished with the title of illustricus, peculiar to the first officers of the empire (39). Hence most writers conclude him to be the Macrobius who was great chamberlain to Theodofins II. in 422, for whole take that prince equalled the office of great chamberlain to those of the prafectus pratorio, and the magister militia (40). But against this opinion may be objected, that Macrobius, the author of the faiurnalia, had a fon, by name Eustachins; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally speaking, eugreat chamberlains were, generally ipeaking, eunuchs. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that Theodosius II. would have suffered a pagan (for such was the writer we are speaking of) to enjoy that office; which obliged him to be always about the emperor's person. The opinion of those is better founded, who suppose the Macrobius, who was proconful of Africa in 410. to be the author of the saturnalia. One Macrobius was vicar of Spain in 200, and 400, but stripped of his employment and 399. and 400. but stripped of his employment, and punished for some neglect with respect to the posts (41). The work by which Macrobius is chiefly known, is his faturnalia, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the instruction of his son, and supposed to have been uttered in a familiar conversation among friends, during the faturnalia, or the feasts of Saturn. The persons he introduces were the most famous then at Rome for their learning and erudition. He addresses his work to his fon, for whose sake he undertook it. He relates most things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reason he could not express himself with ease in the Latin tongue; and truly, when he speaks himself, he plainly betrays his small knowledge of that language (42). Besides the sturnalia, he wrote two books on the dream of Scipio, which he likewise inscribed to his son, for whose instruction he undertook that, as he had done the other work. These two books were trandone the other work. I nese two books were trainflated into Greek by Maximus, furnamed Planudes (43). Another book patters under the name of Macrobias, on the conformity and difagreement of the Greek and Latin tongues (44). Macrobius wrote indeed a book on that fubject; but the work which has reached our times, was done by John Erigenes, who flourished in the ninth century, and followed the plan of Macrobius, whom he copied, changing fome things, and adding many of his own (45). One of the chief persons introduced by Macrobius in his faturnalia, is Servius, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at Rome, and is painted as a person of great learning, and at the same time universally beloved on account of his modesty (46).

(27) Idem, p. 131, 132. (28) Idem ibid. (29) Idem, p. 133. (30) Idem, p. 137. (31) Idem, p. 138. (32) Sym.l. iv.ep. 17, 34, 57. p. 150, 174. ep. 30, 32, &c. (33) Rut. p. 141. (34) Voss. bist. l. iii. c. 2. p. 746. (35) Rut. p. 137. (36) Voss. ibid. (37) Macrob. fat. l. ic. 8. p. 161. (38) Wilth append. ad dypt. Leod. p. 4. (39) Macrob. p. 159. (40) Cod. Theod. zit. 2. p. 82. (41) Idem, l. viii. tit. 5. leg. 61. p. 565. (42) Vide Baillet. tom. 2. p. 27, 28. (43) Macrob. p. 17. (44) Idem, p. 556. (45) Idem, p. 601, 604, 736. (40) Idem, fds. l. i. c. 2. p. 166. cb. l. vii. c. 7. p. 478.

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Theodolius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west. John, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, af-Sumes the purple.

of Salone in Dalmatia, that they might be ready at hand to prevent the disturbances, a which, he apprehended, would be raised in the west by the death of Honorius, who had left no children to succeed him. Having taken this step, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the same time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west in his room 9. This did not deter John, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, from affuming the purple in Rome, being, no doubt, encouraged in his usurpation by Castinus, then commander in chief of all the troops in the west; for he was afterwards differed and banished, as one of the usurper's chief friends and abetters. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in Rome and Italy, but likewise in Gaul and Dalmatia; which encouraged him to dispatch embassadors to Theodosius, to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince refusing to b acknowledge him, and having even ordered his embassadors to be arrested, and thrown into prison, he began to prepare for war, and fent the famous Actius, with great fums, to draw the Hunns over to his affiftance. That celebrated commander, who governed the western empire with an absolute sway during the reign of Valentinian III. was a native of Dorofterum in  $M\alpha fia$ , and the fon of Gaudentius, who, tho by birth a Scytbian, was raised to the highest employments in the empire, and married an Italian lady of great distinction, called by some Italica. By her he had Aetius, who served at first among the emperor's domestics, or the troops of his houshold, and was given as an hostage to Alarie, after the battle of Pollentia in 403. and afterwards to the Hunns, with whose chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. c Upon his return from the country of the Hunns, he married the daughter of Carpilio, captain of the guards, and had by her two fons, Gaudentius, who, after the death of Valentinian, was taken by Genseric, and Carpilio, whom Valentinian fent with the cha-Actius his cha-racter of embassador to Attila'. Actius was a person of a majestic mien, of a tall stature, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to bear with patience the

racter.

9 OLYMP. ibid. Socr. l. vii. c. 23. p. 363. Idat. chron. F. V. Cassiod. l.i. ep. 4. p. 4. Pris. leg. p. 53. Sidon. p. 169. Oros. p. 305. r VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220.

He is introduced speaking mostly of Virgil, whose inimitable Eneid he explained daily to the Roman youth. Maurus Servius Honorasus, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the Servius of Macrobius; but most authors are of opinion, that what has reached us, is but an abridgment of that learned work; nay, some take it to have been compiled from Servius, and several other antient critics. It is generally held in great esteem, tho' not quite free from saults (47). In the fifth or fixth century flourished a grammarian, named Martianus Mineus Felix Capella, who published several philological pieces, partly in profe, and partly in verse, which are still extant, and divided into feven books. He is faid in the manuscript copies to have been honoured with the proconsular dignity. He was a native of Carthage; and truly his barbarous and uncouth ftyle plainly shews, that he was no Roman. In his allegorical marriage of Mercury with the sciences, there is a great deal of erudition; but the invention is low and mean (48). Securus Melior Felix, who professed the christian religion, and taught rhetoric at Clermont in Auvergne, was at the trouble of correcting in 534. one of the copies of Capella's works. Felix is flyled in that manufcript V. SP. Com. Confil. that is, Vir speciabilis, comes confilorianus, a man of rank, and one of the contistorial or the emperor's counsellors (49). Capella was greatly effectmed in France about the end of the fixth century, as appears from Gregory of Tours (50). Sosspater Charifius, who published five books of obfervations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to Baillet, in the time of Honorius, and before him a grammarian named Diomedes, whose works have likewise reached our times; but strangely mangled by Johannes Casarius, who published them,

with many observations of his own. Charifius is quoted by Priscian, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (51). About the same time Fabius Fulgentius Planciades published an explication of some words, addressed to one Calcidius, another grammarian. He is styled, and indeed deservedly, both by Vessius (52) and Baillet (53), one of the most ignorant, impertinent and trifling authors that ever wrote. He ascribes to Tacitus, and other writers, works never before heard of. Cave calls him an arrant trifler (54); and all other critics speak of him with the utmost contempt. In the reign of Theodosius I. or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of Peutinger, which are a kind of itinerary made by some quarter-master, if we may so call him, for the use of those who conducted the Roman troops from one place to another. The author feems to have been altogether ignorant, both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to one Conrad Pentinger in Augsbourg, and are thence called the tables of Peutinger; but they were published by Velser, who had them engraved by John Mores of Antwerp. The reader will find them in the theatrum geographicum of Bretius, published at Amsterdam in 1619. and among Velser's works, published at Nuremberg in 1682. A civilian, by name Eusebius, described the war of Gainas in a poem, which he styled Gainades; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named Ammonius, who read it to Theodofius Il. in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (55); but neither of them has reached our times. Voffins supposes them to have been written in the Greek tongue, and ranks the authors among the Greek poets (56).

<sup>(47)</sup> Vide Baill. 10m. 2. p. 29—32. (49) Wilt. p. 4. (50) Vide Voss. p. 713, 714. Lat. l. 1. c. 30. p. 159 (53) Baill. p. 38, 39. (56) Voff. poet. Grac. c. 9. p. 77, 78.

<sup>(48)</sup> Idem, p. 34, 35. Voss hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 712, 713. (51) Vide Baill. tom. 3. p. 36-40. (52) Voss hist. (54) Cavescripe, eccles. p. 274. (55) Socr. p. 309.

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a greatest fatigues and tolls attending a military life. He is no less commended by the antients on account of his prudence, address, and penetration in state assairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was such a lover of justice, that no recommendations, however preffing, were capable of making him fwerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by Frigeridus, a writer who flourished in his time, as quoted by Gregory of Tours'. Prosopius writes, that Aetius and Bonifacius, who defended, as we have observed above, Marfeilles, when attacked by Ataulphus, were the two greatest commanders in the whole empire, and that they deserved to be called the last Romans ". John, upon his usurping the empire, committed to He sides with b Aetius the care of his palace, and then fent him to engage the Hunns in his cause, the usurper.

with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of Theodofius, if they entered Italy, while he himself charged them in front v. On the second of January of the present

year, Eudocia was declared Augusta x.

THE next consuls were Castinus and Victor. The former was general of the troops in the west. Of the latter we find no farther mention in history. In an antient inscription, John the usurper is styled consul, he being probably acknowledged in the west, and not Victor, whom we may suppose to have belonged to the eastern empire v. This year Theodosius, having drawn together all the forces of the eastern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of Dalmatia, under the conduct of Ardaburius, c his fon Aspar, and Candidianus. With them he sent Placidia, and her son Valentinian, allowing the former to refume the title and enfigns of Augusta, which had been Theodosius given her by her brother Honorius, but she had quitted upon her entering the domi- grants to Plagiven her by her brother Honorius, but me nad quitted upon her entering the double cidiathetine nions of Theodosius; and the latter to wear the habit peculiar to the nobilissimi; which of Augusta, title had some time since been given to the sons of emperors before they were created and to Valenti-Cæfars. This was renouncing all pretentions to the empire of the west, and tacitly man that of yielding it to Placidia and Valentinian. Before they left Constantinople, Theodosius Casar. betrothed his daughter Licinia Eudoxia, born in 422. to young Valentinian, born on the second or third of July in 419. When this ceremony was over, Placidia set out from Constantinople with her son, who, upon his arrival at The salonica, received the d enligns peculiar to the Casars, at the hands of Helio, magister officiorum to Theodosius, by whom he had been fent thither for that purpose z. The following year, Theodosius being conful the eleventh time, with Valentinian, the army of Theodofius having croffed Pannonia and Illyricum, appeared unexpectedly before Salona, which was taken by

with Placidia and Valentinian, by land to Aquileia, while the foot, under the command of his father Ardaburius, was conveyed thither by fea. This scheme was so well executed on the fide of Aspar, that arriving at Aquileia, before the enemy had the least notice of his march, he entered the place without opposition; but the fleet Aspartaket being dispersed by a violent storm, Ardaburius was driven ashore, and taken by the Aquileia from e usurper's soldiers, who immediately carried him to their emperor, then at Ravenna, the usurper. by whom he was received with great joy, and treated with the utmost civility, the usurper hoping, by his means, to prevail upon Theodosius, with whom Ardaburius bore a great sway, to acknowledge him for his collegue. As he was allowed to converse with whom he pleased, he gained over the chief officers, who had already begun to be tired of their new prince, and privately acquainting his son Aspar with the security in which the tyrant lived, advised him to advance speedily with his best troops to Ravenna. Aspar immediately set out from Aquileia with the cavalry; and being conducted through the marshes which surrounded Ravenna on the land-side by a shepherd, whom Socrates supposes to have been an angel, he entered the city, find- He surprises

fform. There it was agreed among the generals, that Aspar should lead the cavalry,

f ing the gates open and unguarded, and, with the affishance of the officers gained over Ravenna. and by his father, secured the tyrant before he had time to make his escape, and sent him takes the ulur in chains to Placidia and Valentinian, then at Aquileia, who ordered first his right- to death. hand, and then his head, to be cut off a. Procopius writes, that after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was, by way of derision, carried about the streets on an ass, exposed to the outrages and insults of the incensed multitude b. Thus ended the usurpation of John, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and fix months,

PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i.c. 3, p. 183. W OLYMP. p. 96. Prosf. chron. 7 Sidon. p. 137. DLYMP. p. 169. Prosp. chron. Philost. p. 573. Socr. p. 363. Philostore. p. 538. OLYMP. ibid. p. 197. Procop. bell. \* GREG. Tur. p. 50. \* Chron. Alex. p. 726. GREG. Tur. p. 57. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 181.

according

into favour.

Valentinian III. declared emperor of the west, and his mother Placidia regent.

Thrace rausged by the Hunns.

The Goths removed from Pannonia into Thrace.

Bonifacius in great favour with Placidia.

He is forced, by the treachery of Actius and Felix to revolt.

according to Philostorgius. Three days after his death, Actius entered Italy, with an a army of fixty thousand Hunns, who being met by Aspar, a bloody battle was fought, without any confiderable advantage on either fide; but in the mean time Actius, informed of the death of the usurper, thought it adviseable to make the best terms he could for himself. Accordingly, Placidia promising not only to receive him into Actius submits, favour, but to distinguish him with the title of count, he submitted, and prevailed and is received upon the Hunns to return into their own country d. Castinus, who was supposed to have favoured the usurpation of John, was sent into exile. When news of the captivity and death of the usurper was brought to Constantinople, Theodosius declared his cousin, young Valentinian, emperor, and Placidia regent of the empire during her son's minority. He intended to have taken a progress into Italy, in order to invest b him there with the fovereignty, and with that defign advanced as far as Thessalonica; but was seized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to Constantinople, whence he dispatched Helio to Rome, where Valentinian then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of Ostober of the present year 425 f. The same year the Vandals, who had settled in Spain, ravaged the Balearic islands; and the Goths, to whom settlements had been allotted in Gaul, seized on some of the neighbouring cities, and even laid siege to Arles; which however they were forced to raise at the approach of Aetius, who was fent against them with a considerable army 8. In the east, Thrace was laid waste by the Hunns, probably the same who came to the assistance of the usurper John, and e even threatened Constantinople with a siege; but their leader, by name Rougas, or Roilas, being killed with lightning, and great numbers of them being daily swept away by a plague, which broke out in their army, the rest withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the Romans, says Socrates, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of Theodosius. The following year 426, when Theodofius was conful the twelfth time, and Valentinian the second, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But under the next confuls, Hierius and Ardaburius, the Goths, who had held Pannonia ever fince the year 377. When they first entered that province, were by Theodofius transferred from thence into Thrace, where they continued for the space of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themselves d masters of Italy, under the conduct of Theodoric . This gives us room to believe, that Theodosius, in yielding the western empire to Valentinian, retained Pannonia, which comprised that part of the present Austria and Hungary, that lies on the Roman side of the Danube, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the west. Great disturbances happened this year in Africa, which were attended with the loss of that The celebrated count Bonifacius, who is styled by St. Austin the joy of the church, the bulwark of Africa, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by Honorius, for his gallant behaviour at Marseilles, with the command of the troops in Africa; which province he defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of John, tho' acknowledged by all the other commanders, and governors of pro- & vinces. Placidia, highly pleased with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and after bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, preferred him to the post of comes domesticorum, and sent him back into Africa with This gave no small jealousy to his rivals at court, especially to an unlimited power. Felix, commander in chief of the Roman forces, and to Aetius, who, after his departure, persuaded Placidia, that he had preserved Africa for himself, and only waited an opportunity of establishing there an independent sovereignty. Actius added, that the empress might, when she pleased, oblige him to pull off the mask, by recalling him from his government; for he was very fure Bonifacius would disobey her orders. Hereupon the credulous princess immediately ordered Bonifacius to repair to Rome; f but Actius having written to him before, that the empress sought his ruin, and, in order to compass it, would soon recal him, advising him at the same time, with great protestátions of friendship, to consult his own safety, he, upon the receipt of Placidia's letter, concluded Actius to be his true friend, and following his advice, refused to comply with the orders he had received. Hereupon Placidia, no longer questioning the truth of Actius's information, declared Bonifacius a public enemy, and dispatched a strong body of troops against him, under the command of Mavortius, Galbio, and

d Idem ibid. Cassion. chron. e PHILOST. ibid. e Prosp. chron. F Socr. l. vii. c. 24. p. 364. OLYMP, ibid. IDAT. chron. 8 Sidon. p. 22. Imat. chron. b Socr. p. 387. I THEOP.

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a Sinex, who belieged Bonifacius, in what place we are no-where told, and kept him thut up, till quarrelling among themselves, Mavortius and Galbio were killed by the treachery of Sinex, and he in a fally by Bonifacius, who gained a complete victory, Defeats the without the loss of one man. Placidia, being resolved, notwithstanding the ill success troops sent of her three generals, to pursue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to Sigifult, by nation a Goth, who, without loss of time, passing over Another army into Africa, with a great number of his countrymen, made himself master of Car-lent to reduce thage and Hippo. Bonifacius, finding the empress obstinately bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to the Vandals, who, ever since the deseat of Castinus in 422. had peaceably He recurs to b enjoyed the province of Batica or Andalusia, and were at this time governed by Gen- Genseric king feric, brother to their late king Gonderic. Genseric was, according to Jornandes k and Procopius, of a low stature, and lame by a fall from his horse: he thought much, and spoke little; was an enemy to pleasure and debauchery; had a wonderful address in gaining the affections of the people, and fowing diffentions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no less ambitious and passionate; well skilled in the art of war, and long inured to the hardships and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of Arius, which prevailed among his countrymen the Vandals m. His brother Gonderic left several sons behind him; but he caused them all to be put to death, together with their mother ". With this barbarian Bonifacius, whose piety had been formerly fo much extolled by St. Austin o, was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty, whereof the chief, and perhaps the only, article was, that, upon their affifting him, Africa should be divided between Gonderic, says Procopius falsly, suppoling him still alive, Genseric and himself P. The treaty being agreed to, Genseric, who passes over having affembled a great number of veffels, ordered all his Vandals, women and chil-into Africa. dren, as well as men, to embarque; and abandoning Spain in the month of May of the year 228. while Felix and Taurus were confuls, croffed the streights of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa 9. The Romans took possession anew of the provinces which the Vandals had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the Sued vians, as the Suevians were in their turn by the Goths, who, by that means, came to settle in that part of Spain. The same year Aetius was sent into Gaul, to make war upon the Francs, whom he defeated with great flaughter, and obliged them to The Franks abandon the country on the Roman fide of the Rhine, in which they had been allowed driven out of Gaul by Actius, by Honorius to settle, and to retire with their families beyond that river '. What gave occasion to this war, we are no-where told. The Franks were governed at this time by Clodius, as Prosper Tyro styles him, or Clodion, as he is called by Gregory of Tours, and the modern writers. He is supposed to have been the son, as well as the successor of Faramond. Nothing happened this year in the east worthy of notice, except the publishing of a law, by which all brothels were suppressed in e Constantinople . Florentius and Dionysius, consuls for the year 429. were succeeded by Theodosius and Valentinian, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time consul. During the consulship of the two princes, Actius was raised to the chief Who is appointcommand of all the troops of the western empire, in the room of Felix, who was at ed commander the same time created a partition, but soon after killed in Revenue by the must in chief of all the same time created a patrician; but soon after killed in Ravenna by the muti-the forces of the nous soldiery, stirred up against him by Aetius, jealous of his great credit at court. mestern empire. The same year Actius gained considerable advantages over the Juthongi, whose country bordered on Rhætia; over the inhabitants of Noricum, who had revolted; and over the Goths in Gaul, attempting to raise new disturbances in that province x. The following year, when Bassus and Antiochus were consuls, Aetius intirely reduced the f Norici, and likewise the Vindelici, who had joined the former in their revolt. From Noricum he passed into Gaul, to awe the Franks, who were said to be in arms ". This year Placidia discovered at length the true cause of the revolt of Bonifacius. Some of Placidia acthat general's friends, greatly surprised at his entering all on a sudden into an alli-quainted with ance with the enemies of the empire, after having defended it against the barbarians the true cause

with so much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empress to pass over into Bonisacius.

\* JORN. c. 36. p. 657. 1 PROCOP. p. 184. \*\* IDAT. p. 17.

\* Aug. ep. 70. p. 126. P PROCOP. p. 45. 4 PROSP. chron. IDAT. p. t

Vandal. p. 3. F PROCOP. p. 19. IDAT. ibid. CASSSIOD. chron. JORN

\* Tyr. Prosp. Greg. Tur. hift. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. w Cod. T.

p. 38. \*\* IDAT. Sidon. car. vii. p. 338. JORN. ret. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. 1 PROCOP. p. 184.

\*\* IDAT. p. 17.

\*\* MALEL. hift. chron. 10cop. p. 45.

9 Prosp. chron. IDAT. p. 18. Vict. Vit. de perfec.

9. IDAT. ibid.

CASSSIOD. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 66c.

"ur. hift. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64.

W Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 8. leg. 13. y IDAT. p. 19. Vol. VI. Nº 7.

Africa, in order to confer with him in person, and hear what he could alledge in his a own defence. Bonifacius was overjoyed to see them, and produced, upon their

to perjuade the Vandals to retire from Atrica. cius's men cut in pieces by

Genteric.

by Genieric,

all Africa.

A civil war between Bonifacius and Aethe former is killed.

charging him with treason and rebellion, the letter which Aetius had written to him, protesting, that nothing but his own safety and preservation could have induced him to turn his arms against his prince and country. With this letter they returned to Placidia, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of Aetius; but not thinking it adviseable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in Gaul, she concealed her indignation for the present, and contented herself with expressing, in a letter to Bonifacius, her fincere detestation of the injury that had been done him; withal affuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and confulting, with his usual zeal, the safety of the empire, b drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own fafety, he had called in. This Boni-He endeavour; facius readily undertook, offering them immense sums, provided they quitted Africa, and returned to Spain; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, viz. Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha, Genseric first returned him a scoffing answer; and then falling upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged Most of Bonifa. Bonifacius himself to fly to Hippo: which place the barbarians immediately invested; but were obliged the following year, for want of provisions, to raise the siege, after it had continued for the space of fourteen months, Genseric attacking the town almost daily with incredible fury, and Bonifacius defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity 7. In the east was held this year an œcumenic council at Ephesus, in which the c doctrine of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, afferting not only two natures in Christ, but two persons, was condemned, and he deposed on the twenty-second of June, the fentence of his deposition being figned by above two hundred bishops. The next year Actius was raised to the consulship, Placidia still pretending to be unacquainted with his treacherous conduct towards Bonifacius. He had for his collegue Valerius, the preceding year prefect of Constantinople. This year Bonifacius, reinforced with powerful succours sent him both by Placidia and Theodosius, offered battle to the Vandals; Bonifacius and who readily accepting it, cut most of his men in pieces, took an incredible number Afpar defeated of prisoners, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves among the rocks and mountains. Among the prisoners was Marcianus, who afterwards attained to the empire. d Aspar, who commanded on this occasion the eastern troops, with much-ado escaped out of Africa, and returned to Constantinople, as did Bonifacius to Italy, being invited Who over-runs thither by Placidia. Upon their departure, the barbarians over-ran all Africa, committing every-where dreadful ravages, and unheard-of cruelties; which struck the inhabitants of Hippo with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first pillaged, and then fet on fire, by the victorious enemy. St. Austin, bishop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the siege. Carthage and Cirtha were now the only places in all Africa held by the Romans. Bonifacius, upon his arrival at Ravenna, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem by Placidia, and raised to the chief command of the army, in the room of e Actius; who, finding his treachery discovered, and dreading the power of Bonifacius, assembled the forces under his command, in order to destroy his rival. Bonifacius, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of chosen troops to meet tius, in which him. Hereupon a battle ensuing, Bonifacius received a wound, of which he died three months after b. Thus Marcellinus, who did not, it seems, think it necessary to acquaint us in what place the battle was fought, nor which fide carried the day. The same writer adds, that Bonifacius on his death-bed exhorted his wife Pelagia to marry no man but Aetius, if his wife should die before him. Aetius, dreading the refentment of Placidia, withdrew to the court of Rugula, or Rouas, king of the Hunns, whence he returned foon after, at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but f the empress promising not only to pardon him, but restore him to his former post, he dismissed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he was this very year raised to the rank of a patrician c. The following year, Theodosius being consul the fourteenth time, with Petronius Maximus, a dreadful fire broke out at Constantinople, which lasted three days, and confumed all the public granaries, with many other stately edifices, and great part of the city d. In the following confulship of Aspar and Areobindus, Honoria, fifter to the emperor Valentinian, having suffered herself to be debauched by

b MARC, chron.

<sup>·</sup> Idem ibid. Prosp. chron. · PROSP. IDAT. chron.

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a one of her domestics, named Eugenius, was banished the court, being then sixteen years old, and fent to Constantinople, her mother Placidia having discovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, she maintained a private correspondence with Attila, who Honor'a fifter had succeeded Rouas king of the Hunns; that she had even sent him a ring, and was to Valentinian, daily pressing him to enter Italy at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The responds with following year 435. Theodosius being consul the fifteenth time, and Valentinian the Attila. fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the Vandals in Africa, to whom the The Romans Romans yielded great part of Numidia, all the province Proconfularis, and likewise yield great part Bizacene. This treaty was figned at Hippo, on the eleventh of February, by Genseric, of Africa to the and by Trigetius, who had succeeded Bonifacius in Africa. The king of the Vandals.

b delivered up to the Romans his son Huneric by way of hostage. The same year Actius gained a great victory over the Burgundians, who having been allowed in 413. to fettle in that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine, had revolted from the Romans, and plundered Belgic Gaul. Gondicarius, their king, was obliged to submit to fuch conditions, as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon him and his people s. But Gondicarius did not long enjoy the peace which Aetius had granted him, being soon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when Anthemius Isidorus and Senator were consuls, attacked by the Hunns, and cut off, with twenty thousand 20,000 Burof his men 8. Socrates writes, that of the unhappy Burgundians three thousand only gundians cut were left alive, who having embraced the christian religion, and received the facra-Hunns.

c ment of baptism, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thousand, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight h. Thus Socrates. But Orosius assures us, that the Burgundians had embraced the christian religion before the year 417. The Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Aquitain, as we have observed above, and had Theodoric for their king, not fatisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the Romans, and even laid siege to Nar- The Goths bebonne; which however they were forced to raise, either this year 436. or the following, fiege Narbonne; but are obliged as Idatius will have it, count Litorius coming seasonably to the relief of the place to drop the en with a numerous body of Hunns, who falling upon the Goths, put them to flight, and terprize, and d entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved retire. a very welcome supply, the inhabitants being by the long siege reduced to the utmost extremity . While these things passed in the west, Theodosius completed the ruin of Theodosius's edict against all idolatry in the east, by a law enacted in 435. ordering all the temples, oratories, manner of ido. and places confectated to the worship of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding latrous worship his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this law the very foundations of the temples were to be intirely demolished, and the sign of the christian religion, no doubt the cross, to be set up in the place where they had stood '. Theodosius passed part of the year 436. at Cyzi-The following year 437. when Aetius was conful the second time, with Sigife vultus, or Sigifvult, the Romans, affished by the Hunns, pursued the war against the Goths in Gaul m; but with what success, we are no-where told. The Saxon pirates began this year to infest the coasts of the Armorici . Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodofius by the empress Eudocia, had been betrothed to Valentinian in 424. as we have related above; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity Eudoxia, the at Constantinople, on the twenty-ninth of October, Valentinian being then eighteen daughter of years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at Theffalo-Theodosius, nica; but Valentinian, out of complaisance to the royal bride, proceeded to Constan-lentinian III. tinople; which city he entered on the twenty-first of October. Theodosius, in giving, or, as others will have it, in betrothing his daughter, to Valentinian, obliged the f young prince to yield to him West Illyricum, comprehending the Upfer and Lower Who yields to Pannonia, Dalmatia, and the two Noricums, viz. Mediterraneum and Ripense P. The Theodosius West Illyritwo Pannonia's comprised that part of Austria and Hungary, that lies on the Roman cum. side of the Danube; and the two Noricums the archbishopric of Saltzburg, with Styria and Carinthia. As for East Illyricum, it had belonged to the emperors of Constantinople ever fince the time of Gratian, who yielded it to Theodofius the Great. Valen-

PROSP. chron. PROCOP. p. 386. f IDAT. p. 21. SID. car. vii. p. 338. B IDAT. p. 25. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136—138. B Socr. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. OROS. l. vii. c. 32. p. 305. B IDAT. p. 21. SID. car. vi. p. 346. Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 25. p. 296. Theodor. l. v. c. 36. p. 749. B PROSP. MARC. chron. B SID. car. vii. p. 342. Socr. l. vii. c. 44. p. 388. Chron. Alex. p. 570. Socr. ibid. Chron. Alex. JORN. de reg. fuc. p. 92, 93.

tinian lest Constantinople in the latter end of this year; and having spent the winter a at Thessalonica, returned early in the spring to Ravenna. He had by Eudoxia two

daughters, viz. Eudocia and Placidia.

8000 Goths cut in pieces by Actius in Gaul.

Toulouse bejeeged by Litorius

His men are eut in pieces by Theodoric,

Theodoric concludes a peace with the Romans.

by the Suevians, and Carthage by the Vandals.

THE following year, Theodosius being consul the sixteenth time, with Acilius Glabrio Faustus, the Suevians, who had settled in Galicia in 409. under the conduct of their king Ermeric or Hermeric, came, after a long and bloody war to an agreement with the ancient inhabitants 9; but the articles of that treaty have not been trainfmitted to us. The Romans still pursued the war against the Goths in Gaul, of whom eight thousand were this year cut in pieces by Actius. In the east Justinian published, on the fifteenth of February of the present year 438. his famous code, that is, a collection of all the best and most useful laws that had been enacted by the b lawful princes his predecessors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was Antiochus, who had been consul in 431. Such laws as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the west; nay, it met with better success there than in the east, where The Justinian it obtained only for the space of about ninety years, that is, to the reign of Justicode published nian, who abrogated this, and published a new code: but in the west it was received by Theodoric, and the Ostrogoths, who made themselves masters of Italy about the end of the fifth century, and likewise by Alaric, king of the Visigoths or Westrogoths, in Languedoc and Spain. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by Theodosius, and some other princes, were called Novellæ. Theodosius, in publishing the c code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince should be of no force in the dominions of the other, unless confirmed and figned by him s. In the following confulship of Theodosius, the seventeenth time consul, and of Festus, Litorius, after having gained great advantages over the Goths in Gaul, laid fiege to Toulouse, their capital. Theodoric, who was in the place, sent several catholic bishops to Litorius, with very reasonable proposals; nay, he offered in the end to submit to what terms the Romans thought fit to impose upon him, begging only, that they would grant to him and his Goths their lives and liberty. But Litorius, confiding in the valour of his Hunns, and defirous of taking the Gothish king alive, and carrying him in triumph, would hearken to no proposals. Hereupon Theodoric, having first performed his devotions, d and visited all the churches of his capital in the habit of a penitent, sallied out at the head of his Goths; and falling upon the enemy, cut most of them in pieces; put the few who survived the general slaughter, to slight; and having surrounded Litoand he himself rius, while he was attempting to make his escape, took him alive in spite of the taken prisoner. vigorous and desperate resistance he made, and carried him with his hands tied behind his back into that city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. Theodoric caused him to be exposed for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public prison, where he died foon after. Litorius seems to have been a pagan; for he reposed great confidence in the answers of the aruspices ". He was, next to Aetius, the most powerful man, e and the best general, in the western empire w. After this victory, the Goths might have easily extended their conquests to the Rhone; but Theodoric, thinking he ought to use with moderation a victory, for which he acknowledged himself in a particular manner indebted to heaven, hearkened to the proposals of Avitus, presect of Gaul, and this very year concluded a peace with the Romans upon very reasonable terms 1. fornandes supposes this peace to have been made by Litorius, and no battle to have been fought, or victory gained by the Goths; so little was that writer acquainted even with the history of his own nation. The Hunns, who served under Litorius, were commanded by a king of their own nation, named Gauseric, who, during this war, laid siege to the city of Bazas, belonging to the Goths; but is said to have t been obliged by a miraculous apparition to drop the enterprize and retire, as the Merida taken reader will find related at length by Gregory of Tours y. The fame year Merida, then the metropolis of Lusitania, was taken by Richila, who the year before had succeeded his father Hermeric, king of the Suevians, in Galicia 2. But the loss of Carthage in Africa, surprised on the twenty-third of Ottober of the present year by

r Prosp. chron. PRROSP. chron. Doviat. hist. jur. civ. c. 1. Ritters-9 IDAT. p. 21, 22. nut. in jur. Just. c. 3. Cod. Theod. nov. 1. p. 1. GREG. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 27. p. 81. Satv. atvian. de gub. l. vii. p. 164. w Idem ibid. p. 164. SID. car. vii. p. 340. IDAT. p. 22. x PROSP. IDAT. chron. SID. car. vii. p. 341. SALVIAN. de gub. l. vii. p. 164. Y GREG. Tur. de glor. martyr. i. i. c. 13, p.31-34. 3 IDAT. p. 22.

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a Genseric, king of the Vandals, proved a more fatal blow to the western empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the Romans for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years, the Vandals remained masters of the Proconfularis, of Byzacene, Getulia, and part of Numidia. However, Valentinian maintained so long as he lived, the two Mauritania's, viz. Casariensis and Sitisensis, with Tripolitana, Tingitana, and that part of Numidia in which Cyrtha stood. In the east nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empress Eudocia undertook to Jerusalem, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there z. She passed through Antioch, where, in the presence of the fenate and people, she pronounced a speech in commendation of that city from a b throne of gold enriched with precious stones a. At her departure, she presented the magistrates with a very considerable sum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindness she had shewed them by erecting two statues to her honour, placing the one, which was of brass, in the museum; and the other, which was plated over with gold, in the senateb. At Jerusalem she presented Juvenal, bishop of the place, with great sums, to be distributed among the poor, and with a cross of gold, adorned with precious stones, to be set up on mount Calvary; for which the bishop is said to have presented her in his turn with the right hand of St. Stephen, the protomartyr c. The following year, when Valentinian was conful the fifth time with Anatolius, Genseric made a descent Sicily ravaged c upon Sicily in the month of June; and meeting with little or no relistance, ravaged by Gentleric. the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid fiege to Palermo: but not being able to reduce the place, he returned to Africa with an immense booty d. The fame year count Cenforius, who had been fent by Valentinian to negotiate a peace between the Suevians in Galicia, and the natives of that country, was befieged by Recbila in Merfola on the Guadiana, where he refided, and, upon the reduction of the place, taken prisoner. About the same time, Aetius, removing the Burgundians The Burgundifrom the banks of the Rhine, allotted them fettlements in the present duchy of Eavoy, and rewarded a body of Alans, who had served the Romans with great fidelity under by Actius to and rewarded a body of Alans, who had ferved the Romans with great fidelity under the present the conduct of their king Eocaric or Eocric, with lands on the Loire f. These Alans duchy of Savoy. d are supposed to have settled afterwards with the Britons in Armorica 8. Bucherius takes Sangiban, king of the Alans, mentioned by Jornandes, to have been the successfor of Eccaric b. As Salvianus wrote at this time his treatife on judgments, we shall transcribe out of that piece a passage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the several barbarous nations then infesting the empire. The Goths, says that writer, are treacherous, but chaste: the Alans are not so chaste, but less treacherous: the Franks are liars, but kind to strangers: the Saxons are exceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaste. But tho' the Saxons are cruel, continues Salvianus, the Gepidæ are void of humanity, the Hunns lewd and deceitful, the Alemans drunkards, the Alans lovers of plunder, and the Franks deceitful and perfidious to such a e degree as to look upon false oaths as ornaments of speech; yet these vices are not so criminal in the barbarians as in the Romans, who are instructed in the morals of the christian religion i. The same writer observes elsewhere k, that tho' the Goths would not fuffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet in the countries allotted to them they kept up those infamous places for the sake of the Romans, who lived among them, and claimed the scandalous privilege of frequenting them without restraint. In the east, Paulinus, the empress Eudocia's chief savourite, who by her Paulinus pur interest had been raised in 430. to the high post of magister officiorum, was this year to death by the put to death by the emperor's orders at Casarea in Cappadocia. And this is all emperor's orwe find in the ancient writers concerning this remarkable event. The more modern f Greeks ascribe his death to the jealousy of Theodosius; and tell us, that the emperor The cause of being presented on the sixth of January with an apple of an uncommon size, and his disgrace, as extraordinary beauty, he immediately fent it, as a rarity, to Eudocia, and she to related by the Paulinus, in whose conversation she took great delight, as he was a man of learn-writers. ing, and the empress herself well versed in all the branches of literature. Paulinus, not knowing by whom it had been fent to the empress, thought it a proper present

for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raised some jealousy in

b Idem ibid. Chron. Al. p. 731. & Chron. Al. p. 730. E IDAT. Buch. Belg. p. 492. Vol. VI. Nº 7. 6 H Theodosius,

Theodosius, who thereupon dismissed Paulinus; and sending for Eudocia, asked her a

ing between the emperor and his wife retires to Jerufalem.

The conful Cyrus firipped of his confular ornaments by the emperor.

Theodosius fends a power. ful firet and army against Genieric.

Bu he is them; and Valentinian, to conclude a peace with Genseric.

what was become of the apple. The empress, not caring to own she had given it to Paulinus, answered, she had eat it. Upon this, the emperor, producing it, commanded Paulinus to be immediately executed, and from that time shewed himself fo indifferent towards the empress, that she begged leave soon after to return to ferusalem, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus Constantine Manasses, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Glycas and Codinus ". That Eudocia Misunderstand- retired about this time to Jerusalem is very certain; and likewise, that there was a misunderstanding between her and the emperor, who caused a priest, by name Severus, and a deacon, named John, whom Eudocia had carried with her from Con-Eudocia, who stantinople to Jerusalem, to be murdered, for no other reason, but because the empress b lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich prefents. This giving, either jealoufy to the prince, or occasion to scandalous resections, Theodosius dispatched Saturninus, his comes domesticorum, to ferusalem, with private orders to dispatch the two favourite ecclesiastics. Eudocia was so affected with their death, that, not mistress of her temper, she caused, in her turn, Saturninus to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to fuch a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her service, and return to Constantinople; which was reducing her to the condition of a private person. Thus she lived at Jerusalem to her death, Where she died, which happened in 460. She is faid to have solemnly declared on her death-bed, that she was altogether innocent as to the crime, of which Theodosius had suspected c her and Paulinus. As she was possessed of immense wealth, which the emperor left untouched, she built at Jerusalem a great number of churches, monasteries and hospitals, adorned the city with many stately edifices, and, at a vast expence, repaired the walls, which in most places were intirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. Stephen, which she had built in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem . Her piety is greatly extolled by most writers, especially by Cassiodorus, who styles her of all women the most pious, the most religious P. The following year, Cyrus alone was conful: he excelled in polite learning, especially in poetry; and having by that means gained the favour and protection of Eudocia, who took great delight in verses, he had been raised by her interest to the first d employments in the state. As he entered the circus this year with the consular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with fuch acclamations, that the emperor, who was present, caused him out of jealousy, a few days after, to be stripped of all his employments, and his estate to be confiscated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganism, and that he aspired at the empire. Hereupon Cyrus fled for refuge to a church, and caused himself to be ordained priest. The emperor, respecting his new character, granted him his life, and soon after fuffered him to be ordained bishop, and to be raised to the see of Cotyea in Phrygia 9. As Genseric, king of the Vandals, was now become very formidable, Theodosius resolved in the end to affift Valentinian, his coufin and fon in-law, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, confisting of eleven hundred large ships, and putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of Arcovindas, Ansilus, and Germanus, he ordered them to land in Africa, and joining the western forces there, to drive Genseric out of the countries he had usurped. They steered their course to Sicily, in order to pass more easily from thence over into Africa. But in the mean time, Genseric having sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius, and pretending to be desirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the Roman generals waited on the coast of Sicily the result of the negotiations, which Genseric crastily spun out till the season proper for action was over r. While his embassadors were still at Constantinople, the Persians, with an open breach of the treaty made between the two f empires in 422. entered the Roman territories in a hostile manner; which obliged obliged to recal Theodofius to recal his forces, and Valentinian to conclude a peace with Genferic, which he could not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in Africa, which he had seized, and we have mentioned above s. Anatolius and Aspar were dispatched against the Persians, who finding the Romans, whom they expected to surprise, upon their

m Manass, p. 55. Zonar. tom. iii. p. 37. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 23. p. 485. Glyc. p. 261. Codin. orig. Conftantinop. p. 56. R Evag. l. i. c. 21. p. 277, 278. Cedr. p. 343. Theoph. p. 88. Li. c. 22. p. 280. Ced. p. 337. Chron. Al. p. 732. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559. P. Cassiod. pf. l. p. 174. Q. Zon. p. 35. Theoph. p. 83. Chron. Al. p. 736. Theoph. p. 87. Chron. Al. p. 730. Idem, p. 88.

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a guard, hearkened to an accommodation; so that a peace was concluded, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that neither the Persians nor the Romans should for the future raise any new fortifications on the frontiers'. The same year Arjaces, king of Armenia, dying, divided his kingdom between his two fons Tigranes and Arsaces; but by his last will bequeathed the far greater part to Tigranes. Hereupon Arfaces had recourse to Theodosius, who threatening to make war upon Tigranes, terrified the young prince to fuch a degree, that flying to the protection of the Persian king, he yielded to him his share, preferring the ease and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. Arsaces, on the other hand, dreading the power of the Persians, put Theodosius in possession of his share, upon certain conditions, one of b which was, that his family should enjoy for ever an intire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes ". Thus ended the kingdom of Armenia, after it had con- The end of the tinued for many ages, and given occasion to much bloodshed and endless wars, waged ancient kingby the Romans first with the Parthians, and afterwards with the Persians. It began dom of Armenia. and ended in an Arfaces. The share of Tigranes belonging to the Persians was called Persarmenia and Armenia Persica w. The part of Arjaces held by the Romans was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of comes Armenia, or count of Armenia x. The same year the Hunns, taking advantage of the wars, in The Hunns which the Romans were engaged with the Vandals and Persians, passed the Danube, invadeThrace. and with a formidable army tell unexpectedly upon Thrace. They had invaded that c province in 425. under the conduct of Rougas, their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the same time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violence in his army, the barbarians repassed the Danube of their own accord, not caring, fays Socrates v, to engage in a war with the Romans, whose cause heaven had evidently espoused. Rougas was succeeded by Roas or Rouas in 434. who concluded a peace with the Romais, whereof one of the conditions was, that they should pay him a yearly pension of three hundred and sifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the Hunns resolving to drive out the Boischi, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the Danube, under the protection of the Romans, Rouas dispatched one Eilas to the court of Constantinople, threatening d to make war upon Theodosius, if he lent them the least affistance. Hereupon the two generals, Plintha and Dionysius, were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the Hunns, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken. But in the mean time Rouas dying, and his nephew, the famous Attila, of whom Rouas, king we shall speak at length in the history of the Hunns, succeeding him, the embassadors of the Hunns, were ordered to treat with him and his brother Bleda, his partner in the fovereignty. fucceeded by But in the room of Dionysius, who could not agree with Plintha, was sent the questor Attila. Epigenes, a man of great experience in negotiations. The embassiadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Messia, at a place where the Margus or Margis falls into that river. The e Romans were obliged to confer with them on horse-back, the Huns refusing to dismount. The peace was confirmed, but upon such conditions as plainly betrayed The Romans the weakness and deplorable condition of the empire. These were, 1. That the conclude a Romans should deliver up to Attila and Bleda such Hunns as had taken, or should for Hunns upon the future take, refuge in the Roman dominions. 2. There the Person dominions as had taken, or should for Hunns upon the future take, refuge in the Roman dominions. 2. That the Roman prisoners, who most shameful should make their escape from the Hunns, without paying their ransom, should in conditions. like manner be delivered up, or eight pieces of gold be paid for each of them. 3. That, instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the Romans should for the future pay annually seven hundred. 4. That the Romans should not affift any nation whatfoever, when attacked by, or at war with the Hunns. In comf pliance with this shameful treaty, the Romans immediately delivered up to Attila fome princes of the royal blood of the Hunns, who were by his orders crucified like the meanest of slaves, in the fight of the Romans, for no other crime but because they had abandoned their own country to serve in their armies. Attila, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conquest he pleased, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged even by the feveral bar-

barous nations lying north of the Euxine sea?. Having thus extended his domini-

<sup>\*</sup> Адатн. р. 237. Procop. bell. Perf. p. 8. \* Procop. de ædif. l. iii. c. г. p. 52, 53. l.i. p. 29. Тнеовогет. р. 944. \* Тнеов. р. 77. Procop. p. 29. У Socr. р. 38 hift. Goth. de legat. р. 45—48. w PROCOP. 7 Socr. p. 387. \* PRIS.

Attila, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, paffes the Danube;

And makes

of several

ons, he resolved to take advantage of the wars in which Theodosius was engaged this a year with the Persians and Vandals; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the Danube at the head of a very numerous and formidable army, and entering Thrace, made himself master of several cities and strong holds, and, among the rest, of Viminacium, a place of great importance on the Danube, and of Margum, which was betrayed to him by the bishop of the place. Elated with this success, he dispatched a messenger to Theodosius, requiring, or rather commanding, him to deliver up forthwith all the Hunns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for some time, and to settle what should be paid him for the future. Theodosius could not prevail upon himself to abandon those, who, after the declaration of war, had for- b faken Attila, and come over to him. Whereupon Attila began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. He took by storm Retiarium on the Danube in Upper Masia, Singidunum, Naissus, and Sirmium, himself master formerly the capital of all Illyricum, with several other cities and strong holds, insomuch that Theodosius, not thinking himself safe at Constantinople, retired the following year 442. when Eudoxius and Dioscorus were consuls, into Asia 2. As to the issue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between Attila and Theodosius, who thereupon returned to Constantinople, and entered that city on the twenty-seventh of August b. From this time Attila continued quiet till the year 447, contenting himself with only threatening to c make war upon the Romans, in order to draw from them corn, money, provisions, The Romans and whatever else he stood in need of; for the Romans, trembling at the very name dread the name of Attila, complied with all his demands, however unreasonable, and obeyed him, fays Prifeus, like so many slaves, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The embassadors he sent to Constantinople returned always loaded with prefents; infomuch that, when he thought fit to reward any of his own people, he used to fend them, under some pretence or other, with the character of embassadors to Theodosius, who, to court the friendship of their master, never failed to load them with prefents to a great value. Thus were the subjects of the empire impoverished to enrich the barbarians, their sworn enemies c. Attila, finding himself thus become d the terror of the Romans, is faid to have fent, out of mere wantonness, two Goths, with the character of embassadors, the one to Theodosius, and the other to Valentinian, whom, by his orders, they addressed thus; Attila, my master and yours, combehaviour and mands you to get ready a palace for his reception . During these transactions in the east, the Suevians made great progress in Spain, where they took the city of Seville, and reduced all Batica, with the province of Carthagena e.

THE following year, Maximus being conful the second time with Paterius, Theodosius, leaving Constantinople, visited the province of Pontus, where he caused the public edifices, and walls of Heraclea, to be repaired f. As he was one day, during this progress, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, dust, and thirst, an e officer of his guards presented him with a beautiful cup full of fresh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a most obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refresh himself, when it was not in his

of Attila.

His haughty arrogance.

The eunuch graced.

power to refresh those who attended him g. In 444. when Theodosius was consul the eighteenth time, with Albinus, died Arcadia, the fifter of Theodosius h. The same Arcadia dies. year the eunuch Antiochus, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abusing his authority to the oppression of the people, was by Theodosius degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monastery of Antiochus dif- St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed i. Theophanes writes, that Theodosius made ! him pope, meaning perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his difgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician k. The following year, when Valentinian was conful the fixth time with Nomus, nothing remarkable happened in the east; but in the west, Vitus being sent with a

The Romans confiderable army into Spain, to support the Romans, that is, the natives, against the defeated by the Suevians, most of his men were cut off by Recbila, and he obliged to save himself Suevians in Spain.

\* Idem, p. 34—57. Chron. Al. p. 730. Prosp. Marcel. chron. Marc. Prosp. chron. Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 9. p. 898. Prisc. p. 36, 37. Cod. Theod. nov. tit. 30. p. 13. Pasc. p. 395. Marc. chron. J. Zonar. tom. iii. p. 34. Тнеоги. p. 83. Cod. p. 48.

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a by flight, and abandon the inhabitants to the mercy of those barbarians. The next year, Actius being consul the third time with Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the Britons, no longer able to withstand the Scots and Picts, had recourse to Aetius, who governed the western empire almost with an absolute sway; to move him to compassion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, The groans of the Bri- The Britons tons to the conful Actius; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon to Actius. The learned Usher thinks, that Valentinian was then under apprehension of a war with Attila ". The venerable Bede supposes the Hunns to have already broken into the western empire o; but he was therein certainly mistaken. In the east a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, 4 when Ardaburius and Alypius were confuls, and violent earthquakes were felt in most provinces, which overturned feveral cities, and great part of the new walls of Conflantinople, with fifty-seven towers, and many stately edifices, not only in that city, but likewise at Antioch and Alexandria P. The same year, 447. Attila, upon what Attila breaks provocation we know not, (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, anew into the however unjust and arrogant) broke into Thrace with a formidable army, consisting head of a forof Hunns, Goths, Gepidæ, Alans, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by midaele army. their respective kings. Attila, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous host, over-ran without opposition Illyricum, Thrace, both Dacia's, Mæsia, and Scythia. He took and plundered above seventy cities, and, among the rest, Philippoc polis in Thrace, properly so called, Arcadiopolis in the province of Europe, and Mar-cianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Masia. They extended their ravages on one side He over runs to the Euxine sea, and on the other to the streights of Thermopylæ, which part Thef-several provin-saly from Achain or Greece. In the mean time, Arnegiselus, governor of Massia and ces. Thrace, having drawn together all the troops quartered in those two provinces, marched against Attila; and engaging him in Lower Masia, on the banks of the river Utis, which falls into the Danube near a city of the same name, cut off great numbers of his men; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was himself killed, after having fold his life dear, and his army put to the rout?. Another battle was And defeats fought in the Chersonesus near Gallipoli, probably by the generals Aspar and Arcobin-generals sent dus, who were both sent against Attila. But no better success attended the Romans in against him. this than in the other engagement; fo that Theodofius was obliged the following year 448. when Zeno and Postbumianus were consuls, to send Anatolius, with one Vigilius; who understood the language of the Hunns, to Attila to sue for peace, which he was strictly injoined to conclude upon any terms. A peace was accordingly agreed The Romans to, and ratified by the emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the continue as Roman name, viz. 1. That the Romans should pay immediately to Atrila six thousand upon shameful pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred. 2. That they should send terms. back to him all his deserters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they should deliver up the Roman captives, who had escaped without paying their ransom, or e pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold. 4. That the Romans should fend no embassadors to Attila, till they had delivered up to him all his deserters and fugitives. Pursuant to this ignominious treaty, six thousand pounds weight of gold were fent immediately to Attila, with all the Hunns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, among whom were feveral princes, who chose rather to be killed by the Romans, than to fall into the hands of Attila. While these things passed in the east, Recbila king of the Suevians settled in Spain, died at Merida in 447. and Rechila, king was succeeded by his son Requiarius, who the year following married the daughter of the Sueviof Theodoric, king of the Golbs in Languedoc, and soon after went to pay a visit to his dies, and is father-in-law at Toulouse; but on his return to Spain, surprised the city of Lerida; succeeded by his f and carrying with him from thence a great number of captives, pillaged the terri-son Requiarius. tory of Saragosa, which, according to Isidorus, belonged to the Romans t. This year a misunderstanding arose between Attila and Valentinian on account of some sacred vessels, which Attila falsly pretended to have been stolen from him by one Silvanus, a banker in Rome. Silvanus, who was the lawful owner of these vessels, had sold Attila seeks a them to the church. But as they were pieces of exquisite workmanship, Attila, covet- pretence to ing them, or rather feeking a pretence to quarrel with Valentinian, claimed them Valentinian.

1 Sid. car. v. p. 315. Idat. p. 24. m Gild. excid. Britan. c. 6. p. 118. n Usser. ecclef. Brit. antiq. p. 1204. Bed. hift. c. 13. p. 156. P Chron. Al. p. 734. Evagr. l. 1. c. 17. p. 275. Nicepii. l. xiv. c. 48. p. 543. 9 Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 44. p. 553. Theoph. p. 88. Chron. Al. p. 734. Prisc. p. 35, 76. r Pris. p. 34. Idem ibid. & p. 51—53. Theoph. p. 88. I Idat. p. 26. Vol. VI. No 7.

as stolen from him by Silvanus, and with great arrogance pressed the emperor either a to restore the vessels, or deliver up to him Silvanus. Hereupon count Romulus was fent with Promotus, governor of Noricum, and Romulus, an officer of diffinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him, if possible, that the vessels in dispute had never belonged to him; or if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. Attila received the embassadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the embassadors of Theodosius, who arrived at his court much about the fame time. But the only answer that he returned to their reasoning and arguments was, that the veffels belonged to him, and that he was determined to do himself justice, and declare war, if Valentinian did not either restore them, or deliver up to him Silvanus, who had stolen them. But notwithstanding these menaces, b he did not make war upon Valentinian till three years after, tho' that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands. The following year, when Protogenes and Asturius or Asterius were consuls, one Edecor being fent by Attila with the character of embassador to Theodosius, the eunuch Chry-Japhus, the emperor's great chamberlain, discovering him to be greatly taken with the splendor of the court, and desirous to continue among the Romans, promised him great wealth and preferments, provided he dispatched Attila; which he promising to do, Theodofius consented to the wicked attempt, and charged Vigilius, interattempts to get preter to the Roman embassadors at the court of Attila, to be assisting to him in that undertaking. But Edecon, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a despe- c rate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his minister, upon his return discovered the plot to Attila, who thereupon caused Vigilius to be seized, and dispatched his secretary Orestes to reproach Theodosius with his treachery, and demand Chrysaphus, the chief author and contriver of the conspiracy, to be delivered up to him. But Nomus, who was fent embasfador to the king of the Hunns on this occa-Who frares the fion, with several other persons of great distinction, gained his esteem and affection to such a degree, that he promised to live in peace and amity with Theodosius, parand makes doned Chrysaphus, set Vigilius at liberty, and dismissed the embassadors, loaded with rich presents. Thus Priscus, who was an eye-witness of what he wrote, having attended the embassadors to the court of Attila w.

Theodofius Atrila murdered.

conspirators, emperor.

Theologius

to public affairs.

THE following year, 450. when Valentinian was conful the seventh time, with Avienus, Theodofius was so bruised with a fall from his horse in hunting, that being with much ado carried in a fedan to Constantinople, he died there the next day, the twentieth of June, according to Theophanes , or the twenty-eighth of July, as we read in Theodorus, who is followed by most chronologers. According to this opinion, he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight fince he had received the title of Augustus. He was buried on the thirtieth of July, in the same Nis character. tomb with his father Arcadius 2. He is generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but slender parts, and to have been intirely e guided by those about him, especially by the cunuchs of the court, who, abusing his authority, oppressed the people to such a degree, that many in his reign chose rather to abandon their native country, and live among the Hunns, and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government of those who, by the eunuchs, were Authors give us the following instance of his disattention to public fet over them. An inflance of affairs: As he had been used, when yet a child, to sign all the acts that were bis difactention brought to him by his ministers, without reading them, he continued the same custom even after he was married, till his fister Pulcheria, to apprise him of the evil consequences that might attend it, caused an act to be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for ever the empress Eudocia as her slave. This act the emperor signed t without perufing it, or inquiring what it contained; which he had no fooner done, than Pulcheria defired him to read it, when, ashamed of his past indolence and neglect, he resolved to be upon his guard for the suture, and to sign no papers till he was well informed what they contained 2. He was a great friend to the church, but yet, misled by ill meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the ecclefiastic writers give us of the two councils held by his orders at Ephefus, and of the progress which the

PRISC. p. 57—68. w Idem, p. 72. ₹ Тнеорн. р. 568. 7 THEOD. p. 88. \* THEOD ibid. • THEOPH. p. 87. CURSTANT. MANASS. p. 55. ZON. p. 36. SUID. p. 577.

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a herefy of Eutyches made in his reign. Of the writers who flourished under Theodesius, we shall speak in note (S).

(S) We are chiefly indebted to the ecclefiastic writers Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius, for the history of the reign of Theodosius the younger. So-crates was born in Constantinople about the year 380. and spent most part of his life in that city (1). He speaks of what happened after the year 395. as of things that had happened in his time (2). He tells us, that when he was yet very young, he knew a Novatian priest, by name Auxano, who remembered the council of Nice, and lived to the reign of Theodosius the younger, that is, to the year 408(3).
Socrates studied grammar under Helladius and Ammonius, two pagan pricits of Alexandria, who had retired to Constantinople, when the temples of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which happened in the year 389. He probably studied eloquence under Troilus, who in his time taught it with great applause at Constantinople; for he bestows mighty encomiums upon that sophist (4). He begins where Eusebius ended his history, but repeats the transactions of the first year of Constantine's reign, that is, of the year 306, and carries his work down to the seventeenth consulship of Theodosius 11, that is, to the year 439. So that it comprises the space of a hundred and thirty-four years. He addresses it to one Theodorus, by whose orders he undertook it. Theodorus was probably a bishop or priest; for he calls him a person consecrated to the worship of God (5). He writes in a familiar, but plain and easy style. At first he followed Rusinus, especially in his first two books, copying even his mistakes; but these he corrected, atter having perused the works of Athanasius. He informed himself with great care of the truth of what he relates, copying what had happened before his time from the authors that were most esteemed, and relating only fuch events of his own time as he himself had either seen, or learnt from persons of unquestionable veracity (6). As he speaks of the Novattans with great respect, and even pretends some of their bishops to have wrought miracles, several writers conclude from thence, that he himfelf held the tenets of Novatus. But on the other hand, he blames the Novatians for separating from the church (7), and in express terms disapproves the suppressing of the office of penitentiary in the church of Constantinople, against which office the Novatians had always exclaimed (8). Socrates wrote in Greek, but seems to have been acquainted with the Latin tongue. His history is quoted by Liberatus, and the seventh occumenical council. Sozomen, or Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes, as he is styled by Photius, was not, as some have conjectured from the first of these names, a native of Salamis in the island of Cyprus, but of a village in the territory of Gaza, named Bethelia, as appears from the account he gives of the convertion of his grandfather to the christian religion (9). The title of scholasticus, bestowed upon him by Photius (10) and others, gives us room to believe, that he was well versed in polite literature. He pleaded at the bar in Conflantinople (11), and was at the same time affection or countellor to Ifidorus, presect of the east in 435, and 436 (12). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote first in two books the ecclesiastic history, from the ascension of our Saviour to the deposition of Licinius in 323(13), which work has been long fince intirely loft. He afterwards undertook his great

history, which was to comprise whatever had hap-pened worthy of notice from the third consulship of Crispus and Constantine Casars, that is, from the year 324, to the seventeenth consulship of Theodo-sius the younger, in 439 (14). Whence it is mani-fest, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, fince it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from pursuing his design. St. Gregory writes, that the history of Sozamen was not received by the church of Rome on account of the many falshoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author bestowed on The design of Mathematical Has is not indeed without Theodorus of Mapsuestia. He is not indeed without faults; but notwithstanding some mistakes that are to be found in his work, he is commonly preserved to the other historians of those times. Whoever compares his history with that of Socrates, will find, that the one has an ideal and the sound to the sound the sound to the soun that the one has evidently copied from the other, most likely Society from Societies; for the latter seems to have written before the former. When Socrates wrote, the house in which Arius died was still standing; whereas Sozomen observes, that an Arian, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (15). Besides, the candour and simplicity with which Socrates writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his history from another without owning it. Though Sozomen bestows great commendations on some Novatian bishops, as Socrates had done; yet he condemns in several places their tenets (16). About the beginning of the fixth century, Caffodorus caused the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodores, to be translated into the Latin tongue by one Epiphanes, that Greece alone, says Caffiodorus, might not possess so valuable and necessary a work. He divided them, thus translated, into twelve books, commonly known by the name of Historia Tripartita. Before him, Theodorus, the reader, had begun to compile a history in Greek from the three above-mentioned historians. But of that work, only the two first books, com-prising the reigns of Constantine and Constantins, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and those, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. Philostorgius, born about the year 368. in the province of Cappa docia Secunda, wrote an ecclesiastic history, or rather, under that name, an apology for the Arians, especially the Eunomians, whose tenets he himself held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, and carried it down to the accession of Valeatinian III. to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long fince loft; but an abstract of it, which may be called a large history, has been conveyed to us by Photius (17), who commends the style, but thinks the author often too diffuse and tedious. The whole is a continued fatire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the Arians. Philoflorgius feldom agrees with other writers, and relates several remarkable events, quite unknown to those who lived at the same time with him, fuch as the miracles wrought by Eusebius of Nicomedia, by Theophilus the Indian, by Leontius of Tripoli, &c. whence Photius styles him a fabulous and lying writer (18). However, he is often quoted by John of Antioch, who wrote about the beginning of the seventh century, by Nicetas Coniates, who flourished in the thirteenth century, by

(1) Socr. l.v. c. 24. p. 293. (2) Idem, l. vi. c. 1. p. 299. (3) Idem, l. i. c. 13. p. 41. (4) Idem, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. & prol. p. 6. (5) Idem prol. p. 7. (6) Idem, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. (7) Idem, l. ii. c. 38. p. 144. (8) Idem, l. v. p. 278. (9) Soz. l. v. c. 15. p. 617. (10) Phot. c. 30. p. 17. (11) Soz. p. 105. (12) Ifidor. Peluf. l. i. ep. 300. p. 880. (13) Soz. l. i. c. 1. p. 401. (14) Idem ibid. & p. 991, 397, 403. (15) Socr. l. i. c. 38. p. 74. Soz. l. ii. c. 30. p. 49. (16) Soz. l. vii. c. 16. p. 726. & l. viii. p. 754, &c. (17) Phot. c. 40. p. 25. (18) Idem, p. 16, 25.

Nicethorus

Nicephorus and others. Suidas likewise has copied several patlages from him. Philostorgius, besides his history, wrote a long panegyric on Eunomius, and an apology for the christian religion against Porphy-rius; but neither of these works has reached our times. About the same time flourished Philip of Sida in Pamphylia, who wrote a very diffuse history from the creation to his time, confifting of eight hundred and fixty-four books, which he intituled the Christian history. Of this voluminous work, which has been long since lost, Photius speaks with great contempt (19). The same author wrote another extensive work, wherein he consuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor Julian (20); but that performance has undergone the same sate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of Constantinople, and thought himself highly injured, because he was not preferred to that see (21). Priscus, who attended Maximus, when sent embassador to Attila in 449. Wrote the history of the war between that prince and Theodosius; the history of Marcian's reign; an account of the journey of Anthemius to Rome; of the war carried on in the reign of Leo against Genseric; and of the unhappy end of Aspar and his children, put to death by the emperor Leo in 471 (22). Suidas ascribes to him eight books of the Byzantine hiflory, and of the war with Attilus, meaning, no doubt, Attila (23). Priscus was a native of Panes, or Panium, reckoned among the cities of the province of Europe in Thrace (24). He was a fophist, or protestor of eloquence (25). He vilited Rome, where he have the king of the Franks (26), no doubt Merouse, and travelled likewise to Thebais and Alexandria in Egyps. In the latter city he was an eyewitness of the disorders which attended the election of the holy bishop Proterms to that see, and greatly contributed to the appealing of them by the good advice he gave to Florus, present of Egypt. Euphemius, magister officiorum to the empeor Marcian, advised with him in all matters of importance (27). His history is said to be still extant, and lodged in fome libraries (28). Hitherto only some fragments of it, relating to emballies, have been published, which are to be found among the works of the other Byzantine historians. Some passiges of his history are quoted by Jornandes (29). He wrote with great exactness and elegance (30). Suidas mentions his declamations and letters (31). The history of Theodolius the younger was likewise written by one John. who is often quoted by Evagrius, and by him flyled orator, or professor of eloquence (32). He is thought to have been a native of Antioch, because he is frequently quoted by Evagrius in what relates to the history of that city (33). His history ended with the seventh year of Justin I. of the christian zera 525. whence we must distinguish him from another historian of the same name, whose history began with the death of Justinian, and was carried down to the reign of Mauritius (34). Another historian, named likewise John, a follower of Eutyches, wrote in five books the ecclefiaftic history, from the time of Nestorius to the defeat of Basiliscus; that is, from the year 428. to 477. To his eccleliastic history he added five books .35), the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

(19) Idem, p. 21. (20) Socr. l. vii. c. 27. p. 368. (21) Idem ibid. (22) Evagr. l. i. c. 17. p. 273. & l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. (23) Suid. p. 590. (24) Theoph. p. 100. Evagr. p. 74. (25) Evag. l. i. c. 17. p. 275. (26) Idem ibid. (27) Idem, l. ii. p. 295. Prifc. p. 41. (28) Voff. hift. Grace. l. iv. c. 18. p. 488. (29) Forn. rer. Goth. c. 24, 34, 35, 42, 49. (30) Evag. l. i. c. 17. p. 275. & l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. (31) Suid. p. 590. (32) Evag. p. 61. (33) Idem, l. i. c. 16. l. ii. c. 12. l. iii. c. 14, 28. (34) Idem, p. 274. & 383. (35) Phot. c. 41. p. 38.

## C H A P. XXXI.

The Roman history, from the death of Theodofius II. to the total failure of the western empire in Augustulus.

If the laws at this time in force concerning private estates and inheritances, had obtained with respect to kingdoms and empires, the right of Eudoxia to the imperial crown had been indisputable, that princess being the only child of the deceased emperor; but not the least regard was had, either to her, or to the emperor Valentinian her husband: and truly neither of them seems to have laid any claim to the eastern empire, tho' Theodosius lest no issue male behind him. As Pulcheria had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of Augusta, she remained by his death sole mistress of the empire; and no person was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, she resolved to marry, notwithstanding the resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as the death of Theodosius was publicly known, she sent for Marcianus, a person samous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer

Pulcheria refolves to marry Marcian. 0

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a her, agreeable to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. Marcianus readily complying with this condition, she sent for the patriarch Anatolius, and the fenate, and in their presence declared Marcianus emperor. Her choice being approved Who is declared by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the emperor 4 new emperor was crowned at the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of *August* of the present year 450 b. His election was immediately notified to *Valentinian*; and he approving it, his images were, according to custom, sent into the west, and received at Rome on the thirtieth of March of the following year . After this, the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, Pulcheria being then in the fifty-first, and Marcian in the fiftieth year of his age d. He was a His birth, edub native of Thrace or Illyricum, and descended from a family of no great distinction, eatien, employbut remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith . As his father ferved in ments, and the army, he refolved to follow the fame profession, and pursuant to the orthodox faith. the army, he resolved to sollow the same prosession; and, pursuant to this resolution, fet out for Philippopolis in Thrace, in order to lift himself there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road, and, prompted by his good nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This some persons, accidentally coming by, observed, and immediately acquainted the magistrates of Philippopolis with what they had seen; who thereupon caused Marcian to be seized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been seasonably discovered and convicted f. Marcian, thus set at liberty, lifted himself among the troops quartered at Philippopolis, and served still as c a private man in 421. when, upon the breaking out of the war between the Romans and Persians, the corps in which he served was ordered into Syria; but Marcian falling fick as they marched through Asia, continued a long time indisposed at a place called Sydema, and thence repaired to Constantinople, where he listed himself among the troops that were commanded by Ardaburius, and his fon Aspar, who discovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raifed him to the post of their secretary. With that character he attended Aspar in 431. into Africa, where he was taken prisoner by Genseric, with many persons of distinction, Aspar himself having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by Genferic's orders, brought into the palace, where while they were waiting in an open court till the king d was at leisure to view them, Marcian lying down on the ground, fell asseep, and an eagle at the same time appearing over him, says Evagrius, and intercepting with his extended wings the scorching rays of the sun, afforded him a friendly shade. This Genseric observed from his apartment, and concluding from thence, that he was destined by Heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to fwear, that he would never make war upon the Vandals 8. From Africa he returned to Constantinople, where he was, according to Theophanes h, honoured with the senatorial dignity. Theodorus styles him only tribune; but adds, that he distinguished himself in war. He had by his first wife, who died before his accession to the empire, but one daughter, named Euphemia, whom, when he was raifed to the fovee reignty, he married to Anthemius, afterwards emperor of the west. All writers agree, that Marcianus was a prince of most exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a fincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in short, a person endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers preser him even to Constantine and Theodosius the Great. He preferred none but persons of known abilities, and unblemished characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of those times, great encomiums bestowed, not only upon him, but upon all those who were employed by him in the administration. In the west died the same year 450. Pulcheria, mother to the emperor Valentinian, Pulcheria, moand was interred at Ravenna, where her tomb is still to be seen k. She is blamed by ther to the emf some writers for yielding, or inducing her son to yield, West Illyricum to Theodosius. peror Valentinian, dies. She had governed the western empire with an absolute sway for the space of twenty-

authority which she had enjoyed in his minority. THE following year 451. Attila affembled one of the most numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. It consisted of Hunns, Gepida, Ostrogoths, bles a formi-

fix years, Valentinian suffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the same

b Theod. p. 551. Evagr. l. ii. c. 1. p. 275. Theoph. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 738. Evagr. 285. d Idem ibid. e Idem, p. 283. Niceph. l. zv. c. 1. p. 595. f Evagr. p. 283. Idem, p. 284. b Theoph. p. 81. Theod. l. i. p. 551. k Prosp. chron. Idat. Mabil.. it. p. 185. 4 8 Idem, p. 284. Vol. VI. Nº 7. 6 K

Rugians,

Rugians, Gelonians, Burgundians, Belonatians, Squiri, Neurians, Bastarnæ, Turingians, & Brutterians, Franks dwelling on the Neckar, Marcomans, Suevians, Quadians, Heruli,

He resolves to Valentinian,

Whom he endeavours to deceive.

He defeats the Franks, and ensers Gaul.

stroys several cities.

Turcilingians, and in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of seven hundred thousand men 1. Attila, in raising so formidable an army, had nothing less in view, than to make himself master of both empires. But Marcian returning no other answer to his embassadors, sent to demand the annual pension or tribute paid him by Theodosius, than that he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies, he thought it adviseable to turn his arms first against make war upon Valentinian, whom he held in the utmost contempt, being well apprised, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in spite of all opposition, the eastern, after he had made himself master of the western empire. Being therefore determined b to make war upon Valentinian, he fent a folemn embassy to that prince, demanding his fifter Honoria, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half the western empire, as belonging of right to her. We have observed above, that Honoria had maintained, by means of her eunuchs, a private correspondence with Attila, and even fent him a ring, which the embassador produced to prove their marriage. Valentinian answered, That, among the Romans, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the same time dispatched Carpilio, the fon of Aetius, and several other persons of great distinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him of the injustice of his claim. Attila, to the great surprize, both of Valentinian, and the embassadors themselves, seemed to be fully satisfied with their reacc foning, and the arguments they alledged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new scheme. Hemeric, the son of Genseric, king of the Vandals, having married the daughter of Theodoric king of the Goths in Languedoc, caused her nose to be cut off soon after, and sent her back, thus disfigured, to her father, upon a bare suspicion, that she designed to poison him. As he was well apprifed, that Theodoric would not fail to refent such an affront, he resolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore fent embassadors with rich presents to Attila, to engage him to fall upon Theodoric. Attila, who wanted only some pretence to enter Gaul, readily closed with the proposal, pretending at the same time, that he might meet with no opposition from the Romans, to be fully satisfied with the reasons d alledged by their embassadors, and to relinquish all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he fent to Valentinian embasfiadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, affuring him, that his warlike preparations were defigned against Theodoric alone; that, as to the Romans, he should ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not espouse the cause of his enemy. At the same time he wrote to Theodoric, affuring him of his friendship, and exhorting that prince to join him against the Romans, as their common enemy. The better to surprise Valentinian, he did not wait the return of the embassadors he had sent to him; but setting out immediately from Scythia, tho' in the midst of winter, and directing his march through Germany, he never halted till he reached, early in the spring, the banks of the Rbine. & There such of the Franks as still dwelt on the German side of that river, endeavoured to ftop him; but they were easily defeated, Childeric, the fon of Merouée, and grandfon of Clodion, being taken prisoner, with his mother, and other persons of distinction m. The Franks being thus overcome and dispersed, Attila caused an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpose whole forests, and passing the Rhine without opposition, entered Gaul ". As he gave out, that he designed to live in friendship with the Romans, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the Visigoths in Languedoc, several cities opened their gates to him; but the rapines and violences which he suffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real design, the other cities f Takes and de shut their gates against him. Hereupon pulling off the mask, he besieged, took by ftorm, and pillaged Tongres, Treves, Strasbourg, Spires, Worms, Mentz, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, he put all to fire and sword, and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in ashes, the cities of Arras, Laon, Besançon, Toul, and Langres o. Attila, thus laying waste the country far and near, and committing everywhere unheard-of cruelties, arrived at length before Orleans, and laid siege to that

m VAL. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. · GREG. TUR. hift. Franc. l. ii.

<sup>1</sup> PRISC. p. 40. JORN. C. 78. p. 666. SID. car. vii. p. 54. Du Chesne tom. 1. p. 726. Sid. car. vii. p. 541. 

Idem ib c. 57. p. 275. IDAT. p. 28. Coint. annal. ecclef. Franc. p. 451. " Idem ibid.

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a city. In the mean time Aetius, arriving from Italy at Arles, affembled what forces Aetius arrives he could, having brought with him but a small number of troops, which however in Gaul, and is were reinforced by a great number of Visigoths, under the command of their king doric, and Theodoric, whom Aetius had persuaded to join the imperial troops, and, with their other princes. united forces, oppose the furious torrent, which threatened both alike. The example of Theodoric was followed by feveral other nations, namely, by the Franks, under the conduct of Merouée, who, by means of one of his own nation, named Wiomaud, had made his escape; by the Sarmatians, Burgundians, Saxons, the Armorici, the Lisians, the Riverins, the Ibrions, and several other nations of Celtic Gaul and Germany, who, apprehending themselves to be in no less danger than the Romans, readily joined b Aetius against the common enemy P. The Listans dwelt, according to Valesius 9, on the banks of the Lis in Flanders; the Riverins on the Rhine towards Cologne; and the Ibrions in Vindelicia, now Suabia and Bavaria. While Aetius was busied in assembling the Roman forces, and those of their allies, Attila pursued the siege of Orleans with Attila besieges. great fury, battering the place night and day with an incredible number of warlike and takes Oiengines. At length he carried it by affault, according to Apollinaris Sidonius; but leans; while his men were busied in plundering, without the least apprehension of danger, Actius and Theodoric, arriving with all their forces, entered the city, cut great numbers of the Hunns in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of desence, and obliged Attila to repass the Loire, in which many of his men were drowned, and But is driven c to retire towards the Rhine. Having passed Troyes, he halted in the Catalaunic or out with great. Mauriac fields, that is, in the plains of Chalons, which city was then known by the Actius. name of Catalauni. The same plains were called, according to Jornandes, Mauriaci or Mauritii, no doubt, from some neighbouring city or village. Valesius indeed distinguishes the Catalaunic from the Mauriac plains, and supposes two battles to have been fought, the one, which was not decifive, in the Mauriac, and the other, which put an end to the war, in the Catalaunic plains s. But all the antients mention only one battle, fought in the plains, called by some Mauriac and Mauritian, and by others Catalaunic. Attila chose that place, as the most advantageous for his Hunns, who were all horse, to engage in. Aetius, who followed him close, resolved, notd withstanding the enemy's advantageous situation, to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where Attila was encamped, the Gepidæ, who followed Attila, and the Franks, who ferved under Actius, meeting in the dark, engaged with fuch fury, that, on both fides, above fifteen thousand were Abloody enleft dead upon the spot . The next day Attila drew up his men in battle-array, counter beplacing the flower of his army in the centre, which he commanded in person, the tween the Franks and Ostrogoths in the left wing, and the Gepidæ, with other barbarous nations, in the right. Gepidæ. On the other hand, Aetius placed the Romans, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing; the Vifigoths, under the command of Theodoric and his eldeft fon Thorismond, in the right; and the Alans, with their king Sangiban, the Franks, and the other e auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. That the Romans might not have time to pursue the victory, in case they gained it, Attila did not quit his camp till four in the afternoon, when the battle began, which, by all writers, is reckoned The battle of one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements mentioned in history. Actius, Chalons. Theodoric, and his son Thorismond, distinguished themselves in a most eminent manner. Theodoric, notwithstanding his great age, fought at the head of his Goths with a courage and resolution hardly to be expressed. But while he was thus animating his men, more by his example than his words, he unluckily fell from his horse, as some authors write, and was trod to death by his own people, who did not know him. Theodoric, Others write, that he was killed by a Goth, named Andagus, who ferved under king of the f Attila, and was descended from the royal family of the Analia. The Goths, not in Goths, killed. the least disheartened by the death of their king, charged the Hunns so vigorously, that they began, after a most obstinate resistance, to give ground; which Attila no sooner perceived, than he caused the retreat to be sounded, and retired to his camp. Attilaretires As it was already dark, Aetius, thinking it adviseable not to pursue the enemy, with- to his camp. drew likewise; but kept his men all night under arms, for fear of a surprize. The next morning, the extensive plains, in which the battle had been fought, appeared covered with heaps of dead bodies, and a neighbouring brook tinged with the blood

VAL. p. 161. г John. .... Vide Buch, hift. P Jorn. p. 664. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. 

Q Val. p. Goth. c. 46. p. 664. 

Val. notit. Gall. p. 324. 

Jorn. c. 41. p. 671. Belg. c. 37-40.

of the flain. As Attila kept close in his camp, the Romans concluded from thence, that his army had suffered greatly, and that he owned himself conquered; but as his

the flain.

Thorismond returns beme with the Viligoths.

Attila quits Gaul.

And invades Italy.

and destroyed, with several osher cities.

Venice.

camp was well fortified, and furrounded with an incredible number of waggons, the Romans and Goths contented themselves with blocking it up, being well apprised, that the enemy would be foon obliged, for want of provisions, either to submit, or to quit their intrenchments, and venture a fecond battle in the open fields. In the mean time the body of Theodoric, found among the slain, was interred with extraordinary pomp; and his fon Thorismond, who had been dangerously wounded, proclaimed king of the Visigoths in his room w. Such is the account the antients give us The number of of this famous action. Idatius writes, that on both sides near three hundred thousand men were killed x; and Jornandes, according to the Amsterdam edition in 1655. h makes the number of the flain amount to two hundred and fifty-two thousand y. Both armies were greatly weakened, and the loss on each side perhaps equal; but as Attila flut himself up in his camp, and declined a second engagement, the Romans, who remained masters of the field of battle, challenged the victory. Cassiodorus, and Theodoric king of Italy, ascribe this victory to the courage and bravery of the Goths 1; but Gregory of Tours will have it to have been chiefly owing to the prayers of St. Agnan bishop of Orleans a. Thorismond, who had not been informed of his father's death till the day after the battle, was for revenging it on the Hunns, and attacking Attila in his camp. With this view he had already drawn up his Goths in battle-array; but Actius fearing, if the Hunns were intirely cut off, that the young prince, who was of c an aspiring genius, would turn his arms against the empire, advised him to return home with his forces, and take possession of his paternal dominions, lest his brothers, during his absence, should raise disturbances, and seizing on the royal treasures, give rife to a civil war. Thorismond followed his advice; which Attila no sooner knew, than he quitted his camp, and began to retire towards the Rhine. As he did not attack Actius even after the departure of Thorismond, Valesius concludes, that either the number of his troops was greatly increased by the writers of those times, or the loss he sustained in the battle lessened b; but the first is most likely. Actius pursued Attila as far as the Rhine; but never offered to attack him, being willing, some authors say, that he should make his escape, and, by awing the Franks and Goths, d divert them from raising disturbances in the empire. Attila, being thus driven out of Gaul, retired to Pannonia; and having there reinforced his army with supplies sent him out of Scythia, he refolved to make an irruption into Italy, where he hoped to meet with more booty, and less opposition, there being no Golbs, Alans, Franks, or Burgundians there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution he lest Pannonia, and finding the passes of the Alps unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that fide, he entered Italy in the latter end of the present year 451. as Idatius and Jornandes seem to insinuate c, or in the beginning of the following year 452. when Herculanus and Sporacius were confuls. It is impossible to express the terror and consternation, which so sudden and unexpected an irruption occasioned, even in the most e distant provinces. Actius was at first for saving himself by slight, and retiring with the emperor into Gaul; but shame getting the better of his fear, he continued in Italy, and began to affemble the forces that were difperfed up and down the provinces. In the mean time Attila, advancing as far as Aquileia, the metropolis of the province called Venetia, invested that important place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines; but as it was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the Roman troops, it held out, in spite of his utmost efforts, Aquileia taken for the space of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by assault, pillaged for several days together, and laid in ashes, not one house being left standing, nor one person alive that fell into the enemy's hands, Attila designing, by this f barbarous and inhuman treatment, to strike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. The cities of Trevigio, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Brescia, and Bergamo, underwent the fame fate, the barbarians raging every-where with fuch fury, as can hardly be expressed or conceived, and putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occasion the inhabitants of the province of Venetia, to avoid falling into the hands of the Hunns, The founding of retired to the islands on their coast, and there laid the foundations of a city, which,

w John, rer. Goth. c. 40, 41, p. 669-672. \* Idat. p. 28. \* John C. 41, p. 672.

\* Vide Du Chesne p. 277. & Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 164.

\* Gree Tur. l. ii. p. 277. borrowing À

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a borrowing its name from the province, was called Venetiæ, and is now known by the name of Venice d. Cassiodorus, speaking of the Venetians, as he styles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the Adriatic; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles; no other food but fish; no wealth besides their boats; and no merchandize but salt, which they exchanged for other provisions c. To return to Attila: From the province of Venetia he advanced to Milan, then the metropolis of Liguria, which he took and pillaged; the city of Pa-Milan taken via, and several other places in that neighbourhood, he laid in ashes, after having and pillaged. plundered them, and put such of the inhabitants to the sword, as had not saved themselves by a timely slight. Seeing at Milan some pictures, representing the Roman b emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the Scythians, that is, the Goths or Hunns, prostrate at their feet, he caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the Roman emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet '. From Liguria, Attila was for advancing to Rome, which city was not in a condition to withstand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of Alaric, who died foon after he had plundered that metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithstanding their thirst after plunder, from that resolution. Attila despised that omen; but his troops being greatly diminished for want of provisions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and Actius having at the same time, with a reinforcement sent him by Marcian out of the east, deseated a party of Hunns, c he thought it adviseable to put off his march to Rome, and pursue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time Valentinian, having no other refource, fent a folemn embaffy to Attila, with proposals for an accommodation. At the head of this embassy was Leo bishop of Rome, a person famed for his eminent piety, eloquence and learning. His collegues were Albienus or Avienus, who had been conful in 450. and Trigecius, formerly prefect. They found Attila on the banks of the Menzo, not far from Mantua, and were by him received with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem. He concluded with Leo, who surprised and softened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it feems, was but a truce; for he Valentinian threatened to return to Italy, and pursue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, concludes a d unless the princess Honoria was sent him, with the share of the imperial treasures that Attila, was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor should pay an annual penfion to Attila. It was no fooner figned, than he ordered his Hunns to forbear hostilities, and leaving Italy, retired beyond the Danube 8. Damascus, who Who retires out flourished about this time, writes, that a bloody battle was fought under the walls of of Italy. Rome between the Romans and the Scythians under the conduct of Attila; and that the flaughter was great on both fides, none but the chiefs, and a small number of their guards, being left alive; but as he adds, that the fouls of the flain purfued the engagement with great noise for three days and three nights, his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous. The following year 453. when Opilio and Vincomalus e were confuls, Attila, incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live in peace, crossing Rhatia, and following the course of the Rhone, entered unexpectedly the country now known by the name of Dauphiny, and fell upon the Alans, whom Actius And returns to had allowed to fettle in the Valentinois, under the conduct of Sangiban. But Thorif-Gaul, mond, king of the Vifigoths, whose dominions were divided from those of the Alans only by the Rhone, being well apprifed, that Attila, after having reduced the Alans, would not fail to invade his territories, joined his neighbours with the whole strength of his kingdom, and having gained a complete victory over Attila, obliged him to Where he is dereturn with shame and disgrace into his own country'. Jornandes and Sigebert are the fented by Thoonly writers who mention this fecond irruption of the Hunns into Gaul; and their f authority is suspected by Valesius, especially that of Jornandes, who seems not to have been well acquainted with the history of the Visigoths. Attila died soon after, that is, either in the present, or the following year 454. and with him ended the kingdom, or rather empire, of the Hunns in the north, a civil war being kindled, upon his death, among his numerous issue; which gave the several nations he had subdued an opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and recovering their ancient liberty, as we shall relate more at length in the history of the Hunns, and other northern nations. The same year, Thorismond, king of the Visigoths, was murdered in Toulouse, the capital of his Thorismond

d Por. de imp. c. 28, p. 69, 72. Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 169. Cassiod. l. xii. c. Jorn. ibid. p. 673. Idem, p. 674-685. Phot. c. 242, p. 1040, 1041. CASSIOD. l. xii. ep. 14. p. 199. 42. p. 1040, 1041. 1 JORN. f JORN. ibid. p. 673. P. 674, 675. Vol. VI. Nº 7.

6 L

kingdom,

kingdom, by two of his brothers, viz. Theodoric and Frederic, and succeeded by a the former, on whom Apollinaris Sidonius, who was intimately acquainted with him, bestows great encomiums, extolling him even above his father, and styling him the protector and bulwark of the empire k.

The council of Chalcedon.

WHILE these things passed in the west, the council of Chalcedon was held in the east by Marcian's orders, who nevertheless seems to have affisted in person only at the session of the twenty-sisth of October. The council began on the eighth of October, of the year 451, and ended on the first of November. The same year the emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to facrifice to the gods, or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and officers, who should wink at such wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of b gold m. The following year, the Saracens, the Nubians, and the Blemmyes, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops of Marcian, and forced to sue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire, as Priscus assures us, who attended the Roman embassadors to Damascus, Several barba- where the treaty was concluded n. The following year, 453. Attila dying, several rous nations nations, formerly subdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged fettle in Thrace and obtained leave of Marcian to settle in Thrace and Illyricum, almost intirely distributions. peopled by the frequent incursions of the Hunns and other barbarians. Among these mention is made of the Squiri, Satagaira and Alans, who, under the conduct of Candax, their king or leader, fettled in Leffer Scythia and Lower Masia: to the c Rugians, Sarmatians, and Cemandrians, lands were granted in Illyricum near a place called the caftle of Mars: to the Goths, commonly called Oftrogoths or Eastern Goths, to distinguish them from the Visigoths or Western Goths, who afterwards became masters of Spain, Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sirmish, in Sclavonia, to Vindobona, at present Vienna, in Austria, a large tract, comprising many cities. These Goths were then governed by three brothers, viz. Valemir, Theodomir, the father of Theodoric the Great, afterwards king of Italy, and Vidimir, who divided that extenfive country among them, Valemir settling in the eastern part of it, Theodomir in the western, and Videmir between the other two. The Goths, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the Constantinopolitan emperors, and were d subjects of the empire; but at the same time their princes claimed an uncontrolled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the fons of Attila, named Ernac, and several other Hunns, submitted to the Romans, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of Lesser Scythia, in Dacia, and amongst the Sarmatians in Illyricum P. The same year died, in the month Pulcheria dies. of July, the empress Pulcheria, daughter to Arcadius, fister to Theodosius II. and wife to Marcian. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by Marcian, the immense wealth of which she was possessed, and her rich moveables, to the poor q. She was a woman of most extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety, honoured both by the Greeks and Latins with e the title of faint.

The empres

remarkable for the downfal and death of that great commander, owing chiefly to the malicious infinuations of an eunuch, by name Heraclius, who having gained an absolute ascendant over the emperor, easily persuaded the weak prince, that Aetius aspired at the empire, and maintained a private correspondence with the barbarians, in order to raise himself by their means to the imperial dignity. Actius, on his side, gave some occasion to the accusations of the euuuch, by pressing the emperor with too much eagerness to perform the promise he had made of marrying his eldest daughter Eudocia to Gaudentius, the general's son. His importunity gave weight to f the calumnies of Heraclius, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his fuspicions, which, according to Gregory of Tours, and all the writers of those times, were altogether groundless. But after all, his treachery towards count Bonifacius, and several others, plainly prove, that he did not on all occasions scruple sacrificing his conscience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but

THE following year, 454. when Aetius was conful the fourth time with Studius, is

k Sid. car. vii. p. 347. & ep. ii—vi. p. 4. car. xiii. p. 400. 1 Concil. tom. iv. p. 574, 576. m Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 11. leg. 7. p. 105. 106. n Evagr. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. Pris. p. 40. Niceph. l. xv. c. 9. p. 61. O Jorn. ret. Goth. c. 50—52. p. 688, 689. P Idem ibid. 9 Marc. chron. F Greg. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 8. p. 277. Vales. p. 175.

without any politive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the

bottom

The difgrace and death of Actius.

a bottom of all the disturbances that happened during his administration. Petronius Maximus is faid to have greatly contributed to the death of Actius, by prompting the ennichs of the court to perfuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing less than the fovereignty. The view of Maximus therein was to remove out of the way the only person, who screened the prince from the vengeance he was resolved to take upon him for a late affront , of which anon. However that be, the death of Aetius being refolved on. Valentinian ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have some affair of the utmost importance to impart to him. Aetius obeyed the furnmons, repairing without delay to the emperor's apartment, attended by Boëtius, the prafectus pratorio, his intimate friend, and several others. But Aetius b alone was admitted into the prince's chamber; which he had no fooner entered, than Valentinian ran him through with his fword; and with the affiltance of the officers Who is treaabout him, namely, of Heraclius, dispatched him in a most barbarous and inhuman cherously murmanner. Thus fell the best general of his age, the terror of Attila, the bulwark dered by Valentinian. of the western provinces, says Sidonius, by the hand of the greatest coward in the whole empire w. We are told, that Valentinian having one day asked a Roman whether he had done well in dispatching Aetius? the Roman answered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left. The prefect Boëtius, and all those who had attended Aetius to the palace, were likewife dispatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamc ber 5. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to Theophanes, at Rome 2. Valen-

tinian immediately dispatched embassadors to the Suevians, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of Aetius, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them 4. But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it feems, some of them to make irruptions into the empire. For in the beginning of the following year, the Armorici, that is, the inhabitants of the present Bretagne and Normandy, were under daily apprehensions of seeing the Saxons on their coasts; the Alemans passed the Rhine near Basle, and the Franks laid waste the territories of Menta and Rheims b.

THE following year, 455, when Valentinian was consul the eighth time with And themius, fon-in-law to the emperor Marcian, the western empire was involved in endless calamities. The emperor Valentinian was murdered on the seventeenth of March, and the empire seized by Petronius Maximus, grandson to Magnus Clemens Maximus, who having usurped the sovereignty in 383. was taken and put to death by Theodosius the Great in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of Valentinian, and usurpation of Maximus. The latter having married a lady, equally famous for her beauty and chaftity, Valentinian, taken with her charms, fell passionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof against all his Valentinian presents, menaces and promises, he had recourse to the following artifice: He sent falls in love one day for Maximus to play with him at dice; and having won of him a confiderof Maximus.

e able fum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he fent privately to the wife of Maximus, defiring her in her husband's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empress. The lady, knowing the ring, hastened to the palace, in compliance with the supposed orders of her husband; but was conducted by some persons employed for that purpose to a remote apartment, where Valentinian, without any regard to her tears and intreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, the burst into a flood of tears, reproaching, in most bitter terms, her husband, whom she believed privy to her dishonour, and his own infamy. Maximus, on the other hand, then first apprised of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted f his wife with it, and resolved at all events to be revenged on Valentinian c. Pursuant to this resolution, he applied to the friends of Actius, whom the emperor had caused Maximus, to lately to be murdered, especially to Traustila and Optila or Occylla, two barbarians, revenge the who had served under that general, and had been distinguished by him with par-violence offered ticular marks of kindness and esteem. These readily undertook to revenge the death Valentinian of their old commander, and at the same time the dishonour offered to Maximus; and to be murdered. accordingly falling upon Valentinian, while he was diverting himself in the campus

\* VAL. p. 176. Buch. Belg. p. 318. 

\*\* JORN. reg. Suc. p. 654. 

\*\* In Chron. Theoph. p. 92. Sid. car. v. p. 318. 

\*\* W Sid. car. vii. p. 342. 

\*\* C.4. p. 187. 

\*\* PROSP. IDAT. MARC. CASSIOD &c. 

\*\* Theoph. p. 92. 

\*\* Theoph. p. 92. 

\*\* On the order of the o " IDAT. P. 30. PROSP. MARC. \* Perfec. Vand. hift. l.i. <sup>2</sup> IDAT. CASSIOD. &c. Sid. car. vii. p. 542. \* PROCOP. bell. Vand. I. ii. c. 4. p. 186, 187.

Martius

Martius at Rome, they first killed his favourite eunuch Heraclius, who courageously a interposed, and endeavoured to fave his master, and then dispatched, with many wounds, the emperor himself in the fight of the whole court d. Procopius and John

of Antioch, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to Maximus. Sidonius and Idatius, without taking the least notice of that outrage, ascribe the death of Valentinian to the unbounded ambition of Maximus, not to be fatisfied with any thing less than the empire itself o. Valentinian was murdered on the seventeenth of March of the present year 455. after having lived thirtyfour years, and reigned twenty-nine and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of October 425. when he was first declared Augustus f. His tomb is thought to be still extant at Ravenna 8. As he had but very slender parts, he was b intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who disposed, at their pleasure, of all the great offices, facrificing the good of the public, and the honour of the prince, The character to their private interest and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his of Valentinian armies in person; and besides was, by his effeminate education, become altogether incapable of bearing the toils of a military life. The only journies he undertook were from Ravenna to Rome, and from Rome back again to Ravenna, keeping himfelf in both places locked up in his palace with a herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without restraint, his most brutal inclinations, tho' married to one of the most beau-

Maximus assumes the purple.

And appoints

him, invites Italy.

tiful women of that age b. The day after his death, Maximus, the author of it, assumed the purple; and being saluted by the Roman people with the title of c Augustus, he immediately raised his son, by name Palladius, to the dignity of Casar. Maximus was sprung from an illustrious family in Rome, and had discharged with great applause and reputation the first offices in the state. He was possessed of immense wealth, which he shared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an easy and quiet life, and indulging himfelf in all the diversions and recreations, which his plentiful estate could afford him. Hence he no sooner began to feel the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the step he had taken, panting after his former condition. Sidonius writes, that the very first night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, Happy Damocles, whose reign began and ended with a dinner; nay, he had some d thoughts of abandoning Rome, of quitting the enfigns of majesty, and resuming in fome corner of Italy his former method of life. But being diverted from that refolution by his friends, he appointed Avitus, then in Gaul, commander in chief of the Roman armies, who immediately dispatched Messianus to acquaint Theodoric, king chief of all the of the Visigoths, with the accession of Maximus to the empire. That general went Roman forces. foon after to confer in person with the Gothish king, and entered Toulouse, attended by Theodoric himself on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Theodoric, when he unexpectedly received the disagreeable tidings of the death of Maximus, which put him upon other measures k. The wife of Maximus dying soon after the outrage supposed to have e been offered her, the usurper, that he might have some title to the crown, obliged Eudoxia, being Eudoxia, the deceased emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, forced to marry a few days after the murder of her husband; and at the same time married her Genseric into daughter Eudoxia to his son Palladius. Eudoxia, who had loved Valentinian with great tenderness, highly provoked in seeing herself married against her will to the very person who had deprived him both of his life and empire, resolved, whatever it cost her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her person to his bed. Blinded therefore with passion, and thirst of revenge, she took such measures as proved fatal to herself, to Rome, and all Italy. For expecting no assistance from Marcian, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, she dispatched f a trusty messenger to Genseric in Africa, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally Valentinian, and to rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her husband 1. Some authors affirm, that she wrote to the king of the Vandals with her own hand, affuring him, that he would meet with no great resistance in Italy, and promising to affist him to the utmost of her power. This message was very acceptable to Genseric, who had long wished for such an

d Marc. Idat. Cassiod. chron. Evagr. c.7. p. 298. Jorn. reg. Suev. p. 654. Greg. Tur. p. 277.

e Sid. l. ii. ep. 13. p. 57. Idat. p. 31. f Idat. p. 30. g Mab. Itef. Ital. p. 40. h Theoph, p. 93. Zon. p. 40. Const. Manass. p. 51. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 182. l Sid. l. ii. ep. 13. p. 57, 58. g Idem, car. vii. p. 343, 344. l Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298.

a opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course strait to Rome. When his numerous sleet first appeared, the chief citizens, and all persons of distinction, struck with terror and dismay, instead of putting themselves in a posture of defence, thought only of consulting their safety by slight m. Among these was Maximus himself; but as he was slying with those of his court, the populace, highly incensed against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his duty to protect, rising all on a sudden, purfued him with showers of stones; which some of Valentinian's officers observing, they threw themselves upon him; and a Roman soldier, by name Ursus, gave him Maximus the fatal blow ". His body was ignominiously dragged through the chief streets of murdered. b the city; and after it had lain some time exposed to the insults of the incensed multitude, thrown into the Tiber. Such was the end of the usurper Maximus, after he had lived about fixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His fon Palladius is supposed to have undergone the same sate. Three days after the death of Maximus, that is, on the fifteenth of June, Genseric entered Rome taket Rome without opposition, and abandoned it to the mercy of his Vandals, strictly and flundered injoining them however not to set fire to the city, nor shed the blood of the inhabit-by Genseric. ants, pursuant to the promise he had made to Leo the Great, then bishop of Rome, who had gone out to meet him. They continued in the city sourteen days, pillaging not only the private houses, but stripping the public buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches of their sacred vessels. They took an increc dible number of captives, every one feizing fuch women as they liked best; and amongst the men, those who they thought would be of most use to them. Genserie himself forced the imperial palace; and having seized on the treasure, and all the rich moveables he found there, he caused them to be put on board a vessel, with the empress Eudoxia, her two daughters Placidia and Eudocia, and Gaudentius, the son Eudoxia and of Actius, and carried them all into captivity. Amongst the spoils, mention is made her daughters of a great many statues with which a vessel was loaded; of half the covering of the captivity. capitol, which was of brass plated over with gold; of sacred vessels of gold, enriched with precious stones; and of those which had been formerly taken by Titus out of the temple of Jerusalem, and brought to Rome. Genseric, having thus stripped the d city of all its wealth and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to Africa, but lost in his passage the ship that carried the statues P. Marcian, sensibly affected with the misfortune of Eudoxia, and the two princesses her daughters, dispatched embassadors to Genseric, earnestly intreating him to set them at liberty; but he, despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462. when he sent back Eudoxia, with her second daughter Placidia, to Leo, the successor of Marcian. As for Eudocia, he married her to Hunneric, his eldest son, who had by her Hilderic, afterwards king of the Vandals in Africa 9. In the east Marcian enacted this year a famous law, dated, according to some, the first of May, according to others, the twenty-fecond of April, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics e and monks what they pleased, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and diaconesses to leave any thing by will to the church. This law is addressed to Palladius, the præsetus præsorio, to whom is likewise addressed another against the Eutychians, dated from Constantinople the first of August. Of

\*\* Sid. p. 174. \*\* Procop. p. 186. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 677. \*\* Theoph. p. 93. Vict. rosp. chron. \*\* Theoph. p. 93. Evagr. p. 98. Procop. p. 189. \*\* Theod. l. i. p. 552. Prisc. 41. \*\* Cod. Theod. nov. l. iii. tit. 5. \*\* Concil. tom. iv. p. 886, 888.

the few writers who flourished under Valentinian III. we shall speak in note (T).

(T) The chronicle of Idatius has been of great use to us in writing the history of Valentinian's reign. He was a native of Lamego, in the province of Beira, belonging then to Galicia, but at present to the kingdom of Portugal. His parents dying when he was very young, he left Spain, and retired to the east, where he saw St. Ferom, Eulogius of Casarea, John of ferusalem, and Theophilus of Alexandria. He owns himself to have been but indifferently versed in polite literature, and still less in the study of the holy scripture (1). But as to the latter Lea the Great. holy scripture (1). But as to the latter, Leo the Great,

bishop of Rome, seems to have been of a different opinion, fince he employed him against the Prifcillianists (2). He was ordained bishop in the third or fourth year of the reign of Valentinian III. that is, about the year 427, for he reckons from the time that prince was created Cefar (3). Sigibers, and some other writers, suppose him to have been bishop of Lamego. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was bishop, or only a native, of that city; but in his chronicle he tells us, that the bishop Idarius was taken in the

(1) Idat. chron. p. 2-10.

(2) Leo, ep. xxxii. c. 17. p. 162.

(3) Idem, p. 4.

charch

Avitus, or Flavius Macilius Avitus, as he is styled on an ancient medal', had a been appointed by Maximus commander in chief of all the Roman forces, and was at the court of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, when news was brought him of the death of the usurper. He immediately acquainted Theodoric with what had happened, who thereupon pressed him to assume the purple, and even caused him to be proclaimed emperor by the Goths in Toulouse, on the tenth of July of the present year, promifing to support him in his new dignity with the whole strength of his kingdom ". loule, and after However, he did not, it feems, take upon him the title of emperor till he was proclaimed some time after, that is, on the eighth of August, by the Roman army at Arles, and by all the chief men in Gaul. Theodoric went immediately, attended by his brothers, to Arles, to congratulate the new prince on his accession to the empire, b and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity Is received as he enjoyed w. From Arles the new emperor fet out foon after for Rome, where he such at Rome, was received by the populace with great demonstrations of joy. Marcian, who had nothing so much at heart as the public welfare and tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his collegue x. The following year,

Avitus proclaimed emperor at Touat Aries.

ledged by Marcian.

> <sup>t</sup> Goltz. p. 135. \* Greg. Tur.l. ii. c. 11. p. 280. w Idat. p. 31. Isidor, chron. \* IDAT. p. 22.

church of Aqua Flavia, and returned after three months captivity to Flavia (4). As he evidently speaks in that place of himself, father Labbé concludes him to have been a native of Lamego, and bishop of Aqua Flavia (5); which last city Sanfon places in the territory of Braga, on the confines of Portugal, calling it Aque Lea Turodorum. bishop of Rome, only writes, that Idatius was bishop in Galicia (6). Dupin will have him to have been archbishop of Lugo (7), not reflecting that Idatius was ordained bishop in 427, and that fix years after the see of Lugo was held by Asterius (8). In the year 431. Idatius was fent by the natives of Galicia to implore the affistance of Actius, then in Gaul, against the Suevians, who, contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from Gaul the following year with count Censorius, fent by Aetius to treat with the Suevians. He was taken by the Suevians in the church of Aqua Fla-via on the twenty fixth of July 462, but after three months captivity was fet at liberty. Notwithstanding the wars and disturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, especially in Spain, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly speaking, a continuation of that of St. Jerom. What he wrote from the death of Valens, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of Valentinian's reign, and his own episcopacy, he either copied, as he assures us, from the best writers, or learnt of persons of unquestionable veracity: of all the rest, he was himself an eyewitness. He writes, that he had the misfortune to fee the Roman empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of losing the little it retained; that the discipline of the church was utterly neglected in Galicia, and the liberties of the people intirely loft, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third year of Anthemius's reign, that is, to the year 469, the forty-first of his episcopacy. The chronicle of *Idatius* gives great light to the history of those times, especially to that of Spain; whence Isidore and some others have copied it almost word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, effecially in point of chronology, either the author himself, or his transcribers, reckoning sometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two distinct years, which is a very gross mistake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the olympiads, and, in imi-

tation of St. Ferom, the years of the supputation of Eusebius from the birth of Abraham. The ara of Spain, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is Eusebius from the birth of Abraham. marked in the beginning on the margin. Father Sirmond, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of confular tables, which he believes to have been done by the same author. Father Sirmond published only part of these tables. But father Labbé inserted the whole in his Bibliotheca nova, and Du Cange in his Chronicon Paschale (9), which extends from the consulship of Brutus, the first consul, to the second consulship of Anthemius in 468. so that the consular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other zera is marked but that of Spain, which gives us room to believe that they were done by a native of that country (10). They are reckoned very exact; but yet some faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the transcribers. In the time of Charlemagne, a French chronologer published an epitome of the chronicle of Idatius, which is to be found in Canisius (11). The work intituled Notitia imperii is supposed to have been written in the reign of Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. but by some in the very beginning, by others in the latter end of the reign of Theodosius. This notitia contains a succinct account of the state of the empire in those times, viz. of the provinces and their governors; of the other magistrates, both civil and military, their titles and officers; of their land and sea-forces; of their foot and horse; of their troops, both Roman and foreign, and the places where they were quartered, &c. This notitia was published by Guidus Pancirollus in 1902, with copious comments, of which father Labbe speaks with great contempt, ridiculing the cuts with which they are adorned, representing, as Pancirollus imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and dignity. To the notition is added the description of Rome by an anonymous author, who is supposed to have wrote under Valen-tinian III. To this description of Rome, father Labbé adds one of Constantinople, done likewise by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of Area-dius, or of Theodofius the younger. The treatise de Rebus bellicis, which Labbé adds to it, is supposed to have been written about the same time; but the author, who feems to have been a private person, and to have professed the study of philosophy, is not known.

. (4) Idem, p. 39. (5) Labb script. tem. ii. p. 496. (6) Leo. tom. ii. p. 827, 828. tom. iv. p. 557. (8) Idat p. 20. (9) Labb. p. 3. Cange chron. Pasc. p. 439. Wilt. ad. not. p. 8. & Noris de Diocles. num. p. 11. (11) Canis. tom. ii. p. 640, 641.

(7) Dupin, (10) Vide

a when Varanes and Johannes were consuls, a bloody war broke out between the Sue-War between vians in Spain, and the Visigoths in Aquitain. Requiarius, king of the former, taking the Visigoths advantage of the distracted state of the empire, over-ran the province of Cartagena, which still belonged to the Romans, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Hereupon Avitus, dispatching count Fronto to him with the character of embassador, put him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the Romans. likewise, whose sister Requiarius had married, interposed his good offices, conjuring his brother-in-law not to disturb the public tranquillity, and acquainted him with the engagements which he had entered into with Avitus. But Requiarius, without any regard either to treaties or remonstrances, pursued his ravages, laying waste, not b only the province of Cartagena, but that of Tarraco too, which likewise belonged to the empire. Upon this, Theodoric fent him a fecond embasfy, to which he answered with great haughtiness, that if Theodoric found fault with his conduct, he would foon give him an account of it at Toulouse. This answer piqued Theodoric to fuch a degree, that he immediately entered Spain at the head of a powerful army; and being met by Requiarius about twelve miles from Aftorga, a battle enfued, in which the Suevians were utterly defeated, and their king, who was dangerously The Suevians wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to a distant corner of Galicia. Theodoric pursued defeated. him close; and entering Braga on a Sunday, the twenty-eighth of October, gave that city up to be plundered by his foldiers. From Braga he advanced with all possible c expedition to a place called Portucal, whither the fugitive king had retired y. Some writers take Portucal for the present city of Porto, on the Douro, in the kingdom of Portugal, to which it is thought to have given name :. Fornandes writes, that Requiarius put to sea, in order to save himself by flight, but was driven back by a ftorm . Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to Theodoric, who, after having kept him fome time in prison, put him to death in the month of December b. The Suevians, disheartened by the death of their king, and destitute of a leader, submitted to Theodoric, who retaining for himself the country he had conquered, appointed one Aquiulphus to govern it. Aquiulphus, revolting foon after from Theodoric, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the Suevians in d Galicia, but died the following year in the month of June at Porto c. Jornandes writes, that a powerful army being sent against him by Theodoric, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded d. Some Suevians, refusing to submit to the Goths, retired to a distant corner of Galicia, and there chose for their king one of their own nation, named Maldra. The same year, Genseric, putting to sea with a nume-Genseric derous fleet, and a confiderable army on board, with a design to ravage the coasts of feated at feat Italy or Gaul, was overtaken near Corfica by the Roman fleet, under the command by Ricimer. of Ricimer, and utterly defeated f. Ricimer, styled by some Richimer or Richemer, was fprung from the royal family of the Suevians; but as his mother was the daughter of Vallia, king of the Goths in 418. he is commonly looked upon rather as a Goth than a Suevian. He ferved from his youth in the Roman armies, and acquired fuch reputation by his warlike exploits, that Sidonius gives him the title of invincible, and Jornandes styles him the best commander of his ages; nay, Sidonius prefers him for courage to Sylla, for prudence to Fabius, for good nature to Metellus, for eloquence to Appius, for vigour and resolution to Fulvius, and for address to Camillus h. But these good qualities were not without the allay of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour or honesty; ambitious to fuch a degree, that, not fatisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces of the west, patrician, and son-in-law of an emperor, he took upon him to raise and depose emperors at his pleasure, and, since he was excluded by his f birth from wearing the imperial crown himself, to command and controul those who This unbounded ambition, this unbridled lust of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raised by himself, and to stir up and affift underhand the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the strongest ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his success over Genseric, instead of pursuing it, he returned to Rome, and revolting with Majorianus, Avitus deobliged the senate to declare Avitus unworthy of the empire; which no sooner came posed.

У Ірат. р. 33. Ізірок. chron. Jorn. р. 676. <sup>2</sup> Ваир. <sup>8</sup> Jorn. ibid. <sup>b</sup> Ірат. р. 34. Ізірок. chron. <sup>6</sup> Ірат. р. 37. <sup>4</sup> Jorn. р. 677. <sup>6</sup> Ірат. р. 34. <sup>6</sup> Іdem ibid. <sup>8</sup> Jorn. 6:45. р. 678. Sid. car. ii. р. 301. <sup>8</sup> Sid. car. v. p. 317.

The Burgun-

dians seize on

part of Gaul.

to the prince's ears, who was then in Gaul, than he hastened back to Italy; but 2 upon his arrival at Placentia, he was stopped by Ricemer, and stripped of all the badges of majesty i. Theophanes writes, that Avitus was overcome in battle by Ricimer, on the fixteenth of October k; fo that he had fcarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus divested of the purple, he caused himself to be ordained bishop of Placentia; but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from Placentia, with a design to take sanctuary in the church of St. Julian at Brioude in Auvergne, the place of his nativity. Gregory of Tours adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to Brioude, and buried near that of the holy martyr Julian. During his short reign, the Burgundians, who had been removed from the banks of the Rbine in 438. or, as others will have it, in 443. and had ever fince that time dwelt b amongst the mountains of Savoy, seized on part of Gaul, and made themselves masters of the city of Lions m. In 463, the city of Die in Dauphiny was subject to them, as appears from a letter of Gondiac their king to Hilarius bishop of Romen. The next confuls were Constantine and Rusus, belonging both to the eastern empire, no emperor being yet chosen in the west. In the beginning of this year 457, died the emperor Marcian dies. Marcian, after having reigned fix years, five months, and two days. His death, which Theodorus, furnamed the Reader, ascribes to his having assisted at a procession on the twenty-fixth of January o, must have happened about the end of that month; for Leo, who succeeded him, was proclaimed at Constantinople on the seventh of February. Marcian is commended by all the writers of those times, for the innocence and c fimplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion P. Leo, bishop of Rome, calls him a prince of blessed and venerable memory 4; and the Greeks honour him with the title of faint, celebrating his festival, with that of the empress Pulcheria, on the seventeenth of February. He was buried in the church of St. Zea at Constantinople, which he had built . Priscus, of whom we have spoken above, wrote the history of his reign; but of that work only some fragments have Leoproclaimed reached our times s. A few days after the death of Marcian, Leo was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous confent of the senate, people and soldiery, and crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople. This is the first instance we find in history of a prince's receiving the crown at the hands of a bishop. Leo, distinguished by the d

emperor.

ments, &c.

Greeks with the furname of the Great, was, according to the most probable opinion, His lirth, edue a native of Thrace, and is thence commonly called Leo the Thracian. He had served cation, employ- from his youth in the Roman armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at Selymbria in Thrace, when he was raised to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the administration of justice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flourished in those times. Leo is faid to have owed his promotion to the patrician A/par, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his fon Ardaburius, who, not daring, the very powerful, to affume the purple themselves, as they were Arians by religion, and not Romans by birth, but Goths, or rather Alans, conferred it upon Leo, in whose name they hoped e to reign; nay, we are told, that Leo promised to raise one of Aspar's sons to the dignity of Cæsar". In the very beginning of his reign, great disturbances were raised by the Eutychians in Alexandria, who, hearing of the death of Marcian, rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic bishop Proterus, and chose in his room one of their own sect, named Timotheus Elurus. The tumult was soon quelled; but the authors of it, putting themselves under the protection of Aspar, a zealous patron of Arianism, were by him screened from the punishment due to their wickedness w. In the west, after an inter-reign of about three months, during which time Ricimer governed with an absolute sway, Majorianus was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the people, and the foldiery, Ricimer proposing him as a person in every respect well f qualified for that high station. All we know of his family is, that his father had ferved with great reputation under Aetius, and was afterwards raised to the office of treasurer of the empire. His mother was the daughter of Majorianus, appointed by Theodosius I. or rather by Gratian, in 379. general of the Roman horse and foot in Pannonia. From him the emperor took the name of Majorianus. He was raised to

Majorianus raised to the empire in the west.

THEOPH. p. 94. GREG. Tur. p. 70. EVAGE. 1. 1. 9. Theop. l. i. p. 650. P Idem. p. 70. EVAGE. 1. 1. 9. LEO, ep. 12. T Codin. orig. Constant. p. 48. Marc. chron. Zonar. p. 40. 1 GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280. p. 210. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1043. p. 299. IDAT. MARC. & chron. Alex. p. 747. EVACR. l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. THEOPH. p. Theoph. p. 95. Theod. p. 568. Marc. chron. 75. W CEDREN. p. 346. Leo, ep 118. p. 671. Тнеор. р. 568. Тнеори. р. 575.

a the empire in the flower of his age, having already given several instances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his good-nature, generofity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. Procopius, speaking of him, says, that he surpassed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him x. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with Ricimer, and therefore was easily prevailed upon by him to revolt from Avitus. Soon after the deposing of that prince, he was raised to the post of general in the room of Ricimer, who was created patrician, probably by Marcian, or Leo his successor; for the emperor of the east is supposed to have governed the western empire during the inter-regnum y. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about fix miles from Ravenna, called The little

b pillars 1. In the beginning of his reign, Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, having Galicia almost almost intirely reduced the Suevians in Galicia, entered Lusitania, and made himself intirely reduced master of several cities there, and among the rest of Merida, the metropolis of that by the Visicountry; but receiving disagreeable tidings from Gaul, not mentioned in history, he goths. fet out from Lusitania the day after Easter, which fell this year 457. on the thirtyfirst, and not on the twenty-eighth of March, as we read in Idatius, and returned in great haste to Toulouse a. He lest a body of troops in Spain, with orders to reduce the Suevians in Galicia, who had not yet submitted to him. These forces being, on their march to Galicia, admitted as friends into the city of Astorga, which was held by the Romans, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put most of them to the c fword, plundered their houses, and setting fire to the place, carried all those, whose lives they had spared, into captivity, and among the rest the whole clergy, and two bishops, who happened to be there at that time. The city of Palentia met with the fame treatment; but the castle of Coviac, about thirty miles from Astorga, making a vigorous resistance, the Goths, after having lost great numbers of their men, thought it adviseable to raise the siege, and return to Gaulb. The Suevians had, upon the death of Requiarius their king, chosen Maldra in his room, as we have observed

being thus kindled among them, they concluded a peace with the Romans, that is, with the natives, who still held several strong-holds in Galicia, and acknowledged d the authority of the emperor; but, notwithstanding this peace, the partizans of Maldra, entering Lusitania, made themselves masters of Lisbon, after having been Lisbon taken admitted into the place as friends c.

above; but some of them, revolting from him, set up one Frantan. A civil war

THE following year, when the two emperors, Leo and Majorianus, were confuls, the Vandals made a descent on the coast of Campania; but Majorianus marching against them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of Sinuessa, between the Gari- The Vandals gliano and the Volturno; put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was defeated by the brother in-law of Genseric their commander; and obliged the rest to save them-Majorianus. selves on board their fleet, which failed immediately for Africa d. Majorianus, resolved to purfue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied e himself to the fitting out of a powerful fleet, and had, before the end of this year, affembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ships. But of this enterprize hereafter. Majorianus, leaving Ravenna in the depth of winter, passed the Alps, and entering Gaul, obliged the Burgundians, who had made themselves masters of the city of Lions, to deliver it up, and retire. From that city, where Sidonius pronounced his panegyric, Majorianus pursued his march to Arles, where he passed the remainder of the winter, and part of the spring; for he was still in that city on the seventeenth of April of the following year 459 f. In Spain, Frantan, one of the kings of the Suevians, dying, those who had followed him submitted to Maldra; fo that the whole nation was again united under one head. An army of Visigoths, f fent into Spain by Theodoric, ravaged the province of Batica, while the Suevians, not- Spain ravaged withstanding the peace concluded the preceding year with the natives, over-ran that by the Suevi part of Galicia, which borders on the Douro, putting all to fire and fword g. In the ans and Vision following consulship of Ricimer and Patricius, Theodoric, taking unexpectedly the field, goths.

chron. 

IDAT. P. 35.

p. 325. 

Idem, p. 324.

Cod. Theod. Nov. 9. p. 372.

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surprised some cities in Gaul belonging to the Romans; but Majorianus marching from Arles against him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon his promifing to affift the Romans against

the

the Suevians in Spain, and the Vandals in Africa 1. In the east, the city of Antioch a

Majorianus resolves to pass over into Africa

His fleet furprifed by the Vandals.

Majorianus deposed by Rito death.

emperor.

was almost utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of September. Scarce a single house was left standing in the new city, the most beautiful quarter of that metropolis m. The following year 460. when Magnus and Apollonius were consuls, Majorianus, leaving Arles, bent his march towards Spain, which he entered in the month of May, with a design to pass over from thence into Africa n. Procopius writes, that the better to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, the state of the country, and the disposition of the inhabitants, he went in disguise to the court of Genseric, pretending to be an embassador sent by the Roman emperor, with proposals for an accommodation o. This Procopius relates with such circumstances, as render the whole account altogether incredible. Genseric, alarmed at the vast pre- b parations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, fent deputies to fue for peace; but his proposals being rejected, he dispatched a squadron of his best ships, with orders to attack the Roman fleet riding in the bay of Alicant; which they did with fuch fuccess, that they took most of the Roman ships, and returned with them in triumph to Africa. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of some on board the Roman sleet, put a stop to the enterprize, and obliged Majorianus to return to Arles, whence he iffued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But in the mean time Genseric, dreading the arms and valour of Majorianus, dispatched embassadors to him, with new proposals; which in the end he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire P. Thus a peace was concluded between c Majorianus and Genseric; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to posterity. In Spain, Maldra, king of the Suevians being killed, Remismond his fon, and Frumarius, probably another of his children, dividing his troops between them, the latter surprised Aquæ Flaviæ, and took Idatius, bishop of the place, prisoner, on the twenty-fixth of July, while Remismond laid waste the territies of Orenso on the Minho, and of Lugo. Sunieric and Nepotianus, two of Theodoric's generals, marched against them; and, after having ravaged part of Galicia, entered Lusitania, and made themselves masters of Scalabis, now Santarein on the Tagus 9. In the east nothing happened this year that deferves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of Cyzicus. The following year 461. Severinus and d Dagalaiphus being consuls, Ricimer, who had raised Majorianus to the empire, thinking himself neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had gained by his wife and vigorous administration, resolved to depose him; and accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from Gaul to Rome, he stripped him of the imperial ornaments at Tortona in the Milanese on the second of August, and caused him, on the seventh of the same month, to be put to death at Iria, now Voghera, after he had reigned three years, and some months. The account which Procopius gives us of his death, shews, that we must not lay great stress upon the authority of that writer'. Majorianus, in whose reign the empire seemed in Severus made a manner to revive, being thus removed, Ricimer caused Severus to be proclaimed at e Ravenna, on the nineteenth of November, hoping to reign in his name, the new prince being no-ways qualified for that high station. All we know of him is, that he was a native of Lucania ". In the east, Leo refusing to pay the usual pension to Valamir, Theodomir and Widemir, kings of the Ostrogoths, whom Marcian had allowed to fettle in Pannonia, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waste great part of Illyricum, and made themselves masters of several cities; but Anthemius, son-in-law to the late emperor Marcian, having obliged them to retire into Pannonia, they hearkened to the embasfadors that were sent by Leo to renew the antient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous Theodoric, afterwards king of Italy, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up f to Leo as an hostage w. But of him we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

THE following year, when the emperor Leo was conful for the second time, with Severus emperor of the west, who nevertheless seems not to have been acknowledged

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 38. Vales. p. 190, 191.

\*\*\* Evag. l. ii. c. 12. Theoph. p. 95. Niceph. chron.

\*\*\* Idat. Marc. chron. Prisc. p. 42.

\*\*\* Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.

\*\*\* Procop. p. 194.

\*\*\* Procop. p. 194.

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\*\*\* Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.

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a by the Greeks, Genseric, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with Majorianus, after that prince's death, sent a powerful sleet to pillage the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and made himself master of Sardinia'. In Gaul Ægidius, a native of that country, and commander in chief of the Roman forces there, provoked at the death of Majorianus, who had raised him to that post, resolved to march into Italy, and revenge it upon Ricimer and Severus. But in the mean time the Visigoths, in all likelihood stirred up by Ricimer, having made themselves masters of Narbonne, which was betrayed to them by one Agrippina, and besieged Arles, Ægidius turned his arms against them, obliged them to raise the siege and retire, tho' they were powerfully affisted by the Burgundians, under the conduct of Gondiae their king, whom b Severus had raised to the command of the Roman forces in Gaul, with the title of general y. The same year Marcellinus, or, as Procopius calls him, Marcellianus, who had served with great reputation in the Roman armies, no longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of Ricimer, revolted from Severus, and retiring into Dalma-Marcellinus tia, established there a new sovereignty, independent of the empire?. Hereupon establishes a the inhabitants of *Italy*, seeing themselves at the same time threatened by *Marcellinus*, newsovereignty by Ægidius, and by Genseric, had recourse to Leo, emperor of the east, who immediately dispatched embassadors to Genseric and Marcellinus. The latter, satisfied to fee himself acknowledged by Leo prince of the country which he had seized, promised not to molest the Romans. But Genseric openly declared, that he would hearken c to no terms, till the effects of Valentinian were delivered up to him; which he claimed, because his son Huneric had married Eudocia, that prince's eldest daughter. He likewise demanded the effects of Aetius, perhaps because Gaudentius, that general's eldest son, whom he had taken at Rome in 455. was then at his court. However, he sent back to Leo, Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, and Placidia her second daughter; who being foon after married to Olybrius, of whom anon, Genseric declared he would wage an eternal war with the western empire, unless Olybrius, brother-inlaw to his fon, was raised to the imperial dignity. To this low ebb was the Roman grandeur reduced by the death of Majorianus, and the administration of Ricimer. The following year 463. Flavius Cacina Basilius and Vivianus being consuls, Ægidius The Visigoths d gained a signal victory over the Visigoths in Gaul. The battle was sought between descated in Gaul by Ægithe Loire and the Loiret. The latter river, after a short course of about six miles, dius. falls into the former a little below Orleans. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, and among the rest Frederic, the king's brother, who in this action commanded in chief b. After this battle, Ægidius laid siege to the city of Chinon in Tauraine; but the vigorous resistance he met with, obliged him to drop the enterprize . The Visigoths were attended with better success in Spain, than in Gaul; for Idatius speaks of them as now masters of the whole country, except part of Galicia, which was still held by the Suevians, and the provinces of Tarraco and Cartagena, which belonged to the Romans. Such of the natives of Galicia, as had not yet submitted to e the Suevians, sent this very year one Palegorius, to implore the protection, not of Severus, but of Theodoric d; which plainly shews, that they acknowledged him, and not the Roman emperor, for their sovereign. The next year Rusticus, or Rusticius, and Olybrius being confuls, Remismond, king of the Suevians, surprised and plundered the city of Coimbra; but foon after concluded a peace with Theodoric . In the beginning of the year, Beorgor, king of the Alans, having entered Italy with a confiderable army, was met by Ricimer in the neighbourhood of Bergamo, and, on the fixth of The Alans de-February, cut off, with all his men f. Whence these Alans came, is uncertain. This feated by Ri-Jornandes supposes to have happened in the reign of Anthemius; but we have followed cimer.

Romans in 472. and were governed by one Paulus, distinguished with the title of counts. Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, held Soissons, and its territory, for several years, Different nahaving erected there a petty sovereignty, according to the French historians, who give tions settle in him the title of king. At the same time Childeric, king of the Burgundians, laid Gaul.

Idatius, who lived at that time. The same year died Ægidius in Gaul, being, f according to some, says Idatius, poisoned, according to others, murdered. That writer adds, that, upon his death, the Visigoths made themselves masters of the sar greater part of Gaul. However, Berri, Sens and Auvergne still belonged to the

<sup>\*</sup> PRISC. p. 74. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. iv. c. 6. p. 192. 
PRISC. p. 42. IDAT. p. 41. CUSP. p. 452.
PROCOP. p. 191. IDAT. p. 43. 
IDAT. p. 32. PRISC. p. 42. SID. car. ii. p. 349.
IDAT. p. 41. DU CHESNE, p. 211. 
IDAT. ibid. 
IDAT. ibid. 
Idem, p. 42. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1062.
IDAT. ibid. 
Idem, p. 285.

Severus dies.

Constantinople.

Theodoric. king of the Vitigoths, murdered by his

Anthemius raised to the empire,

ed at Rome.

Genseric ravages the Greek islands.

siege to Paris, and reduced it; the Franks made themselves masters of the provinces a bordering on the Rhine; the Saxons fettled at Nantes and Bayeux; the Alemans in the country of the Helvetii; and the Britons, driven out by the Angles and Scots, in the territories of Vennes and Treguier, which, with the adjacent country, took from them, according to the most probable opinion, the name of Bretagne 1. In 465. when Basiliscus and Hermenericus were consuls, died at Rome Severus, after having borne the name of emperor almost four years. He is supposed to have been poisoned by Ricimer k. His death was followed by an inter-regnum of almost two years, Ricimer ruling, during that time, with an absolute sway; but not daring, as he was by birth Agreat fire at a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The same year a violent fire breaking out in Constantinople on the second of September, reduced to ashes eight of b the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at last overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the space of fix whole days, and as many nights 1. The following year, when the emperor Leo alone was conful the third time, Ricimer affembled a powerful fleet, with a defign to attempt the recovery of Africa; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole summer, obliged to drop that enterprize . The same year Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, after having reigned near thirteen years, was murdered by his brother Euric, who immediately took possession of his dominions, and was proclaimed in Toulouse n. Jornandes, always favourable to the Goths, only writes, that Euric brother Euric.' was suspected of having contributed to the death of his brother o. The new king c fent embassadors to the emperor Leo, to Remismond king of the Suevians, and to Genferic king of the Vandals, acquainting them with his accession to the crown?. In the east the Hunns broke into Dacia; but were defeated, first by Anthemius, and afterwards by Anagastus, styled general of Thrace. They were commanded by Dengizic, one of Attila's fons, who was flain in the engagement. His head was fent to Constantinople, and there exposed for some days to public view q. In the following consulship of Pulaus and Johannes, the inter-regnum ended in the west. Anthemius was, with the confent and approbation of Ricimer, declared emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by Genseric in favour of Olybrius, brother-in-law to his son. Anthemius was a native of Constantinople, descended of an antient, illustrious and wealthy family, d and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the east. He had some claim to the empire, having married Marciana, the only daughter of the late emperor Marcian, by whom he had three fons, and one daughter. He had been conful in 455. and was foon after, tho' yet very young, raised to the dignity of patrician, and the post of general. Sidonius, his panegyrist, writes, that, upon the death of Marcian, no one thought of conferring the empire on Leo, till Anthemius had refused it r. Theophanes styles him a most christian prince'. Soon after his nomination, he lest Constantinople, where he then was, and fet out for Italy, attended by a great number of chosen troops, and several counts, with other persons of distinction, among whom was Marcellinus, prince of Dalmatia, whom Leo had persuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly e with him, make war upon the Vandals. Anthemius was received at Rome by the And proclaim- senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed, according to some, on the twelfth of April, according to others, in the month of August, at a place about three miles from Rome, called Bontrota ". A few days after, he gave his daughter in marriage to Riciner, pursuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes w. In the mean time Genseric, highly provoked against Leo, for having preferred Anthemius, and not Olybrius, to the empire, sent a powerful fleet, with orders to ravage Peloponnesus, and the Greek islands; which they did with great cruelty, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo resolved at all events to revenge the affront offered to the eaftern empire; and accordingly the following f year 468. when Anthemius alone was consul, he fitted out the greatest fleet, says Procopius x, the Romans had ever had. Cedrenus writes, it confisted of one thousand one hundred and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board s. Theophanes 2 and Nicephorus 2 will have no fewer than one hundred thousand ships to have

<sup>1</sup> Val. ret. Franc. p. 236, 237. Sid. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. K Jorn. p. 654. Sid. car. ii. p. 317. Idat. p. 43. <sup>1</sup> Eyagr. l. ii. c. 13. p. 307. Theodor. p. 555. Cedren. p. 348. Prisc. p. 75. Idat. Isidor. Marc. chron. Jorn. c. 44. p. 677. Idat. p. 44. 45. Chron. Alex. p. 744. Jorn. c. 56. p. 688. Prisc. p. 44. Sid. p. 295. Theoph. p. 98. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. Jorn. c. 46. p. 654. Idat. p. 44. Marc. Cassiod. Cuspin. chron. w Sid. l. i. ep. 4. p. 21, 22. Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. Cedren. p. 350. Theoph. p. 99. Niceph. l. xv. c. 27. p. 631.

a been employed in this expedition, a number altogether incredible. To the forces of Leo were joined all the best troops of the west, under the command of Marcellinus; who reinforced them with a chosen body of men raised in his own dominions b. Leo gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to Bastliscus, brother to his wife Verina, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in Thrace. Under him commanded one John, a person of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war c. The island of Sicily was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence Marcellinus was to fail for Sardinia, which the Vandals had lately feized; Heraclius of Edessa, a brave and experienced officer, for Lybia; and Basiliscus, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course strait to Carthage. Marcellinus, b pursuant to this plan, landed in Sardinia, and made himself master of that island, while Heraclius, landing unexpectedly in Libya, deseated the Vandals, who attempted Sardinia and to oppose him, and reduced with incredible expedition Tripolis, and all the other cities Tripolis recovered from the of that province d. Genseric, receiving at the same time news of the loss of Sardinia Vandals. and Libya, and of the arrival of the Roman fleet at cape Mercury, about thirty miles from Carthage, began to look upon himself as irretrievably lost, and is even said to have had fome thoughts of yielding up Africa to the Romans, and retiring elsewhere; and indeed if Basiliscus had, during the panic which had seized the barbarians, marched directly to Carthage, he might have easily made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving Genferis time to reco-e ver from his consternation, he began to despise the Roman admiral, and had even the confidence to fend deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to fettle with him the conditions on which he was to submit to Leo. Some authors write, that, with the embassadors, Genseric sent privately an immense sum to Basiliscus, with whose avaricious temper he was well acquainted. Others tell us, that Appar, who had lately quarrelled with Leo, fearing that prince would become too powerful, if he overcame the Vandals, had promifed to raise Basiliscus, who was no less ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he spared Genseric s. Be that as it will, Basiliscus readily consented to the truce, during which Genseric taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, sailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great d number of fire-ships, which being by the wind driven full fail upon the Roman navy, fet fire to many of their ships, and threw the whole seet into the utmost contusion. The next morning Genseric's fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, The Roman and falling upon the Romans before they could recover themselves from their fleet in Africa terror and consternation, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the put to sight.
rest to save themselves in the best manner they could. John, who commanded under Basiliscus, and was no-ways privy to his treachery, after having killed with his own hand an incredible number of barbarians, threw himself, when overpowered, on a plank into the sea. Genson, the son of Genseric, greatly taken with his courage, and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander answere ing, It shall never be said, that John owed his life to dogs, quitted his plank, and was drowned 8. As for Bafilifeus, Zonaras writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a fudden tacked about, and crowding all fails, betook himself to slight; which raised the courage of the enemy, and quite disheartened his own people b. Marcellinus, after the reduction of Sardinia, returned to Sicily, with a defign to pass from thence over into Africa; but, before he set sail, he was affassinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was supposed, of Anthemius, to whom his power gave no small umbrage i. Heraclius, who was on full march from Libya to Carthage, upon the news of the bad success of Basiliscus, thought it adviseable to turn back, and hasten into the territories of the empire k. Basiliscus f returned to Sicily, with the few ships that had escaped, having lost above fifty thoufand men!. From Sicily he returned to Constantinople, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took fanctuary in the church of St. Sophia. Tho' both the emperor and people were highly incenfed against him, yet, by the mediation of the empress Verina, his sister, his life was spared, and leave granted him to retire to Heraclea in Thrace. Such was the issue of this unhappy expedition, which is said to

b Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. CIdem, p. 153. Idem, p. 192. Theoph. p. 101. Sid. car. p. 1196. Theoph. p. 100. Theodor p. 555. Suid. Phot. c. 242. p. 164. S Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. Zonar. p. 42. Procop. p. 193. Phot. c. 242. p. 1048. Marc. chron. Idem ibid. Prisc. p. 193. Idem ibid. Cedren. p. 330. Theoph. p. 100.

have cost both empires above an hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold', a not only the two princes, but all governors, and other persons in employments,

Zeno.

cheerfully contributing large sums, to defray the charges of an enterprize so advantageous to the empire ". Priscus the historian, who slourished at that time, wrote a very minute and exact account of it w; but his work has not reached our time. The same year Leo married his daughter Ariadne to Zeno, descended from an illustrious his daughter to family in Isauria. His father's name was Rusumbladastes, and his, before his marriage, Trascalissaus, or Tarasicodisus. He took the name of Zeno from another Isaurian, who had been raised to great employments in the reign of Theodosius the younger y. Evagrius refers us to one Eustathius, a Syrian writer, who, he says, will inform us as to the motives that prompted Leo to prefer Zeno to many other persons b of great merit in the choice of a fon-in-law 2; but the works of Eustathius have been long fince loft. Theophanes and Candidus Isaurus write, that Leo, jealous of the too great power of Aspar, and apprised of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to Zeno, hoping by his means to gain over the Isaurians his countrymen, who were deemed the best soldiers of the empire a. However that be, Leo immediately raised his fon-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him at the fame time captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the east. In the west, Remismond made himself master of Lisbon, betrayed to him by one Lusides, a native of Lusitania, who commanded in the place. About the same time the Goths surprised Merida, and committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring country, sparing neither c Romans nor Suevians b. Here Idatius ends his chronicle, with telling us, that many prodigies appeared this year in Galicia, and among the rest, that several sishes were taken in the Minho, marked with Hebrew, Greek and Latin characters. The next confuls were Marcianus and Zeno, the two fons-in-law of the emperor Leo, the latter having married Ariadne, and the former, who was the fon of the emperor Anthemius, Leoncia. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but in the The Visigoths following confulship of Severus and Jordanes, Euric, king of the Visigoths, an ambi-

having defeated a body of twelve thousand Britons dwelling on the Loire, who, under

the conduct of Riothim or Riotham, came to the affiftance of the Romans d. At the d same time one Odvacer, who had commanded a body of Saxons under Ægidius in 464. made himself master of Angers; but was overcome by Childeric king of the Franks, who reduced not only the city of Angers, but all the neighbouring country c.

by the Suevians, and Merida by the Goths.

Lishon taken

extendibeir do- tious and warlike prince, made himself master of Auvergne, Berri and Gevaudan, after minions in Gaul,

the Franks and Burgundians too, taking advantage of the weak and distracted state of the empire,

Burgundians. reduced the city of Lions, and the whole province called Lugdunensis Prima s. THE following year, when Leo was conful the fourth time, with Probianus, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and Aspar, who had raised him to the empire; but as Aspar was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a separate and independent body, having one Quelcal, by nation a Hunn, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it adviseable to diffemble for the present; and pretending to be reconciled with Aspar, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Patricius Secundus, Aspar created that general's eldest son, and soon after created Aspar Cafar. The inhabitants of Constantinople, knowing Aspar and his whole family to be greatly attached to the doctrine of Arius, were highly displeased at this promotion; but the emperor soon delivered them from the apprehension they were under of seeing an Arian raised to the empire; for being informed by some persons, privy to all the counsels of Aspar, that a plot was carrying on against him by that general and his children, he resolved to be before-Aspar and his hand with them; and accordingly caused Aspar, and his son Ardaburius, to be mur-Jon Ardaburius dered this very year. The antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the murdered. eunuchs of the palace, Leo having ordered them to be put to death, because they aspired at the empire 8. But the modern writers add several circumstances, which feem inconsistent with what we read in the authors who flourished in those times. Patricius was dangerously wounded, but found means to make his escape, as did likewise Aspar's third son, named Hermeneric b. The friends of Aspar, especially

<sup>\*</sup> Zon. p. 42. Ågath. l. iv. p. 149.

\* Theoph. p. 101.

\* Evage. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. Theoph. p. 100.

\* Theoph. p. 101.

\* Evage. l. ii. c. 15. p. 308.

\* Theoph. p. 101.

\* Evage. l. ii. c. 15. p. 308.

\* Idem, p. 47, 48.

\* John. ret.

\* Goth. c. 45. p. 678. Sid. l. iii. ep. 9. d. 73, 74.

\* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282.

\* Greg. Tur. ibid.

\* Marc. chron. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6.

\* Niceph. l. xv. c. 27. p. 733. Zonar. p. 20. t PROCOP. p. 191. EVAGR. P. 74. w Idem, l. ii. c. 16 p. 308. Тнеорн. р. 100.

a the Goths in the emperor's fervice, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great disorders in Constantinople, being headed by one of their countrymen, named Ostroui. But Zeno, who was then at Chalcis, hastening with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the Goths were driven out of the city with great flaughter. However, they ravaged Thrace, and being joined by the Goths, fettled in Pannonia, made themselves matters of Philippi and Arcadiopolis; which they restored soon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promising to pay them a certain sum, and to appoint Theodoric, son to Triarius, the brother of Aspar's wife, commander of the Golbs in the Roman service i. Upon the death of Aspar, who had been a zealous patron of the Arians, Leo published several rigorous laws against those heretics, deprivb ing them of all their churches, and forbidding them to hold any public or private affemblies k. The following year, when Festus and Marcianus were consuls, Ricimer, who was no less powerful in the west, than Aspar had been in the east, dreading the fame fate, refolved to be before-hand with the emperor Anthemius, who, he faw, began to mistrust him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the Roman service, but under his command, laid siege to Rome, where Rome besieged the emperor then was. The citizens, who were, generally speaking, well affected by Ricimer; to Anthemius, made a vigorous resistance, notwithstanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the succours they daily expected out of Gaul, under the conduct of Bilimer, who commanded the Roman troops there, and was greatly c attached to the interest of Anthemius. Bilimer arrived at length with a considerable army, confisting partly of Romans, partly of barbarians; but having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by Ricimer, who, encouraged with this fuccess, pursued the siege with fresh vigour, and breaking in the end into the city, raged Which is taken with no less fury than Alaric or Genseric had done, allowing his men not only to and plundered. plunder the houses of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties!. As for the emperor Anthemius, Ricimer caused him to be put to death, and Olybrius Anthemius to be proclaimed in his room m. Zeno, who succeeded Leo, reproached the Roman put so death, fenate with the death of Anthemius. He is supposed to have died on the eleventh of and Olybrius July; but authors are quite silent as to the circumstances of his death, contenting peror. d themselves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of Ricimer, he lost both his life and the empire. Ricimer did not long outlive Anthemius; for being feized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of Sep-Ricimer dies. tember P; and was followed foon after by Olybrius, who died a natural death at and the new Rome, on the twenty-third of Onober 9. This year mount Vefuvius in Campania brius. threw out such an immense quantity of ashes, as turned night into day, even at Constantinople, where the people were assembled in the circus, when the cloud first appeared. All the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches deep r. This happened, according to Marcellinus, on the fixth, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, on the eleventh of November. The following year 473. when Leo alone was e consul the fifth time, Glycerius took upon him the title of emperor at Ravenna, on Glycerius the fifth of March, being supported by Gondibal, nephew to Ricimer, whom Olybrius usurps the emhad raised, during his short reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this fire. new prince is, that he had been comes domesticorum, and was, according to Theophanes, a man of some merit'. In the very beginning of his reign, the Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Pannonia, resolved, without the least provocation, says fornandes, to make war upon both empires. Pursuant to this resolution, Videmir broke into Italy, while his brother Theodomir invaded the eastern empire; but the former dying, his fon, bearing the same name, was, by the rich presents of Glycerius, prevailed upon to quit Italy; whence he retired into Gaul, and there joined f the Vifigoths, who, being thus reinforced, conquered foon after both that country and Spain . Theodomir likewise died as soon as he entered the territories of the eastern empire, and was succeeded by his fon Theodoric, surnamed the Great ". The same year 473. Leo, apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was for naming Zeno to succeed him; but both the senate and people of Constantinople, who hated Zeno, strongly remonstrating against his promotion, the

<sup>1</sup> Marc. chron. Тнеорн. р. 181. 

k Theodor. l. iv. c. 4. р. 273. 

Theodor. l. iv. c. 4. р. 273. 

Marc. chron. Onuph. р. 57. 

Concil. tom. 4. р. 1238. 

Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. р. 308. 

Marc. p. 94. 

Cuspin. р. 457. 

P Onuph. р. 57. 

Idem ibid. John. р. 67. 

Theodor. р. 555. 

Procop. l. ii. c. 4. р. 398. 

S Theoph. р. 102. 

Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 56. р. 194, 195. 

Idem de reg. fucc. c. 47. р. 655.

er created Cartar.

Loo the elder

collegue to his fon Lco.

Lco dies.

Glycerius deposed, and lu. lius Nepos railed to the empire.

Clerment yielded to the Goths.

Oreftes caufes his fon Augufulus to be declared em-· perer.

Leo the young emperor raised Leo the younger, the son of Zeno by his daughter Ariadne, to the a dignity of  $C\alpha far$ , and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho' he was then only five, or at most fix years old w. The following year, when Leo the younger was conful alone, the emperor, his grandfather, was seized with a bloody flux, which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a short time. He died at Constantinople, in the month of January, after having reigned seventeen years, wanting some days x. Soon after his death, the empress Verina prevailed upon the Zeno declared senate and people of Constantinople to suffer her son-in-law Zeno to be declared collegue to young Leo in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of February, not in the palace of Hebdomon, as usual, but in the circus at Constantinople y. The young prince did not survive his grandfather above ten months; for he died b in the month of November of the same year . Victor Tununensis and Ado suppose, that he was dispatched by his own father; but neither the antient nor modern Greek writers, tho' highly prejudiced against Zeno, charge him with that unnatural murder. Les the elder, or, as he is commonly furnamed, the Great, not approving of the promotion of Glycerius, had, before his death, named to the empire of the west Julius Nepos, or, as some call him, Nepotianus, a native of Dalmatia, and nephew, by the mother, to Marcellinus, prince of that country, who was murdered in Sicily, as we have related above. Nepos, who, it feems, was then at Constantinople, failed from thence, without loss of time, for Italy, and landing at Porto, surprised Glycerius there, took him prisoner, and stripping him of the imperial ornaments, caused him c to be ordained bishop of Salonæ in Dalmatia, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, and some months a. In the mean time the Visigoths, under the conduct of Euric their king, broke into the territories which the Romans had still left in Gaul; but he was prevailed upon by Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, whom Nepos sent to him with the character of embassador, to conclude a peace with the empire, whereof one of the articles was, that the city of Clermont, which Euric had not been able to reduce by force, should be delivered up to him b. Thus the whole country lying between the occan, the Rhone and the Loire, fell under the power of the Goths, who, it feems, had made themselves masters of all the open places, before Clermont was yielded to them. The following year, when Zeno alone was conful the fecond time, Nepos, d having raised Orestes to the post of general, appointed him commander of the Roman Orestes revolts forces in Gaul; but he, instead of hastening into that country, pursuant to his orders, bent his march towards Ravenna, with a design to depose Nepos, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppose him. The emperor, suspecting his design, and distrusting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by fea Nepos flies in to Salonæ in Dalmatia, where he was entertained by the bishop Glycerius, whom he had lately deprived of the empire d. The flight of Nepos happened on the twenty-eighth of August of the present year 475°. Orestes was by birth a Roman, that is, he was born a subject of the empire. As he lived in Pannonia, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the Hunns in 430. he lifted himself among the e troops of Attila, who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his fecretary, and fent him at least twice to Constantinople with the character of embassador, viz. in 448. and 449 8. His father, by name Tatula, bore likewise some considerable employment at the court of Attila h. Orestes married the daughter of count Romulus, sent by Valentinian on an embassy to Attila in 449. and had by her a son, called by Males or Malus, Romulus Augustus', but, by all other historians, Romulus Augustulus, either by way of derision, or because he was very young when raised to the empire. Orestes, leaving the Hunns, ferved with great reputation in the Roman armies, and was raised to the rank of patrician, and appointed by Nepos general of the troops in Gaul; when turning his arms against the prince who had entrusted him with them, he drove him f from the throne, as we have related above, and caused not himself, but his son Augustus, or Augustulus, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of October of the present year k. The new prince styled himself Augustus Romulus Augustus, Augustus being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity! As

w Zonar. p. 429. Theodor. p. 555. Evagr. p. 409. Goltz. p. 265. \*\* Marc. Theoph. p. 103. \*\* Evagr. l. vii. c. 17. p. 309. Theoph. p. 111. \*\* Chron. Alex. p. 751. Theoph. p. 103. \*\* Phot. c. 78. p. 372. Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 654. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. \*\* Jorn. c. 45. p. 679. Sid. l. iii. ep. 7. p. 72. \*\* Sid. l. iii. ep. 1. p. 62, 63. \*\* Jorn. c. 45. p. 679. Onuph. d 67. \*\* Onuph. Marc. chron. \*\* Jorn. ibid. \*\* Prisc. p. 37. \*\* h 1dem, p. 57. 60. \*\* Mal. leg. p. 93. \*\* Jorn. c. 45, 46. p. 679, 690. \*\* Jorn ibid. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

a Augustulus was very young, his father took upon him the administration, contenting himself with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his fon, during his minority 1. While these things passed in the west, the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Mesopotamia; and the Hunns in Thrace put all to fire and fword, and afterwards retired unmolested, the emperor Zeno, a most leud and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his scandalous pleasures and diversions m. However, he concluded a peace with Genseric, which was religiously observed by the Zeno concludes Vandals, till the reign of Justinian. The same year the empress Verina, who had Genseric. by her interest raised her son-in-law Zeno to the empire, highly provoked at his enormous vices, and scandalous indolence, formed a conspiracy against him, at the head b of which was her brother Basiliscus, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. Zeno was privately informed of the whole; but, instead of putting himself in a posture of desence, and defeating their measures, as he might have easily done, he betook himself to flight, retiring first to Chalcedon, and from thence into Isauria, his native country. Zeno driven Upon his retreat, Basiliscus was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people of Con-out by Basilisstantinople, to the great disappointment of Verina, who designed to confer the empire cus. on Patricius, magister officiorum to Zeno, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence °. Bafiliscus immediately declared his wife Zenonides Augusta, and raised his son Marcus to the dignity of Casar P. The following year 476. when Basiliscus and Armatus were consuls, the barbarians who served in the Roman armies, c and were diffinguished with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in Italy, pretending, that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged of right to them. As Orestes refused to comply with this insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice, as they called it; and openly revolting, chose one Odoacer for their leader. Thus Procopius 1. He is called in the Roman by Theophanes a Goth; by Marcellinus, king of the Goths; and by Isidore, prince fervice revolt of the Ostrogoths; We cannot conceive what could induce Baronius, and several in the west, and others, to call him king of the Heruli. fornandes styles him in one place king of the chuse Odoacer Rugians, and in another king of the Turcilingians. The Rugians inhabited both for their leader. the banks of the Danube, near the city of Faviana, a little above Vienna. As for the d Turcilingians, we find no account in the antients of them, or their country. Odoacer, whether by birth a Goth, Rugian or Turcilingian, was, according to Ennodius, meanly born x, and only a private man in the guards of the emperor Augustulus, when the barbarians revolting, chose him for their leader y. However, he is said to have been His charafter. a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a state 2. Having left his own country, when he was yet very young, to serve in Italy, as he was of a stature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that station till the present year; when putting himself at the head of the barbarians in the Roman pay, who, tho' of different nations, had, with one confent, chosen him for their leader, he marched against Orestes, and his e fon Augustulus, who still refused to give them any share of the lands in Italy. As the Roman troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the barbarians, Orestes took refuge in Pavia, at that time one of the best fortified cities in Italy; but Odoacer, investing the place without loss of time, took it soon after by assault, gave it up to be He besseges plundered by his soldiers, and then set fire to it, which reduced most of the houses, Orestes in Paand two churches, to ashes. Orestes was taken prisoner, and brought to Odoacer, Who is taken who carried him to Placentia, and there caused him to be put to death on the twenty-prisener, and eighth of August, the day on which he had driven Nepos out of Ravenna, and obliged put to death. him to abandon the empire. From Placentia Odoacer marched strait to Ravenna, where he found Paul, the brother of Orestes, and the young emperor Augustulus. The former he immediately put to death; but sparing Augustulus, in consideration of his youth, he stripped him of the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him Augustulus to Lucullanum, a castle in Campania, where he was, by Odoacer's orders, treated simperial ornawith great humanity, and allowed an handsome maintenance to support himself and ments, and conhis relations b. Rome readily submitted to the conqueror, who thereupon caused fined to Lucul-

n Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195. reg. fucc. c. 47. p. 654. Italy and to Odoacer.

himself to be proclaimed king of Italy, but would not assume the purple, or any a other mark of the imperial dignity. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the west. Britain had been long since abandoned by the Romans; Spain was held by the Goths and Suevians; Africa by the Vandals; the Burgundians, Goths, Franks, and Alans, had erected feveral tetrarchies in Gaul; at length Italy itself, with its proud metropolis, which for so many ages had given law to the rest of the world, was enflaved by a contemptible barbarian, whose family, country and nation are not The end of the well known to this day. The downfal and ruin of the greatest state the world ever western empire. beheld were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the floth, luxury and ambition of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing fuch swarms of barbarians to settle within the empire, and to serve in the Roman b armies, under their own officers, in separate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives; controlled the emperors, difposed of the imperial crown as they pleased, and at length became absolute masters of those whom they were employed to defend and affift. This great revolution happened in the west in the year 476. of the christian zera, five hundred and seven years after the battle of Assium, when the Roman monarchy was first established, and one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine since the foundation of Rome. Most writers observe, that the empire began with Augustus, and ended in a prince of the fame name. Of the state of Italy under Odoacer, till he was overcome and slain by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, and under the Ostrogoths, from Theodoric to their expulsion c by Narses, we shall speak in the following volume; and in the mean time pursue the Roman history, that is, the history of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, in which were preserved the same marks of sovereignty, the same ceremonies, titles, and employments, that had been first established at Rome.

C JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46. CANDID. ISAUR. C. 19. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

## C H A P. XXXII.

The Roman history, from the dissolution of the western empire, to the death of Justinian the Great.

T the same time that the Roman empire failed in the west, it was usurped in d A the east by Basiliscus, who, upon the slight of Zeno, the lawful prince, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and his son Marcus to be acknowledged Cæsar. Zeno fled into Isauria, whither he was pursued by Illus and Trocondes, two of the usurper's generals, who having easily defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince to shut himself up in a castle, which they immediately invested. But in the mean time Basiliscus having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unseasonable zeal for the doctrine of Eutyches, highly disobliged the senate and people of Constantinople, as well as the soldiery, the two generals, informed of what passed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged, people and sol- as some write, by the senate, instead of pursuing the siege, openly declared for Zeno; e and joining him with all their forces, bent their march to Constantinople. Basiliscus no sooner heard of their revolt, than he dispatched Harmatius or Armatus, his kinsman, with a very numerous army against them, after having obliged him to swear, by his baptism, that he would not betray him. But, notwithstanding this oath, he had no fooner passed the Bosporus, than he joined Zeno, encamped with Illus and Trocondes, in the neighbourhood of Nice, upon that prince's promifing to appoint him general of the troops of his houshold, and to continue him in that office during his life; to raise his son, by name Basiliscus, who was yet very young, to the dignity

Zeno besieged in a castle of Ifauria.

Basiliscus difobliges the diery.

a of Casar, and to leave him the empire after his death d. Zeno, thus reinforced, Zeno restored. marched directly to Constantinople, which he entered without opposition, the usurper flying for refuge, with his wife Zenonides and his children, to the great church, where he is said to have laid down his crown upon the altar. Zeno ordered them to be immediately stripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and having foon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a fecond time by Harmatius, Bafilifeus as Candidus Isaurus writes e, or delivered up, as we read in Procopius f, by Acacius, taken, and conpatriarch of Constantinople, he confined them to a castle in Cappadocia, named Limin Cappadocia, nos, where they perished in a short time with hunger and cold g. Thus ended the where he perished in a short time with hunger and cold g. usurpation of Basiliscus, after it had lasted, according to most writers, twenty months, rishes. b that is, from October 475. to June of the present year 477. Zeno, pursuant to his promife, raised Harmatius to the post of general of the troops of his houshold, and his fon Basiliscus to the dignity of Casar; but soon after, distrusting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to Basiliscus, who had preferred him to the first employments in the state, he caused him to be murdered in the palace, employ-Harmatius ing for that purpose one Onoulus or Onoulphus, by birth a barbarian, but brought murdered by up in the family of Harmatius, and by his interest raised from a mean condition to Zeno's orders. the dignity of count, and the post of general of Illyricum h. As for Basiliscus, the fon of Harmatius, he was deposed from the dignity of Casar, and made reader in a church near Constantinople. He was afterwards ordained bishop of Cyzicus, the c metropolis of the Hellespont, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and affisted in 518. at the council of Constantinople i. During the usurpation of Basiliscus, a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople, which consumed great part A great fire at of the city, with the library, containing a hundred and twenty thousand volumes, Constantiand the works of Homer, written, as is faid, in gold characters on the great gut of nople. a dragon, an hundred and twenty foot long k. The following year, 478. when Illus alone was conful, Theodoric, the fon of Triarius, who had espoused the cause of Basilifeus, broke into Thrace with a numerous army of Goths, and advanced within four miles of Constantinople; which so terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that Theodoric should d be appointed commander in chief of the Roman horse. The next year, Zeno being consul the third time, Marcian, the son of Anthemius, who had reigned in the west, Marcian claiming the empire in right of his wife Leontia, the eldest daughter of the late em-revolts; peror Leo, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in Constantinople, at the head of fome malecontents prepared for any desperate attempt. The emperor's guards, endeavouring to make head against them, were either dispersed or cut in pieces, and Zeno himself shut up with a small number of officers in the palace. Had Marcian purfued his defign, and without loss of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that consternation he might have easily done, the emperor must have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmost imprudence put off till the next e morning, Zeno in the mean time gained over, what with presents, what with promises, most of Marcian's men, who thereupon distrusting the rest, withdrew all on But is abana sudden, and took sanctuary in the church of the apostles, whence he was dragged doned by his by the emperor's orders, ordained priest, and confined to a monastery in the neigh-own men, and bourhood of Casarea in Cappadocia. As Zeno had not for some years paid the forced to take Office their lines. The force the in A second had a second heard of refuge in a Ostrogoths in Pannonia their annual pension, Theodoric, their king, no sooner heard of church. the revolt of Marcian, than he broke into Macedon; and from thence advancing into Epirus, made himself master of Duras on the Adriatic sea, that important place being betrayed to him by a Goth named Sidimont. But Sabinianus, an officer of great experience and address, having surprised and cut in pieces a strong reinforcement f that was marching to the affiftance of Theodoric, under the conduct of his brother Theudimont, and taken all their baggage, and two thousand waggons loaded with provisions, the Goths, abandoning Duras, retired in great haste into Pannonia. The following year 480. when Basilius, surnamed the younger, was consul, Zeno, not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with Huneric, the fon and fuccessor of Genseric, dead three years before o. In 481. when Placidius or Placitus was

d Candid. p. 19. Theoph. p. 106. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 295. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. Candid. p. 19. f Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194. Evagr. l. iii. c. 8. p. 341. Procop. bid. Candid. p. 19. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. Procop. p. 195. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. Cedr. p. 35. Zonar. p. 43, 44. 1 Jorn. c. 57. p. 696. Candid. p. 20. Evagr. p. 335. Theoph. p. 109. Mall. p. 78—81. Mallel. p. 95.

and Meelia yielded to Theodoric, king of the Oftrogoths.

Leontius re-

Is joined by

They are both defeated, and besteged in Papyra.

Oftrogoth breaks into Thrace.

against Odoacer, king of Italy.

Leontius and Illus taken, and put to death.

conful, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, renewed his ravages, laying waste the provinces of Macedon and Thessaly; which obliged Zeno in the end to comply with Lower Dacia his demands, that is, to yield to him part of Lower Dacia and Masia; to give him the command of the troops of the houshold, and to name him conful for the enfuing year 483. Upon these terms he withdrew in 482, when Severinus and Trocundus were consuls, out of Macedon and Thessaly, restored Larissa, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken, and promised to employ, when required, all his forces in desence of the empire P. The following year, when Theodoric was consul at Constantinople, and Venantius at Rome, (for Odoacer made no change in the government or magistrates of the city) Leontius, a native of Chalcis in Syria, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, some say at the instigation of the b empress Verina, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him Zeno immediately dispatched Illus, captain of his guards. But he, instead of opposing Leontius, joined him; and having ravaged the provinces of Syria and Isauria, advanced to Antioch, with a design to seize on that metropolis. Longinus, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood, at the head of a considerable army; but his troops were all to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himself taken prifoner. After this victory, Leontius and Illus entered Antioch in triumph. Zeno, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched John, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into Syria, with what troops he could affemble, and prevailed upon Theodoric, the Oftrogoth, to join him with a numerous army of Goths. These c two commanders were attended with better fuccess; for meeting Leontius and Illus in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, they gained a complete victory, and the following year, when Symmachus was consul, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to the strong castle of Papyra in Cilicia, which John immediately invested, while Theodoric returned, as the war seemed now ended, with his troops to Constantinople q. Trocundus, the brother of Illus, taken prisoner by John, as he was attempting to make his escape out of Syria, in order to stir up the barbarians, was, by his orders, beheaded . The same year Theodoric, upon some disgust, withdrew from Constantinople, and returned into Pannonia. Evagrius writes, that Zeno. jealous of the glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great esteem d persons of all ranks shewed him, attempted privately to dispatch him'. However. Theodoric the that be, it is certain that Theodoric, after having spent the following year, when Longinus and Decius were confuls, in raising troops, and making other military preparations, as if he defigned to make war upon the barbarians, broke fuddenly into Thrace at the head of a numerous army; and putting all to fire and sword, advanced within fifteen miles of Constantinople; but instead of laying siege to that metropolis, Turns his arms as was apprehended, he marched back into Pannonia, in virtue of a private treaty between him and Zeno, by which the emperor yielded to him, as fome authors write, all the provinces of Italy, held then by Odoacer, encouraging him to rescue them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promising to acknowledge him king e of Italy:. The Romans afterwards pretended, that Zeno had sent Theodoric to conquer Italy, not for himself, but for the emperor of the east, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the Goths maintained, that Zeno had yielded it to be held for ever by the Goths. Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, Theodoric was to hold Italy during his life-time, but that upon his death it was to be reunited to the empire. However that be, Theodoric, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487. when Boetius was consul, returned to Novæ in Mæsia, which city he had chosen for the place of his residence; and having spent the winter in military preparations, he set out the following year, when Sifidius and Dinamius were consuls, at the head of a powerful army for Italy, and entering that country, overcame Odoacer in several battles, and established a new monarchy there, as we shall relate at length in the following volume. About the end of this year, Leontius and Illus, after having defended with incredible bravery the castle of Papyra for the space of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were sent to Constantinople, and there exposed for several days together to public view ". In the following confulship of Anicius Probinus and Chronion Eusebius, Zeno caused several persons of great distinction to be put to death, and banished others,

> P JORN. rer. Goth. c. 57. p. 696. MARCELL. ad ann. 483. Theoph. p. 142.
>
> LIBERAT. C. 18. p. 125.
>
> THEOPH. ibid.
>
> EVAGR. l. ii. c. 27. p. 356.
>
> THEOPH. p. 114. Phot. c. 242. p. 1072. Theodox. p. 558. 9 Тнеорн. р. 112. JORN. rer. Goth.

confiscating

a confiscating their estates, under pretence that they had favoured Leontius and Illus ". The following year, when Longinus was conful the second time with Faustus, Zeno, raging with more crulty than ever, caused Pelagius, a patrician of great distinction, Zeau's gruelis. to be strangled, for no other reason but because he had been told by an astrologer, that he was to succeed Zeno . The emperor did not long survive him; for in the month of April of the following year 491. when Olybrius was conful, he was seized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days, after he had His death. lived fixty-five years and nine days, and reigned seventeen years and three months x. The more modern Greek writers, and amongst the rest Cedrenus, tell us, that being feized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife Ariadne, who hated him, b and was in love with Anastasius, whom she immediately married, not suffering him to be relieved, tho' he made a dreadful noise in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the flesh of his own arms, and even his buskins y. But of this tragical end no mention is made by the more antient writers. He is painted by the antients as one of the most wicked and debauched princes recorded in history, as a person destitute of every good quality requisite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a state, and commanding an army '. Of the writers, who flourished about this time, we shall speak in note (U).

Upon the death of Zeno, his brother Longinus laid claim to the empire; but he being univerfally abhorred on account of his lewdness and cruelty, Ariadne, widow c to the deceased emperor, easily prevailed upon the senate to acknowlege Anastrasius Anastrasius defor emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of April in the circus, clared emperor according to fome, by Ariadne, according to others, by Euphemius, patriarch of Conftantinople, who absolutely refused to place the imperial crown upon his head, till he had bound himself by a solemn oath to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of Nice and Chalcedon. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than he married Ariadne, being then in the fixtieth year of his He marries age c. He was a native of Duras, the metropolis of New Epirus in Illyricum d. All Ariadne. we know of his family is, that his father was born in the fame city; that his mother was a Manichee, and Clearchus, her brother, an Ariane. As for Anastasius himself, His birth, edud he is by some styled a Manichee, by others an Eutychian f. Magna, whom some cation, employwill have to have been the emperor's fifter, others to have been wife to his brother, ments, &c. named Paul, was a zealous catholic s. Anastasius had not yet attained to the rank of

\*\* Theoph. p. 116. Cedr. p. 354. w Zonar. p. 44. \* Chron. Al. p. 758. Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. y Cedren. p. 355. \*\* Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. Marc. p. 1232. \*\* Evagr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 334. \*\* Theoph. p. 117. Cedren. p. 357. \*\* Evagr. p. 361. Theoph. Zonar. p. 45. \*\* Evagr. p. 357. Theoph. p. 117. \*\* Theoph. p. 117. \*\* Theoph. p. 117. \*\* Theoph. p. 117. \*\* Theoph. p. 158. Theoph. bild. \*\* Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 361. Theoph. p. 115. \*\* Niceph. chron. p. 305. Theoph. p. 131. \*\* Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. Procop. bell. Perf. l. ii. c. 25. p. 138. р. 550. Тикори. р. 131.

senator, when he was raised to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named Silentiaril, whose province it was to cause due silence to be observed in the palace. He is said to have led, while a private man, a very abstemious life, and to have given fignal instances of his integrity; whence, upon his receiving the purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion,

· (U) Theodulus, a native of Syria, published in the reign of Zeno several pieces against the Manichees, and other heretics, a comment on the epiftle of St. Paul to the Romans, and a poem on the miracles related in the old testament, and on the fables of the poets (1). His comment has reached our times (2). John the grammarian published a book against the Eutychians, which has been long since lost (3). He was still alive, according to Gennadius, in 494 (4). Malus or Males, by profession a sophist, wrote the history of Zeno and Basiliscus; but of that work only some fragments have reached us (5). Candidus, by hirth an Haurian comprised in three books a by birth an Isaurian, comprised in three books a very particular and distinct account of what hap-

pened from the election of Leo to that of Anastasius. A short abstract of his work has been conveyed to us by Photius (6). Evagtius, in speaking of Zeno, often quotes and highly commends one Eustathius, a native of Philadelphia, who wrote an abridgment of the Roman history, from Eneas to the twelfth year of Zeno's reign (7). The same historian is mentioned by Nicephorus (8). Photius speaks of one Victorinus, who wrote some orations in commendation of the confuls, and of the emperor Zeno (9). He was a native of Antioth, and the son of one Lampadius. Photius commends the elegance, clearness, and propriety of his style (10).

(1) Marc.chron. Gennad. c. 91. Sixtus Senenf. l. iv. p. 381. Possevin. p. 469. Sigebert. c. 134. blioth. patr. tom. i. p. 495. (3) Trith. p. 40. Marc.chron. ad ann. 486. (4) Genn (5) Phot. c. 78. p. 172. Zonar. p. 44. Evagr. p. 78. (6) Phot. c. 78. p. 172. (7) Erc. 15. p. 308. c. 37. p. 367. 6 l. v. c. 24. p. 442. Suid. p. 1096. (8) Niceph. l. xiv. c. 5 (9) Phot. c. 101. p. 276. (10) Idem ibid. (2) Bi-(4) Gennad. p. 93. (7) Evagr. l. iii. (8) Niceph. l. xiv. c. 57. p. 579. cried out with one voice, Reign, Anastasius, as you bave lived i. And truly the a

the chryfargyrum.

The nature of

beginning of his reign was not undefervedly applauded by persons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted whatever to that time was due to the exchequer, and utterly abolished the infamous tax called chrysargyrum, which was levied every fifth year upon those, even common beggars not excepted, who sold any thing, of how little value soever; whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to fell their children, after they had been stripped of every thing else. It was not only raised on all traders, in what kind soever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public proftitutes, who, by paying to the prince a confiderable share of what they earned by their infamous profession, seemed to have purchased a right to pursue with impunity their scandalous practices k. Alexander Severus being b ashamed, tho' a pagan, to suffer the money thus raised to be lodged in the exchequer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices. Theodosius the younger utterly suppressed this infamous tribute in 439. but it was soon after revived through the avarice of his successors. Zosimus will have this tax to have been first established by Constantine the Great m; which is denied by Evagrius as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the christian religion . And indeed it is evident from the ancient writers, that long before Constantine's time a tax was laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; and that Constantine, to fave charges, caused it to be levied, not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth c or rather fifth year. However that be, Anastasius, looking upon it as no less burdenfome to the people than shameful in the prince, not only utterly abolished it, with the consent and approbation of the senate, but, to prevent its ever being revived, caused all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus. This abolition of the chyfarg yrum is recorded by all the historians, who speak of Anastasius, as an action truly great, heroic, and almost divine, worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too deservedly laid to that prince's charge P. Timotheus of Gaza wrote a tragedy on the chrysargyrum, which he inscribed to Anastasius. Cedrenus, who styles that writer a man of univerfal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was in great measure induced d by the reading of that piece to propose to the senate the suppressing of such an infamous tax 1. The same writer adds, that Anastasius abolished two kinds of chrysargyrums, one of which was raised on the poor, on the beggars, slaves, freedmen, harlots, and divorced women, who, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, paid every fourth year a certain fum for themselves, and another for their horses, mules, dogs, asses, oxen, &cr. At the same time the new prince drove all informers out of Constantinople, and put a stop to the enormous abuse introduced by Zeno of exposing to fale all public offices, and bestowing, to the great oppression of the unhappy people, the best governments on the highest bidders s. Anastasius having by these and several other acts of generosity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people, e they all to a man joined him against Longinus, the deceased emperor's brother, who in the beginning of the following year 492. when the emperor Anastasius and Rusus Longinus and were confuls, raised some disturbances in Constantinople, but was immediately seized, deprived of all his employments, and fent back into Isauria, his native country, with orders to continue there. With him were driven out of Constantinople all the Haurians, who had borne great sway in the late reign. The Isaurians, thus banished the city, espoused the cause of Longinus, and openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by Longinus, the late emperor's brother, by another Longinus, surnamed Selinontius, no doubt from the city of Selinus in Isauria, the place of his nativity, by Indus, Theodorus, Ninilinghus, and several other Isaurians of great f distinction, who had been raised by Zeno to the first employments in the state. Conon, bishop of Apamea in Syria, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, for he was by birth an Isaurian, and became one of the ringleaders of the revolt. Under these heads the rebels seized on an immense quantity of arms, and vast sums lodged by Zeno in a strong hold of Isauria, which enabled them to raise and arm above an hundred and fifty thousand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progress they made,

Informers Constantinople.

gewolt.

<sup>\*</sup> Niceph. chron. p. 308. Cedren. p. 357. \* Theoph. p. 566. Evagr. l. iii. c. 39. Zos. l. ii. p. 691. \* Lamprid. in Al. p. 212. \* Zos. l. ii. p. 691. \* Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. \* Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. \* Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. Const. Manass. p. 63. Suid. p. 913. \* Cedren. p. 357. \* Idem ibid. \* Idem, p. 358. \* Evagr. l. iii. p. 366. Theoph. p. 118.

a dispatched the flower of his troops against them, under the conduct of two of the most renowned generals of that age, viz. of John the Scythian, and John, surnamed Gibbus, or the bunch-backed, who coming up with the robels in the neighbourhood of Cotycea in Phrygia, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to They are distake refuge amongst the inaccessible mountains of Isauria, where they maintained feated, but themselves for the space of six years, in spite of the utmost efforts of the best generals of the empire. Niniling bus, one of their chief leaders, was killed in the abovementioned battle. The following year, when Eusebius was consul the second time with Albinus, furnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithstanding the generosity he affected on his accession to the empire, was naturally of a most avaricious b temper, laid a heavy tax on the inhabitants of Constantinople, called by Evagrius chrysotelia, which, as it was no-ways expected, incented them to such a degree, that, rifing all on a fudden, they pulled down the emperor's statues, and dragged them A tumult in through the chief streets of the city with those of the empress Ariadne, uttering most Constantiinjurious invectives both against her and Anastasius . How this tumult ended, we nople. are no-where told. The same year Theodoric the Goth, having completed the conquest of Italy, by the reduction of Ravenna after a three years siege, as we shall relate more at length in the following volume, caused himself to be proclaimed king of Theodoric that country, without waiting the return of the embassadors, whom he had sent to acknowledged Constantinople for the ensigns of royalty. However, he dispatched Festus or Faustus, king of Italy. and Ireneus, two persons of rank, to solicit the emperor's approbation, and excuse the liberty he had taken. Anastasius received his excuses, promised not to molest him in the possession of the country he had conquered, and sent him the ensigns of the royal dignity. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in some degree, as Odoacer had done, the authority of the emperor. Besides, he suffered the Romans to receive the consulship from the emperor of the east. 'Tis true he named in 511. one Felix to that dignity; but at the fame time he wrote to Anaftafius, begging him to confirm what he had done v. In 494. when Afterius and Prafidius were confuls, Diogenes, one of the emperor's generals, having surprised the city of Claudiopalis in Isauria held by the rebels, he was closely belieged in it by the bishop Conon, and reduced to fuch streights, that he must have soon either perished with hunger, or d been cut in pieces with all his men, had not John, surnamed Gibbus, opening him- The Issurians felf a way over mount Taurus, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged defeated a them to retire with great flaughter. The bishop, fighting with great resolution and some to intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound, of which he died foon after 2. Stythian. The two following years, in the first of which Viator, or, as some style him, Victor, was conful, and in the other Paul, the emperor's brother, some inconsiderable advantages were gained over the Isaurian rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor Anastasius was consul the second time, by John the Scythian. Longinus, brother to the late emperor Zeno, and Theodorus or Albenodorus, being Longinus, and taken prisoners, they were both put to death by that general's orders, and their the other heads e heads fent to Constantinople, where they were exposed to public view in the suburbs of the rebels, called 8ycæ. The head of Albenodorus was afterwards sent to Tarsus, and set up to death. on a pole before the gate of that city a. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely Longinus Salinontius and Indus, were taken the following year, when John the Scythian was conful with Paulinus, and fent loaded with chains to Constantinople. Longinus was afterwards racked to death at Nice. As several cities in Ijauria were utterly ruined during this war, which had lasted six years, the inhabitants of Isauria were removed into Thrace, and the annual pension of five thousand pieces of gold, paid to them by Zeno, taken away for ever b. This year the emperor narrowly escaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his resulting to cause A tumult in fome prisoners to be set at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was Constantiwith the utmost difficulty that the guards screened him from the sury of the enraged nople. multitude, and the showers of stones discharged against him. When the multitude found themselves repulsed by the soldiery, they set fire to the hippodrome, which confumed that and several other stately edifices, with the square of Constantine, in

which not a fingle building was left standing. The fame year the Arabs and Sara-

Evagr. Тнеорн. ibid. Marc. chron. Jorn. p. 655. w Marc. chron. p. 408. \* Амміан. anonym. p. 408. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. У Ряссот. р. 402. Castiodor. l. ii. ep. 1. \* Магс. chron. Тнеорн. р. 119. \* Evagr. l. iii. c. 35. р. 366. Тнеорн. р. 120. Vict. Тин. р. 127. \* Cassiod. l. i. ep. 23. l. ii. ep. 3. Evagr. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. Marc. chron. \* Chron. Al. p. 760.

cens, named Scenitæ, broke into Palestine and Syria Euphratesiana; but in Syria they a were defeated by Eugenius, who commanded the Roman troops there, and in Palefine by Romanus, governor of that province, who on that occasion recovered to the empire the island of Jotape in the Red Sea, which the Arabs Scenita had seized, and re-established there the Roman merchants trading to India 4.

The Romans

A tumu!t in the circus at

The Perfins empire,

Constanti-

nople.

And take Amida.

The Roman generals defeated, and pu: to flight.

to the Romans,

In 499. when Joannes Gibbus and Asclepion were confuls, the Bulgarians breaking into Thrace, Arifius, commander of the troops in Illyricum, marched against them at the head of fifteen thousand men, engaged them on the banks of the Zurta or Zorta; but was defeated with the loss of four thousand men, amongst whom were the counts defeated by the Nicostratus, Innocentius, and Aquilinus, and several other officers of distinction. The barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in Thrace, returned of their b own accord beyond the Danube. The same year Neocasarea, and several other cities in Pontus, were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake. The year 500. when Patritius and Hypatius were consuls, is quite barren of events. In the following confulship of Pompeius and Avienus, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the circus at Constantinople, above three thousand of the former were killed 8. The following year, Probus and Avienus being confuls, the Bulgarians breaking anew into Thrace, and the Saracens into Palestine, committed dreadful ravages in those two The same year Cabades, king of Persia, being highly provoked at the provinces h. emperor's refusing to lend him a certain sum, which he owed to the king of the Nephthalite or Epthalite Hunns, entered unexpectedly Armenia at the head of a nume- c break into the rous army; and having easily reduced the cities of Theodosiopolis and Martyropolis, laid close siege to Amida, which the inhabitants (for there was no garison in the place) defended with fuch vigour and resolution, that the king, despairing of being ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants, especially some women, probably common prostitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expressed by a modest writer, he resolved at all events to pursue the siege, which he did accordingly, and in the end made himfelf master of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or, as others write, four months. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the town pillaged. In the mean time Anastasius dispatched a powerful army against the enemy, d commanded by Patritius, Hypatius, and Areobindus, who had married Juliana, the daughter of the emperor Olybrius. Under them commanded Celer, Justin, afterwards emperor, his fon Vitalianus, Patritiolus, Romanus, and several other officers of distinction. But the Persians having reduced Amida before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of Patritius and Hypatius, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the fide of Amida, and the other marching, under the command of Areobindus, to Nisibis, with a design to surprise that important place. In the mean time, Cabades, having drawn his troops together, went to meet Areobindus, who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost confusion to Constantina, after having pressed in vain Hypatius and Patritius to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppose the enemy, who was far superior in number to either of the parties they commanded. Areobindus being thus put to flight, Cabades, without loss of time, marched against Hypatius and Patritius; and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with much ado escaped by a timely slight the common slaughter. Cabades, having now no enemy to oppose him, over-ran Mesopotamia, extending his ravages to the very borders of Syria, till he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into Persia k. The following year, when Celbegus was conful, Celer, entering the province of Arzanene, belonging to the Persians, at the head of a considerable army, laid it waste far and near, while the other generals f undertook the siege of Amida, the Persians being diverted by a sudden irruption of the Hunns. The place held out till both the Romans and Persians being quite tired out with the fatigues of a fiege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that Amida reflored the Persians should deliver up the city to the Romans, upon their paying to the king of Persia fifty talents, which was immediately done. Thus the Romans recovered the important city of Amida, in the consulship of Sabinianus and Theodorus.

d Тнеорн. р. 21. Evagr. l. iii. с. 36. р. 366. f THEOPH. Marc. chron. Zonar. p. 47. p. 123. Marc. chron. & Marc. chron. b Idem ibid. Тнеорн. Perf. l. i. c. 7. p. 20, 21. Тнеорн. p. 124, 125. Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. i Procor. bell. h Idem ibid. THEOPH. p. 153. <sup>к</sup> Ркосор. р. 22. Тикорн. р. 125.

a after it had been held two years by the Persians!. Upon their entering the place; they found that the enemy had not fufficient provisions to support them seven days longer, though they had lived very sparingly during the slege. Not long after, a truce for seven years, which lasted about twenty, was concluded between the two A truce with empires, Cabades being engaged in a war with the Caduceans, Hunns, and other bar-the Persians. barians m. The same year one Mondon or Mondo, by nation a Goth, having settled with some of his countrymen in such places beyond the Danube as he found uninhabited, seized on a strong hold called Heria; and thence, by frequent incursions into the Roman territories, continued for some time harassing the subjects of the empire, giving himself the title of king. Anastasius dispatched against him Sabinianus, the b fon of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thousand chosen men, which obliged Mondon to have recourse to Theodoric, the Goth, king of Italy, who the year before had reconquered Pannonia, and recovered Sirmium out of the hands of the Gepidæ. As Mondo had entered into an alliance with Theodoric, Pitzia, one of that prince's generals, marched to his affiftance, defeated Sabinianus in a pitched The Romans battle near Margus in Lower Dacia, and obliged him to shut himself up in the castle defeated by of Nato. This occasioned a missinderstanding between Theodoric and Anastasius, as Goth. we shall relate in the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy. The next consuls were Arcobindus and Messala, who were succeeded in 507. by the emperor Anastasius, the third time conful, and Venantius. This year Anastasius, to defend not only the city of c Constantinople, but the adjacent country, against the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall, called the Long-wall, and the wall of Anastasius, of Anastasius which frequent mention is made by the Byzantine historians. It was distant from builds the Constantinople two hundred and eighty furlongs, extended from sea to sea, being four Long-wall. hundred and twenty furlongs round, and inclosed not only the metropolis, but the city of Selymbria, and the neighbouring country, which was a continued garden, with an incredible number of stately villa's and houses of pleasure, richly furnished and adorned. The wall was twenty foot in breadth, and defended by towers at small distances from each other; by which means the inhabitants, upon the shortest warning, had an opportunity of putting themselves in a posture of defence, and repulsing d with great ease the barbarians. In the following consulship of Celer and Venantius, styled the younger, Anastasius caused the city of Daras, a frontier-town towards Daras recaired Perfia, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the Perfians from breaking and fortified. into the empire on that side. Daras stood on the Cardus, about sisteen miles from Nisibis, and three from Carrba P. The same year Chovis, king of the Franks in Gaul, having gained a complete victory over Alaric, king of the Visigoths in Langueauc and Aquitain, Anastasius, who was at variance with Theodoric, whose daughter Alaric had married, fent embassadors to the king of the Franks, to congratulate him upon his victory, and to prefent him with the confular ornaments, and a diadem, which he received in the church of St. Martin at Tours, taking upon him thencee forth the title of conful, and likewise that of Augustus. He removed foon after from Tours to Paris, where he fixed his residence, declaring that city the metropolis Clovis fixes of his kingdom 4. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509. his residence at 510. in the first of which Importunus was consul, and in the second the famous Bog- Paris. tius, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the kingdom of Italy. In 511. when Secundinus and Felix were confuls, the Heruli, after The Heruli having long roved about from one country to another, passed the Danube, and were admitted into received the following year, when Paulus and Muschianus were confuls, into Thrace, Thrace. where lands were allotted to them, upon their promifing to serve with fidelity in the Roman armies, when required. In the next consulship of Probus and Clementinus, f the emperor, at the instigation of the Eutychians, whom he favoured, drove Macedonius, the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, from his see, and preferred one Timotheus, an avowed follower of Eutyches, in his room, who, by attempting to introduce novelties in the public worship, raised great disturbances in Constantinople. Great diffur-Many of the inhabitants, some say ten thousand, were killed in a tumult between bances in Conthe catholics and Eutychians, and several houses burnt, amongst the rest that of the stantinople.

Vol. VI. Nº 7.

Vitalianus espouses the tause of the tatholics against the Eutychians.

The emperor promi/es to comply with bis demands.

Justin procation, &c.

prefect Martinus, with its rich furniture, he himself having narrowly escaped being a confumed in the flames s. The following year 514. when Cassiodorus Senator was conful, Vitalianus, one of the emperor's generals, espouling the cause of Macedonius, and the other orthodox bishops, persecuted by Anastasius, approached Constantinople, at the head of a numerous army, raised in three days time, threatening to depose the emperor, if he did not restore the banished bishops to their sees, and drive out the Eutychians. Anastasius, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Eutyches, refuling to comply with his request, he made himself master of Massia and Thrace, took Cyril, governor of the latter province, prisoner, defeated Hypatius, the emperor's nephew, who likewise fell into his hands; and returning before Constantinople with his victorious army, Anastasius, who was no-ways in a condition to oppose him, b folemnly promifed to comply with his demands, viz. to put an end to the perfecution, which he had raised against the catholics, to restore Macedonius, and the other orthodox bishops, to their sees, and to call an occumenical council, and stand to the decisions of the prelates of the church. Anastasius had no sooner signed these articles, than Vitalianus withdrew from the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and disbanding his troops, fent Hypatius, whom he had taken prisoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in Thrace. Anastasius, thus delivered from his sears, pursued the perfecution against the catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at length by the ecclesiastic writers. In 515. when Anthemius and Florentius were consuls, and 516. when Petrus alone bore that dignity, nothing happened which c historians have thought worthy of notice. In 517, when Anastasius was consul the The Getz break fourth time with Agapetus, the northern barbarians, called by Marcellinus Getæ, breakinto Illyricum, ing into Illyricum, laid waste Macedon and Epirus, defeated Pompeius, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; and penetrating as far as Thessaly, returned from thence beyond the Danube unmolested, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives ". The following year, when Magnus alone was Anastasius dies. consul, the emperor Anastasius was found dead in his chamber on the 9th of July. Authors vary as to the circumstances of his death: some write, that a violent storm arifing, the dread and terror with which he was feized, as being conscious to himfelf of many cruel and unjust murders, put an end to his life w; others suppose him d to have been killed by a flash of lightning . He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-feven years, and three months, wanting two or three days y. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor more hated in the end of his reign. He gave at first several instances of generosity, good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, seeming to have nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his subjects. But he soon abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness, felling the public offices, and sharing with the governors of provinces the spoils of the unhappy people, whom he suffered them to oppress with most enormous exactions. The ecclesiastic writers paint him in the blackest colours imaginable; but as he perfecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the utmost of his power, the Eutychians, they were perhaps so far prejudiced against him as to overlook the few good qualities, which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

Anastasius being dead, Justin, then prafessus pratorio, was by the foldiers of the claimed empe- houshold proclaimed emperor in his room. He was descended of an obscure and His birth, ednafterwards lifted himself among the troops that guarded Thrace; and having on feveral occasions given signal proofs of an extraordinary valour and address, he was raised from the low station of a common soldier to the post of a tribune, and from that soon after to the office of præsectus prætorio, which he held when he was f preferred to the empire. Evagrius writes, that Amantius, the deceased emperor's great chamberlain, having intrusted Justin with large sums to purchase the votes of the foldiery in favour of Theocritus, his intimate friend, Justin distributed the money in his own name; and having by that means fecured the army to his interest, he was by them faluted with the title of Augustus, as soon as the death of Anastasius was known 2. Thus Evagrius, whose account does not at all agree with what we

<sup>\*</sup> MARC. chron. Vict. Tununensis, p. 132. \* MARC. chron. Jorn W Theod. p. 505. MARC. chron. Chron. Al. p. 764. \* Zonar. Fevaer. l. iv. c. 1. p. 381. Chron. Al. p. 764. \* Evaer. l. iv. c. 1, 2. Surius, p. 173. fucc. c. 48. p. 655. MARC. chron. JORN. reg. CEDREN. p. 362.

ibid.

a read in the letters faid to have been written by Justin himself to Hormisda bishop of Rome soon after his promotion; wherein he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and against his will, to the imperial dignity 2. But by what means foever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and by his fleady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent administration, healed in great measure the divisions which had long rent the church, as well as the state, into factions and parties. He was scarce warm in his throne, when Amantius, Theocritus, and several of the deceased emperor's relations, persons some conspired of great interest and authority in the empire, conspired against him; but the con-against him, spiracy being discovered by some who were privy to it, the chief authors of it, and covered and among the rest Amantius and Theocritus, were publicly executed, to the great satisf-punished faction of the people, who hated them as the avowed patrons of the Eutychians, and the chief promoters of the late persecution against the catholics. The following year 519. Justin being consul with Eutharic, the son-in-law of Theodoric, king of Italy, all the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by Anastasius, were by the emperor's orders restored to their sees, and several synods assembled, in which the doctrine of the church was established, and that of Eutyches condemned b. following year, Vitalianus, of whom we have made mention above, was raised to Vitalianus the consulship with Rusticus, but was soon after dispatched in the palace by the put to death. emperor's orders, upon his attempting to gain over some of the chief officers, with c a defign to depose Justin, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room. He had espoused the catholic cause in the reign of Anastasius; but his caballing against Justin, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the Eutychians, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms against his sovereign. The following year, Justinian, the emperor's nephew, being consul with Valerius, Cabades, king of Persia, sent a solemn embassy to Justin, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, provided he would adopt Cosrboes, the Persian king's youngest son, whom, to the prejudice of his eldest son Caoses, he had declared his fuccessor. This he looked upon as the only means of engaging the Roman emperor to espouse his cause, and of firmly establishing him in the kingdom. d The proposal was received at first with great joy both by Justin and his nephew Justinian; but Proclus, the quæstor, a man of great integrity, and well skilled in the laws, demonstrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, Cosrboes might claim the Roman empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; which so piqued Cavades, that he immediately entered Iberia, with a design to invade from thence the Roman territo. The Persian ries. Gurgenes, king of the Iberians, had recourse to Justin, who dispatched a body war. of troops to his affiftance, under the conduct of Sittas, and the famous Belisarius, who was then but a youth, and served in the guards of Justinian, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. Sittas and Belisarius broke into that part of Armenia which belonged to the Persians, and laid it waste; but being e met by Narses and Aratius, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the Roman dominions. Narses and Aratius revolted soon after from the Perfians, and ferved under Belisarius in Italy. The emperor, well pleased with the conduct of Belisarius, gave him the command of the forces in Daras, on the frontiers of Belisarius Persia d. These things happened in the third consulship of Severinus Boëtius, and commander of the first of Symmachus, who were succeeded in 523. by Maximus alone in the west, Daras. and he by Justin, the second time consul, and Opilio, during whose consulship we find nothing transacted in the empire that deserves notice. In 525. when Probinus or Probus, and Philoxenus, were consuls, Justin, by an edict, deprived the Arians of The Arians all their churches in his dominions; which occasioned a misunderstanding between deprived of f him and Theodoric, king of Italy, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Arius. But what relates to that prince, we reserve for the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy. The same year the city of Antioch was almost utterly overturned by an earthquake, A great and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their bishop Euphrasius, under the ruins. The cities of Epidamnus, Corinth, and Anazarbus in Cilicia, underwent the same fate, but were at a vast expence restored, as well as Antioch, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor, who was so affected with their missortune, that, putting off the purple, and laying aside the diadem, he appeared for Wide Baron. 2d ann. 518. Soriid. Procop. bell. Per C c. 11, 12. I Jorn. reg. fucc. c. 48. p. 132. Evagr. l.iv. c. 3.

several.

the empire.

several days in sack-cloth f. In 526. Olybrius alone was conful, and succeeded in a Justin assumes that dignity by Mavortius, during whose consulthip, Justin, on the first of April, declared his nephew Justinian his partner in the empire. He was the son of Sabatius by Bigleniza, the sister of Justin, called by the Romans Vigilantia. He was a native of Tauresium, but brought up at Bederina, the birth-place of his uncle Justin, both cities on the confines of Thrace and Illyricum; whence he is by some styled a Thracian, by others an Illyrian. He was sent, when yet a youth, by Justin, then commander in chief of the Roman army, as an hostage to Theodoric, king of Italy, who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, suffered him to return to Constantinople, where he was immediately honoured with the title of nobilifimus, and upon the death of Vitalianus, raised to the chief command of the army in his room 8. Some b authors write, that Justin, at the request of the senate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the senate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain that Justinian was this year declared emperor; and upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other enfigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him with loud acclamations: he was then, as Zonaras observes, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor Justin died about four months after, that is, in the latter end of September, or the beginning of August, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and fome days. His death is generally ascribed to a wound received in battle many His character. years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents & in keeping cattle, till he listed himself in the army; but was nevertheless a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address, in the management of the most difficult affairs, well skilled in the art of war, and in every respect equal to the high

luftin dies.

What gave rife

The Romans

defeased,

turn by Belifa-

armenia.

Narses and

station to which he was raised. Justinian, now fole master of the empire, made it his first and chief business to the Persian to secure the frontiers towards Persia. With this view he ordered Belisarius, commander of the troops in Daras, to build a fort in the neighbourhood of Mindon, which might be as a curb upon the Persians, and prevent them from breaking into the empire on that side. Belisarius had no sooner begun the work, than Cabades, who still reigned in Persia, after having attempted in vain, by threats and d menaces, to divert him from it, dispatched a body of troops against him. On the other hand, Justinian ordered the two brothers Curtzes and Buzes, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount Libanus, to join Belisarius. But notwithstanding this reinforcement, the Romans, in the battle which ensued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners, and among the rest Curtzes, to whose rash and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the Persians, finding the fort abandoned by the Romans, levelled it with the ground h. War being thus declared, Justinian appointed Belisarius general of the east, ordering him to make an inroad into Persia. Perozes, the Persian general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood e of Daras; whereupon a battle enfuing, the Persians were defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. As the Persians fled in great confusion, the Romans would, in all likelihood, have cut most of them in pieces, had not Belisarius, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, founded a retreat. The like success attended the Roman arms in Armenia, where Mermeroes, who commanded another And by Doro- army, confisting of Persarmenians, Sunites and Hunns, was surprised and defeated by theus in Pers- Dorotheus, the Roman governor of Armenia, and Sittas, general of the forces quartered in that province. Mermeroes being put to flight, the Romans made themselves masters of several strong holds in Persarmenia, and among the rest of Pharangium, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one Simeon. About f this time, Narses and Aratius, two brothers, who, in the latter end of Justin's reign, Aratius revolt had commanded the Persian army in Armenia, and gained some advantages over to the Romans. Belisarius and Sittas, as we have related above, revolting from the Persians, came over to the Romans, who were now masters of the greatest part of Persarmenia, their native country. Narses, the emperor's quæstor in those parts, who was likewife a Persarmenian, received them with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem. making them rich presents in the emperor's name; which encouraged their younger

f Idem ibid. c. 8. 1 Idem, c. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Vide not. ALAM. in Procop, secret. hist.

PROCOP. bell. Perf. c. 13.

a brother, by name Isaac, to follow their example, after having held a private correspondence with the Romans, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a strong-hold in the territory of Theodosiopolis, named Bolus k. Justiman, notwithstanding the advantages gained by his troops in Mesopotamia and Armenia, dispatched embassadors to Cabades, with proposals for an accommodation; but the treaty being foon broken off, the Persians, early in the spring of 530. invaded the Roman territories under the command of Azarethes, who was joined by an incredible number of Saracens, commanded by Alamundarus their king, who, as he was a person of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, advised the Persians to break into the Roman territories, not by the way of Mejopotamia and Ofrhoene, as b they usually did, but to march directly into Syria, which country they might lay waste, and plunder Antioch itself, before the army in Mesopotamia could receive the least intelligence of their motions. The Persian generals approving the scheme, the The Persians, army began to march; but Belisarius, apprifed of their design, slew with a strong attempting to detachment to the frontiers of Syria, where the Persians finding him, to their great Syria, are furprize, ready to dispute their passage, they resolved to proceed no farther, but prevented by rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, Beli-Belifarius. Jarius, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far superior to him in numbers, was for suffering them to retire unmolested. But his men upbraiding him The Romans, with cowardice, he led them on against the enemy, by whom, after a most obsti-engaging c nate dispute, they were put to the rout, Belisarius, with a small body of horse, who against the opinion of Bewere ashamed to forsake him, keeping the field, and by that means preventing the hitarius, are enemy from pursuing the sugitives. The next day the Persians, who had lost in defeated. the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it adviseable to venture a fecond battle, retired in good order, the Romans, who were greatly disheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them 1. The following year 531. Justinian being desirous of concluding a peace with the Persians, that he might be at leisure to make war upon the Vandals, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had seized, dispatched Hermogenes to the king of Persia, with very reasonable proposals. But Cabades, instead of hearkening to them, sent early in the spring a fresh army d into Mesopotamia, under the command of Chanaranges, Aspendes, and Mermeroes, who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and fword, fat down before Martyropolis, a city about thirty miles north of Amida on the river Nymphius, which The Persians parted the Persian and Roman dominions. The place was no-ways in a condition besiege Martyto maintain a fiege, being destitute both of soldiers and provisions. The emperor ropolis. had recalled Belifarius to advise with him about a war with the Vandals, on which he was chiefly bent; and Sittas, who had succeeded him in the command of the troops in the east, had not sufficient strength to attempt the relief of the place. While affairs stood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of Majfagetes was marching into Persia, with a design to invade from thence the Roman e dominions. This intelligence Justinian turned to his great advantage, by persuading the Persian deserter, who brought it, to spread a report in the army before Martyropolis, that the Massagetes were in the Roman pay, and their true design was to fall upon the Persians, and raise the siege. This report, with the news that was foon after brought of the death of Cabades, inclined the Persian generals to hearken to the overtures that were made them by Sittas and Hermogenes, with whom they first concluded a truce, retiring from before Martyropolis, and soon after a peace upon the following terms: 1. That the Roman emperor should pay to Costboes, who A perpetual had succeeded his father Cabades, a thousand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both peace concluded princes should restore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the com-between the Romans and f mander of the Roman forces in Mesopotamia should no longer reside at Daras, but Persians. at Constantina, as he had formerly done. 4. That the Iberians, who had sided with the Romans, should be at liberty to return to their own country, or stay at Constan-Upon these terms the Romans and Persians concluded an eternal peace, as it was styled, in 532. the fixth year of Justinian's reign, which, as it was without consuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the sasti 3. The second year after the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes. About this time happened at A great two Constantinople the greatest tumult we find mentioned in history. It began amongst mult at Constantinople.

Lidem, c. 15, 16. Idem, c. 18. Evagr. l. iii. c. 38. Agath. l. iv. c. 13. Niceph.l. xvii c. 10. Theoph. ad ann. Just. 5, 6. Cedren. p. 366. Hist. miscell. l. xvi. Procop. bell. Pers. ibid.

The tumult quelled with the death of

The Hunns commit great ravages in Illyricum.

Cosrhoes in-

Antioch besieged, taken, and laid in ashes.

the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion, the multitude, a highly diffatisfied with the conduct of John the præfettus prætorio, and of Trebonia nus, then questor, forcing Hypatius, nephew to the emperor Anastasius, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great folemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned ministers were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately discharged them, hoping by that means to appeare the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and most of the senators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and disheartened, would have aban-The manly cou doned the city, and made his escape by sea, had not the empress Theodora, with a manly press Theodora courage, persuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by seasonably putting him in mind of the old faying, How glorious a sepulchre is a kingdom! b Justinian, thus encouraged, resolved to continue in the palace, and, with the affistance of the few fenators who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the last. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried Hypatius in triumph to the circus; where while he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, among the shouts and acclamations of the people, Belisarius, who had been recalled from Persia, entering the city with a considerable body of troops under his command, and apprifed of the usurpation of Hypatius, marched strait to the circus, fell fword in hand upon the difarmed multitude; and being feafonably joined by Mundus, governor of Illyricum, at the head of a band of Heruli, cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces, took Hypatius the usurper, and Pompeius, another of the c 30000 persons, nephews of Anastasius, prisoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whose orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of such senators as had joined them; but the emperor caused great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children . Marcellinus supposes, that this tumult was raised by Hypatius, Pompeius, and Probus, all three nephews to the emperor Anastasius, each of them setting up for himself; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of citizens was murdered, and many stately buildings laid in ashes. The tumult being thus appealed, and a peace concluded with the king of *Persia*, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war d in Africa, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned Belisarius carried on with amazing success in the reign of Justinian, first with the Vandals in Africa, and afterwards with the Gotbs in Italy, we shall speak at length in the following volume. These two wars lasted from 533. to 541. a year remarkable for the triumphant return of Belisarius to Constantinogle, and no less on account of its being the last that is marked by confuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by confulships, tho' confuls were still created for some time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the Goths in Italy, the Hunns, probably stirred up by them, passed the Danube, and entering Illyricum, laid waste the whole country, took above thirty-two castles, destroyed Cassandria, and returned e home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives. At the same time the Armenians, shaking off the Roman yoke, gained fome advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundless report spread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of Belisarius, would no longer trust him with the command of his armies, encouraged Costrboes to invade the Roman dominions with a very powerful army, in defiance of the treaty mandominions. folemnly concluded a few years before. Buzes, who commanded in the east, instead of affembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, disappeared all on a fudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleasure. As Cosrboes met with no opposition, he bent f his march to Syria; and having taken and plundered Berwa, Hierapolis, and several other cities, he laid siege to Antioch itself, which he soon mastered, and gave up to be plundered by his foldiers, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword. The king himself seized on all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the great church; caused all the valuable statues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into Persia; and having thus stripped the proud metropolis of the east of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to fet fire to it, and lay it in ashes; which was done accordingly, none of the build-

a ings, even without the walls, being spared by the outrageous and insulting enemy. Thus perished the most wealthy, beautiful and populous city of the east. Such of the inhabitants as escaped the common slaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and fold in Persia to the highest bidder o. Justinian, upon the first news of the Persians entering the Roman territories, had dispatched embassadors to Costboes, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alledged feveral frivolous pretences for the hostilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on Justinian; but after he had wasted Syria, and enriched himself and his army with the spoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accommodation; and accordingly a h peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the Romans should, within A peace contwo months, pay to the Persian king five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an cluded with the annual pension of five hundred. 2. That the Persians should relinquish all claim to king of Persia, Daras, and maintain a body of troops to guard the Caspian gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the abovementioned fum, Cost boes should immediately withdraw his troops out of the Roman The treaty being figned, and the stipulated sum paid, Cosrboes began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war had still continued, the cities of Apamea and Chalcis; and croffing the Euphrates, laid waste Mesopotamia, carrying Who neverthewith him from thence an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. less ravages

Hereupon Fustivian now well apprised that with Castron po treaties were hinding Mesopotamia. Hereupon Justinian, now well apprised, that with Cost boes no treaties were binding, refolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigour, and with that design sent for Belifarius, then employed against the Goths in Italy, and, upon his arrival at Constantinople, appointed him general against the Persians. While that brave commander was making the necessary preparations to take the field early in the spring of the ensuing year 542. the Lazians, no longerable to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the Roman troops in that country, revolted to the Per- The Lazians fians, and delivered up to them all their castles and strong-holds. Lazica, formerly revolt to the part of Colchis, lay between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the Roman emperor, and received at his hands the enfigns of royalty. Their present king's name was Gubazes, who had ferved the Romans with great fidelity, and continued attached to their interest, till Joannes Tzibus, commander of the Roman troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring *Iberians*, by erecting a fort, as a curb upon the *Lazians*, and exacting exorbitant contributions for the payment of his foldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince and his subjects, tho' otherwise well affected to the empire, to have recourse to the king of Persia, who, upon the first invitation, entered their country, and being assisted by the natives, drove out the Romans, and placed every-where Persian garisons in their room q. In the mean time Belisarius, not apprised of the revolt of the Lazians, entered Persia at the head of a powerful army; and having Belisarius enmade himself master of a strong-hold called Sisibranum, laid waste Assyria; but was ters Persia, e obliged, by the violent heats, and the distempers that began to rage in his army, Assyria. to return, before the end of the summer, into the Roman dominions. Cost was no sooner informed of the invasion of Belisarius, than quitting Lazica, he hastened into Affyria; but being informed on his march, that the Romans were retired, he put his army into winter-quarters, and withdrew to Ctefiphon r. The fpring following, he invaded anew the Roman territories, bending his march through Comagena, with a Costhoes asdesign to enter Palestine, and enrich himself with the spoils of that fertile and wealthy tempts to in-province. Belisarius, who was returned to Constantinople, upon the first news of this vade Palestine; invalion, flew to Europus on the Euphrales, and there drew together what forces he could some time after Costboes had passed that river; which so alarmed the Persian But, dreading f king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he thought it adviseable to drop his Belisarius, drops that enintended expedition into Palestine, and return to his own dominions, before Belisa- surprize. rius was in a condition to cut off his retreat. The emperor being foon after obliged to recal Belisarius, and send him into Italy, where the Goths had gained great advantages over the Romans, as we shall relate hereafter, Costhoes resolved once more to invade the Roman territories, notwithstanding the dreadful plague that raged in Persia, being encouraged thereunto by the magi, and by a shameful overthrow of thirty

<sup>•</sup> PROCOP. bell. Pers. l. ii. c. 12. Evagr. Agath. ibid. 1 Idem ibida P PROCOP. l. ii. c. 2. r Idem ibid. c. 15, 29.

The Lazians revolt to the Romans.

The Romans obliged to raife the fiege of Petra.

The Persians put to flight.

The Persians

Petra taken by she Romans.

thousand Romans, who, attempting to break into Persarmenia, had been deseated by a four thousand Persians. Upon this success he invaded Mesopotamia, and sat down before Edeffa; but not being able to master the place, after several unsuccessful attempts, he agreed to raise the siege, and soon after concluded a truce for five years. upon the emperor's paying him two thousand pounds weight of gold, and sending him a celebrated physician, by name Tribunus, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous diftemper . Not long after the conclusion of the truce, Costboes, observing the Lazians no-ways pleased with their late change, and apprehending they would soon revolt from him to the Romans, resolved to prevent a second revolution, by causing Gubazes their king to be murdered, by transplanting the natives into Persia, and peopling the country, which opened him a passage into the Euxine sea, with Persians, and other b nations well affected to his interest. But his design being discovered to Gubazes, by those who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourse, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to Justinian, who, forgetting his past conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loss of time, dispatched eight thousand men, under the command of Dagistaus, to his affistance, who being joined by a numerous body of Lazians, laid siege to Petra, one of the strongest places in Lazica, defended by a Persian garison, and stored with all manner of provisions. Cost boes, alarmed at this sudden revolution, sent a powerful army, under the conduct of Mermeroes, to the relief of the place. At their approach, Dagistaus, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost consternation c towards the Phasis. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes advanced to Petra, the garifon of which place, confisting at first of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite disabled, and unfit for fervice. Mermeroes repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garifoned the place with three thousand men, and returned with the rest of his army into Persarmenia, not thinking it safe to continue in Lazica, whither, he was informed, fresh forces were marching, under the conduct of Recithangus, by birth a Thracian, who had ferved in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his age. At his departure, he left a body of five thousand men encamped on the banks of the Pha/is, to watch the motions of the Romans and Lazians. Of d these Gubazes and Dagistaus surprised one thousand, as they were straggling about in quest of booty; and having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly in the dead of the night upon the main body, put most of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous slight. The Romans made themselves mafters of their camp, in which, befides their enfigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a confiderable number of mules and horses. They purfued the fugitives to the confines of *Iberia*, intercepted feveral other parties that were conveying provisions into Petra; and having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives. Costboes was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched Corianes, with an army of Alans as well as Persians, into Lazica. But Corianes was attended with no better success than the other Persian generals; for being met on the banks of the Hippus in Colchis by Gubazes and Dagistaus, his army was, after a most obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, utterly defeated and he himself stain'. These advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Gubazes, at whose request Dagistaus, who had shamefully abandoned the fiege of Petra, as we have related above, was recalled, and Bessa, an officer of great experience, appointed to command in his room. He immediately invested Petra, and in the end reduced that important place, tho' defended by the Persian garison with such obstinacy, as savoured of madness and despair. Bessas ordered Petra to be difmantled; and leaving only twelve thousand men in Lazica, viz. three f thousand in Archaepolis the metropolis, and nine thousand encamped on the banks of the Phasis, under the command of Odonachus, he retired with the rest into Armenia. his own government. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes entered Lazica; and having first obliged Odonachus to withdraw into the Roman territories, he laid siege to Archaopolis, which however he was forced to raise, having, in several assaults, been repulsed with great loss by the garison. Notwithstanding these hostilities, the Persian embassadors, who had been sent to Constantinople the preceding year, continued still there, and foon after the reduction of Petra, concluded a five years truce with the emperor,

A truce besween the Romans and Per-

Sians.

PROCOP. L. ii. c. 12. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 27. . Idem, l. iv. c. 25, 26. PROCOP. l. ii. c. 10.

a upon his paying to the Persian king an immense sum, which raised great complaints among the people, who were rather for pursuing the war, than submitting to pay a tribute, as they styled it, to the king of Persia. But Justinian was glad to come to an agreement with the Persians upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained over the Goths in Italy, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The truce was no fooner expired, than the Persians, invading anew Lazica, took by stratagem the strong castle of Telepsis; and then falling upon the Roman army, which lay encamped at a small distance, put them to slight at the first onset. Gubazes, king of Lazica, provoked at the cowardice of the Roman generals, acquainted the emperor with their shameful behaviour; which incensed b them to fuch a degree, that they agreed to dispatch him: and accordingly, having accused him at court of treachery, as if he privately corresponded with the Persians, by wresting the instructions sent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving The king of out, that he designed to betray them, and deliver all the Romans into the hands of the Lazica barba
Persons. The Lazicans, highly incensed against the authors of his death, would have roughy murdered. Persians. The Lazicans, highly incensed against the authors of his death, would have by the Romans. revolted from the Romans, and joined the Persians, had not Justinian appealed them, by causing all those, who were any-ways accessory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room. In the mean time the Persians, to the number of sixty thousand men, advanced, under the command of Nachoragan, into Lazica, and laid fiege to Phasis; but Justin, c who commanded the Roman troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thou. The Persians fand of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest, with their general, to save themselves defeated. within the Persian dominions. This defeat so disheartened Costrboes, that he immediately dispatched embassadors to Constantinople to sue for a peace; which was A peace con-accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes ". The public cinded. rejoicings for the peace with Persia, after such a long and destructive war, were disturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for several days, and overturned a great many stately edifices, and several churches, in which perished an incredible number of people, who had crouded to them during the public confusion. About the same time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over d the empire, broke out anew at Constantinople, and swept off many thousands of people. The same year 558. the Hunns, passing the Danube in the depth of winter, marched The Hunns in two bodies directly for Constantinople, and laying waste the countries through break into which they passed, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But Belifarius, tho' now weakened by old age to fuch a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both Are put to the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them w. However, the flight by Beliemperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the Roman dominions, agreed to iarius. pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to defend the empire against all e other barbarians, and to serve, when required, in the Roman armies x. This was the last exploit performed by Belisarius, who, upon his return to Constantinople, was Belisarius disdifgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. Agathias ascribes graced. his disgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, persuaded the emperor, whose jealousy increased with his years, that Belisarius aspired at the fovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the most renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to second him in his ambitious views; that the foldiery were still more attached to him than the people, &c. Upon these malicious and groundless infinuations, the emperor, forgetting the past services of the most f deserving of all his subjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the restorer of the antient military discipline, recalled him, according to Agathias, without so much as suffering him to pursue his late victory over the Hunns; and upon his arrival at Constantinople, which he deserved to enter in triumph, confined him to his house, after having, with the utmost ingratitude, divested him of all his authority, honours and employments y. The more modern writers pretend, that Justinian caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the streets of Constantinople. But the antient authors affure

<sup>\*</sup> Idem, l. ii. c. 17, 28, 29. 

\* Idem ibid. & bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 3, 9. Адатн. l. iii. p. 81—90. 

\* Адатн. l. v. p. 155. 

\* Idem, p. 156, 157. 

\* Адатн. hift. Justin. c. 9.

A conspiracy against Justi-

nian.

His code.

His institutes.

petita præle-ctione.

us, that the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, restored a him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther difgrace, to his death. About this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, viz. Ablavius, Marcellus, and Sergius, conspired against him, upon what provocation we know not; but the plot being discovered by some persons, whom Ablavius had attempted to draw into it, the conspirators were seized, before they could put their design in execution. Marcellus, after having defended himself with great resolution against the officers who were fent to arrest him, stabbed himself with his own sword. Ablavius and Sergius were publicly executed, and the rest of the conspirators banished 2. The emperor escaped the conspiracy; but did not long outlive it, being soon after Justinian dies. carried off by a natural, but sudden death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign; that b is, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and seven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried on with furprifing fuccess by his two renowned generals Belisarius and Narjes, and the new form which he gave to the Roman jurisprudence, have deservedly procured him the furname of Great. Of his public buildings, the reader will find a diffinct account in Procopius, who assures us, that there was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice, nor a province, wherein he did not built or repair fome city, fort, or castle a. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, Africa and Italy, after they had been long held, the former by the Vandals, and the latter by the Goths, as we shall relate in the history of these two nations. In peace he signalized c his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the Justinian code. In the very beginning of his reign he published an edict, directed to the fenate of Constantinople, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he chose the most famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian Tribonianus, who were to collect into one volume all the constitutions contained in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodofian codes, and join to them fuch as had been published by Theodosius the younger, and the other lawful emperors his fuccessors, down to Justinian himself. Whatever in those laws seemed superfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their sense and meaning was to be rendered more clear, and the names of the princes who published them, the place, the time, d and the persons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each constitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in little more than a year; so that it was published in the beginning of the third year of Justinian's reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declaring all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian; whereas the Theodosian code began with Constantine the Great. Justinian, not fatisfied with the code alone, undertook foon after a more noble, and far more difficult work, which was to collect, and digest into order, the opinions and answers, of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the Roman laws, especially on the edistum perpetuum, their different treatifes, &c. in all above two thousand volumes. This hard and crabbed task was completed in the space of three years by Tribonianus and fixteen other able civilians, and called by the Latins digesta, because the opinions of the antient civilians were there digested into order, and by the Greeks pandette, as containing all the antient jurisprudence. When this great work was near completed, Justinian ordered Tribonianus, Theophilus and Dorodeus to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the institutes, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the pandects b. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and Justinian himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws, in the eighth year of his reign, that is, in 534. he ordered a second code to be made, f in which were inferted all the constitutions, about two hundred in number, which he had enacted fince the publication of the first, and several others contained in the former His code de re- code, either corrected or annulled. This second code, styled de repetita prælectione, was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, declaring the first to be of no force, and forbidding any constitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of justice, that were not contained in the new code de repetita prælectione c. Thus was the first code, in a manner, abolished, and all authority given to the second,

<sup>\*</sup> PROCOP. hift. fecr. c. 13. b Vide Balduin. in Justinian. p. 497. Ritters. a Idem, de ædif. in jure Justin. in procem. c. 1. num. 4. EDMUND. MERIL. ad 50 decis. Justin.

a viz. to that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and feventy-fix articles, containing the conftitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian. After the publication of the institutes, pandeds and code, Justinian enacted feveral laws, which were joined together in a distinct volume, called the novella His novella. constitutiones. These were published from time to time by Justinian, not in the Latin, excepting some few, but in the Greek tongue, and collected into one volume after his death d. Justinian is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the Roman jurisprudence, but for his piety, prudence, justice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a person in his high station. As for the secret history, filled with most bitter invectives against Justinian, and the empress Theodora, it is, by the ablest crib tics, looked upon as not the work of Procopius, but as a scandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raised was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful passion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embellishing with stately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he feemed to countenance the Eutychians, no doubt, at the instigation of the empress Theodora, who held their doctrine; which has given occasion to many bitter invectives against her memory. Justinian may deservedly be called the last Roman emperor; for in his reign the majesty of the empire seemed to revive, but soon vanished e again, as we shall see in the sequel of the present history.

d Cujac. I. viii. obs. c. ult. Balduin. Justin. p. 573. Ritters. in procem. c. 4. num. 9.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Justinian the Great, to the deposing of Irene, and the promotion of Nicephorus.

d JUSTINIAN dying without iffue, Justin, the son of his sister Vigilantia, whom, in his life-time, he had designed for his successor, was by the senate proclaimed Justin proemperor, and crowned, with great folemnity, by John patriarch of Constantinople. claime peror. As the people were highly displeased with the deceased emperor, for abolishing the office of consul, the only mark they had left of their antient liberty, Justin promised to restore it; and accordingly took upon him that title on the first of January of the year 566. distributing on that occasion large sums amongst the people, according to the antient custom. During his consulship, the Avari, or Abari, a Scythian nation, fent embassadors to demand the pension formerly paid them by Justinian; but the Massagetes, who at this time began to be called Turks, and inhabited the country e bordering on the Tanais to the east, pressing the emperor not to comply with the demands of the Avari, their declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, Justin not only refused to pay them the usual pension, but threatened to make war He refuses to upon them, if they offered to disturb the peace of the empire. The courage and pay the usual tesolution which the emperor exerted on this occasion, gave so great satisfaction to pension to the the people, that they began to prefer him even to Justinian, who, they said, had, with the spoils of his own subjects, enriched the barbarians, the avowed enemies of the empire. But Justin soon forseited, by his cruelty, and insatiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained of him; for the following year he caused Justin his kinsman to be seized in his house, and conveyed to Alexandria, where he was, by his orders, inhumanly murdered, for no other crime but because he was He causes Just beloved by the people. The empress Sopbia, niece to the late empress Theodora, a tin his kinst mante he murte oman of a cruel, haughty and suspicious temper, is thought to have put him upon dered.

The Librards this, and several other bloody executions. The following year 569. is remarkable a for the irruption of the Lombards into Italy, where they founded a new kingdom, which continued for the space of two hundred years, and upwards. But of their wars with Justin and his successors, till the total reduction of Italy, and of the kings of the Lombards who reigned there, from Alboin to Defiderius, taken prisoner by Charlemagne, we shall speak at length in the following volume. Italy was anew dismembered from the empire, and great part of it lost in the reign of Justin; but some amends was

The Performe- made for so great a loss by the acquisition of Performenia, the inhabitants, who were ni ns revolt to cruelly persecuted by the Persians, on account of the christian religion, which they professed, shaking off the yoke, and recurring to the protection of the Roman emperor, to whom they submitted, upon certain articles sworn to by both parties. Cosrhoes, b

informed of their revolt, dispatched embassadors to Constantinople, to divert the emperor from espousing their cause, which, he said, was contrary to the treaties fubfifting between the two empires. Justin, despising their menaces, resolutely answered, that the truce was expired, and that he could not deny his protection and affiftance to a brave nation, who, professing the same religion with himself, were on that score cruelly persecuted and oppressed. Hereupon Costboes, having with incre-

The Perfians invade the Roman dominions.

abandon the

The Pertians take several

places.

dible expedition raised a powerful army, divided it into two bodies, ordering the one to march directly into Syria, under the conduct of Artabanus, while he himself with the other invaded Mesopotamia. Justin in the mean time, utterly neglecting the necesfary preparations to oppose so formidable an enemy, wallowed in his usual pleasures, c till news was brought him, that the Persians had already broken into his dominions.

He then dispatched Martianus, captain of his guards, into the east, but without men, money or arms; so that he was forced to inrol such vagabonds, thieves and robbers, as offered themselves to him in his way. With these however he surprised and put to flight a small body of Persians, and, elated with that advantage, however inconfiderable, he had the confidence to fit down before Nifibis, the inhabitants, who scorned to shut their gates, rallying him from the walls, and asking him, Whether he

had been placed there with his men to watch sheep, or besiege the town? The emperor nevertheless, highly incensed against him for protracting, as he said, the siege, deprived him of his command, and fent one Acacius to succeed him; which so displeased the d officers, who were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of Aca-The Romans

tius, that they abandoned the siege, and retired into Syria. In the mean time Artasiege of Nisibis. banus, having passed the Euphrates, advanced to Antioch; but not being able to reduce that metropolis, he sat down before Heraclea, which he took by assault, and laid in ashes. From Heraclea he marched to Apamea, which submitted upon terms; but was nevertheless by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of Apamea, he joined the king, who had undertaken the siege of Daras, which being now carried

on with fresh vigour, the garison was in the end obliged to submit, after having held out with great resolution and intrepidity for the space of five months. The loss of Daras, a place of the utmost importance, and the wonderful progress of the Lombards e in Italy, affected the emperor, now convinced of his imprudent conduct, to fuch a degree, that he was seized with a kind of madness, which rendering him altogether

Juftin feized with a kind of incapable of managing the public affairs, Tiberius, by birth a Thracian, who had madness. discharged, with great reputation, the first employments in the state, was, by the advice and interest of the empress Sopbia, with the unanimous consent of the senate,

appointed to govern in his room. Tiberius immediately dispatched Trajan, a person Tiberius governs in his highly esteemed for his wisdom and address, to Cosrboes, with a letter from the room. empress Sopbia, wherein she acquainted him with the missortune that had befallen her husband, laid before him the deplorable state of the empire, and conjured him by

all that was facred, to forbear infulting a helpless woman, or invading a weak and f defenceless state. She ended her letter by putting him in mind of the humanity formerly shewn him by the emperor Justinian, who, upon his being seized with a dangerous malady, sent the best physicians of the empire to attend him. Costrboes was so

The generolity of Coirhoes.

fensibly affected with this letter, that looking upon it as highly ungenerous to pursue the war, he immediately consented to a truce for three years?. The following year 573. the emperor, who continued still indisposed, by the advice of the empress Sophia, raised Tiberius to the dignity of Casar, resigning to him the whole management of affairs, and referving for himself the bare name of emperor. Tiberius's first

Tiberius deelared Cafar.

> e Evagr. l. ii. c. 14. Phot. c. 113. F EVAGR. 1. V.C. 7-13. CEDREN. 1. iii. C. 18. MENAND. C. 16.

a care was to put himself in a condition of making head against the Persians, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, as foon as the truce was expired. With this view he raised a very numerous and formidable army; but at the same time endeavoured, by means of his embassadors, to change the truce into a lasting perce, and to establish a good understanding between the two empires. Cosrboes, deal o all proposals, would not so much as admit the embassadors to his presence, being bent upon recovering Perfarmenia; which accordingly he over-ran upon the Coffhoes expiration of the truce, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, and was already breaks into the marching into Cappadocia, with a defign to besiege Cæsarea, the metropolis of that Roman domi-province; but Justinian, the brother of Justin, who had been basely murdered at b Alexandria, as we have related above, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement, in which great numbers of his troops were cut Is defeated, in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. and dies of Cosrboes was so grieved for this overthrow, that he fell sick, and died, after a long grief. and glorious reign of forty-eight years. Justinian in the mean time, entering Persia with his victorious army, continued there, putting all to fire and sword, till the latter end of June, when he returned in triumph to the Roman territories F. The following year the emperor Justin died, after having reigned fixteen years, nine months, and Justin dies. some days. He is painted by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, so addicted to his pleasures, as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the state is said to have suffered no less from his inactivity and indolence, than from the tyranny and c cruelty of any of his predecessors ". Upon his death, Tiberius, who had for some Tiberius deyears governed the empire with an absolute sway, was by the senate and people clared emperor. declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of Augusta upon Anastasia, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme disappointment of Sophia, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a prefumption that he would marry her, grew his implacable enemy, when the found him married to another, and The empress attempted to raise Justinian to the empire. But the plot being seasonably discovered, Sophia conthe emperor caused all her treasures to be seized, which was the only punishment he him. inflicted upon her; and depriving Justinian of the command of the army in the east, fent Mauritius to succeed him. Mauritius was descended from an antient Roman family; d but born in Arebiffus, a city of Cappadocia, had ferved in the army from his infancy, and was no less esteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the east, he found Hormifda, who had fucceeded Cofrhoes in the kingdom of Perfia, obstinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantageous proposals offered him by the emperor. Hereupon, having drawn together his forces, he marched with incredible expedition to the confines of Persia, and falling unexpectedly upon the Persian army, commanded by the · king in person, gave them a total overthrow, took their camp, with all the royal The Persians plate and treasure, which he immediately sent to Constantinople, and made an incredible defeated by number of prisoners, who were likewise sent to the emperor, by whose orders they Mauritius. e were richly cloathed, and suffered to return to Persia, Tiberius hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation. But Hormisda, determined to pursue the war at all events, dispatched his two generals, Tamochofroes and Aduasmanes, to the borders, at the head of the most numerous army that had been seen for many years in Persia. Mauritius however, according to the fuccinct and confused account which Evagrius gives us of this war, gained a complete He gains a sevictory over them, dispersed their numerous forces, took several castles, strong-holds cond victory, and towns, enriched his army with an immense booty, and made such numbers of places, &c. captives, as were sufficient to people the islands and countries that had been long uninhabited, and to form armies against other nations at enmity with the empire i. Upon f his return to court, he was received with the greatest demonstrations imaginable of esteem and affection by Tiberius, who soon after gave him in marriage his daughter He marries the Constantia, and raised him to the dignity of Cæsar; which was declaring him his emperor's successfor k. In the mean time Hormisda, quite disheartened after the great losses he is declared had sustained, sent embassadors to sue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but Carlar. not long observed by that faithless prince, as we shall see anon. The year following the Avari or Abari, dwelling on the banks of the Danube, made a sudden irruption into The Avari break into the E Evag. l.v. c. 17. Agath. l. iv. c. 13. h Pa v. c. 9. k Niceph. l. xviii. c. 6. Evag. ibid. h Paul. Diacon, de gest. Langeb. l. iii. c. 11.

Pannonia, under the conduct of their Chagan, or king, and made themselves masters of a Sirmium. Chagan, elated with this success, dispatched embassadors to Constantinople to demand the annual pension, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before, and besides, an immense sum by way of interest. But Tiberius, highly provoked at the arrogance of the embassadors, instead of complying with their exorbitant demands, ordered his troops to take the field. The Avari, not caring to venture an engagement, retired beyond the Danube, watching an opportunity of invading anew the Roman The year following, that is, according to the most probable opinion, Tiberius dies, in 586, died the emperor Tiberius, after having reigned four years alone, and three years and eleven months with Justin. All the antients speak of him as a prince of extraordinary abilities, and one who proved a true father to his people. Some time b Mauritius suc- before his death, he had caused Mauritius to be declared emperor, in the presence of John the patriarch of Constantinople, of all the nobility, and the chief citizens, as a person the best qualified in the whole empire for that high station. Hormisda, king of Persia, no sooner heard of the death of Tiberius, than he broke into the empire, at the head of a numerous and powerful army, pretending that the peace he had lately concluded with Tiberius was no longer binding. Against him the emperor dispatched one John a Thracian, who at first gained some small advantages over the enemy; but being foon after defeated, he was recalled, and Philippicus, who had married the emperor's fifter, fent in his room. The new general was attended with better success; for having engaged the Persians, who, encouraged by the pre- c dictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to battle as to a certain triumph, he obliged them to retire with great loss to their camp. The next morning the Persians renewed the fight, but were again descated with a far greater

loss than they had sustained the day before. After this victory, Philippicus detached Heraclius, his lieutenant, with part of the army, ordering him to enter and lay waste the enemy's country. The Persian general, named from his office Cardariga, being informed by some deserters, that the Roman army was divided, rallied his forces;

The Persians defeated by Philippicus,

Who is defeated and falling in the dead of the night upon Philippicus, put him to flight, and took

A general

The Perfians defeated by

The mutiny appeased by of Antioch.

by them in his a great number of prisoners. Heraclius, in the mean time, having passed the Tigris, laid waste the country far and wide, made himself master of several strong-holds, d and then returned, loaded with booty, to Philippicus, who was drawing all his forces together with a delign to retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms with some remarkable exploit. But in the mean time, the emperor, being informed of his late misconduct, ordered him to relign the command of the army to Priscus, and return to Constantinople. Priscus was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he was universally abhorred by the soldiery, on account of his severity, and imperious temper, a few days after his arrival, they rose up in a general mutiny against him, mutiny in the plundered his tent, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not faved himself by Roman army, a timely flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of Edessa. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged Germanus, governor of Phanicia, to take upon him the command of the army, which he had not held long, before the emperor, informed of the mutiny, fent Philippicus again into the east to bring them back to their duty. Germanus was for refigning the command to him; but the mutinous foldiery openly declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both against his own will and the emperor's, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, to continue in the post to which they had raised him. In the mean time, the Persians, taking advantage of these disturbances, broke into the empire, destroying every thing with fire and sword. But Germanus, marching against them, engaged them, according to Evagrius, with fuch success, that scarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into Perfiam. Not long after this victory, the mutiny was at length appealed, after it had f lasted a year and upwards, by Gregory, hishop of Antioch, a person greatly beloved and revered by the foldiery for the fanctity of his life, and the kindness he had on feveral occasions shewed them. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they submitted in the end to Philippicus, who, after having published a general act of oblivion, Gregory, bishop marched without loss of time against the Persians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, in which the general himself, by name Marazas, and almost the whole army, were cut in pieces, only two thousand two hundred of so great a multitude having escaped the general flaughter ". The same year the city of Antioch was once more

1 MENAND. C. 23. THEOPHYL. Simocat. c. 3. m EVAGR. ibid. THEOPHYLACT. C. 8, 9. " EVAGR. ibid. THEOPHYLACT. C. 10, 15.

almost

a almost utterly destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thousand persons were either buried under the ruins, or swallowed up by the earth o. The following year 588. Sittas, one of the citizens of Martyropolis, having betrayed that important place to the Persians, Philippicus early in the spring laid siege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and Gommentiolus appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the Persians soon after his arrival, gained a The Persians complete victory over them, made himself master of a castle called Ochas, built on defeated by a high rock over-against Martyropolis, and from thence so annoyed the garison with Commentihis warlike engines, that they were in the end obliged to submit, and deliver up the place. Hormisda, ascribing the bad success of his arms to the cowardice of his general, b by name Barames, deprived him of his command, sending him at the same time the

habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. Barames, to revenge this affront, conspired against Hormifda, who was universally hated on account of his cruelty; and having eafily gained over the greater part of the army, and amongst the rest Ferrochanes, who had been sent to command in his room, he fell upon the king with the other conspirators, and pulling him down from his throne, Hormida, tore the diadem from off his head, and conveyed him under a strong guard to the king of Persia, public prison. The next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruel- deposed, and Costrhoes, his ties, ordered his wife, and one of his fons, to be fawed a funder in his prefence ; fon, raifed to and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated the throne.

c with great humanity by his eldest son Cost boes, whom the rebels had raised to the throne. But the deposed king, not able to bear so great a change, instead of acknowledging the kindness shewn him by his son, who dared not release him, trampled under foot whatever was fent him; which provoked Cofrhoes to fuch a degree, that in the transport of his passion he caused him to be beaten to death. Though the Persians abhorred Hormisda, yet the aversion they conceived against Cost boes, on account of this unnatural murder, was so great, that the nobility, people and soldiery, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take Cossiboes, drirefuge in the Roman dominions. Mauritius, touched with compassion, and reflecting ven out, is on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at Constantinople with all restored by Mauritius.

d possible demonstrations of kindness, entertained him in a manner suitable to his condition, and, having prefented him with immense sums, sent him back at the head of a powerful army, which, entering Persia, deseated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged Barames, their ringleader, to take refuge amongst the neighbouring barbarians, and, restoring the banished prince to the throne of his ancestors, returned in triumph to the Roman territories P. Upon the restoration of Cosrboes, a profound peace enfued in the east, so that the emperor was at leifure to pursue the war against the Avari, who, passing the Danube, had entered Thrace, and made themselves The Avari inmasters of several strong-holds in that province. Mauritius marched against them in vade the emperson at the head of the army lately returned from the east; but after several bat. pire.

e tles fought with dubious fucces, he was in the end obliged to purchase a peace, which however the king of the Avari did not long observe; for entering into an alliance with the Gepidæ, the Sclavi, and other neighbouring barbarians, he returned the following year, bragging, that he would utterly abolish the Roman name, and establish a new empire over all people and nations. After he laid waste Thrace, he approached Constantinople with his numerous army; which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting Europe, and retiring with their families and effects to Chalcedon, and other places in Asia. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending storm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the barbarians, affuring them, that heaven would not suffer f the peace, which Chagan had confirmed with the most solemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity. The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unnecessary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's Obliged by a camp, swept off daily great numbers of them, and amongst the rest seven of Cha-plague to regan's fons; which so terrified the barbarians, that they resolved to abandon the turn to their Roman territories, and return beyond the Danube. Chagan, when upon the point of own country. departing, offered to fet at liberty the Roman captives, of whom he had twelve thousand, for a very inconsiderable sum a head. But the emperor resusing to ran-

Muritius dif fom them, because they had been for the most part concerned in the mutiny, which a happened in the beginning of his reign, Chagan, transported with rage, put them all to the fword. This occasioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at Constantinople, where the populace insulted the emperor in a most outrageous man-The following year the Avari, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were in five successive battles overthrown by Priscus, with the loss of above thirty thousand men, and obliged to quit the Roman dominions. Priscus returned to Constantinople; but Peter, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the Danube, was ordered to cross that river, and winter in the enemy's country. This order the foldiers, who had conceived an irreconcileable aversion to Mauritius ever since he refused to ransom the captives, would by no means h comply with, looking upon it as given on purpose to expose them to new hardships. Hereupon a general mutiny ensuing, they declared a centurion, by name Phocas, emperor, bestowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of Augustus. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of Phocas, being brought to Constantinople, the populace, ever fond of change, rose against Mauritius, who, finding

himself abandoned by his guards, embarqued on a small vessel with his wife and

The army on the Danube declare Phocas emperor.

Mauritius retires.

Constantinople.

dren pis: 10 death.

The emteror's Phocas.

children, proposing to retire in disguise to some place of safety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr Autonomus, Phocas crown- about an hundred and fifty furlongs from Constantinople. In the mean time Phocas, arriving with his army, entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the populace, and was folemnly crowned in the church of St. John Baptist, with his wife Leontia, by the patriarch, after he had promifed to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of Nice and Chalcedon. The following days he exhibited public sports, during which warm disputes arising between the two factions, viz. the blue and the green, Phocas fent his guards to appeale the tumult, who having used roughly a tribune of the blue faction, those of the same party, threatening the emperor, cried out, that Mauritius, who would do them justice, was not yet dead. This awakened the jealoufy of the tyrant, who thereupon imme-Mauritius, and diately ordered Mauritius to be dragged from his afylum to Chalcedon, where, by five of his chil- the tyrant's orders, five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, d and then he himself beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness, and christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments; nay, he was so far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not fuffer this kind fraud to take place, but discovered it to the executioners. The heads of the emperor and the young princes were for some days left exposed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. Mamasr. Such was the end of Mauritius, after he had lived fixty years, and reigned fixteen years, three months, and fome e days'. The tyrant, not fatisfied with the death of Mauritius, cauled Peter his brother, and brother, Commentiolus, who had the chief command of the many feveral others, Philippicus, and Prasentinus, an officer of great distinction, and much attached to brother, Commentialus, who had the chief command of the army, George the fon of the family of the deceased emperor, to be inhumanly massacred. Theodofius, the eldest son of Mauritius, had been sent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to folicit fuccours from Cosrboes, whom he had restored to the throne of his anceftors; but before the young prince reached the confines of the empire, he was seized, and executed at a place called Leucasta, at a small distance from Nicaa in Bithynia'.

> Phocas, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at Constantinople, fent, according to custom, his own image, and that of his wife Leontia, to Rome, where they were f received in the month of April of the present year 603. with loud and joyful acclamations, the people there being highly incenfed against Mauritius on account of the cruel exactions of the exarchs, and his other ministers in Italy. Gregory, furnamed the great, then bishop of Rome, caused the images to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr Cafarius, and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his advancement to the throne, which he faid was effected by a particular providence to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities, and heavy oppressions,

<sup>9</sup> THEOPHYLACT. I. vii. c. 1-17. & I. viii. c. 2. CEDREN. ann. Maur. 19. ZONAR. p. 137. I. viii. c. 10. NICEPH. I. XVIII. C. 41. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid. \* EVAGR. 1, V. C. 23. CEDREN. annal, ann. Phoc. 1.

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under which they had long groaned ". Had we no other character of Phocas and Phocas': cha-Leontia, but that which has been conveyed to us in Gregory's letters, we should rank rader. him amongst the best princes mentioned in history. But all other writers paint him in quite different colours; and his actions, transmitted to us by several historians, evidently speak him a most cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. He was of middling stature, says Cedrenus w, deformed, and of a terrible aspect: his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was marked with a scar, which, when he was in a passion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to wine and women, blood-thirsty, inexorable, bold in speech, a stranger to compassion, in his principles a heretic. His wife Leontia was no better than he; in their reign thereb fore, continues the same writer, the unhappy people were overwhelmed with all manner The calamities of calamities, both public and private; great numbers of people were swept off either of his reign. by famine or pestilence; the earth resuled her fruits in season; the winters were so fevere, that the seas were frozen, and the fish destroyed. He endeavoured in the beginning of his reign to gain the affections of the people by celebrating the circensian games with extraordinary pomp, and distributing on that occasion large sums amongst the people; but finding that, instead of applauding, they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them, who wounded some, killed others, and seizing great numbers of them, dragged them to prison: but the popu- He is hated by lace rifing, fet them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcileable aver- the people. fion to the tyrant . The death of Mauritius was no fooner known in the east, than c the celebrated Narses, who at that time commanded the troops quartered on the Narses revolts. frontiers of Persia, revolted; and seizing on the city of Edessa, easily persuaded Cosrhoes to join him, in order to depose the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince, to whom he was indebted for his crown. Cosrboes, upon the first invitation, entered the Roman territories at the head of a mighty army, and over-ran without oppo-fition all Mesopotamia. Hereupon Germanus was sent into the east; but Narses meet- And deseats ing him not far from Edessa, engaged him, and put him to flight. Germanus dying Germanus sense a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, Leontius, who was fent against him. to fucceed him, having, upon his arrival, fuffered himself to be furprised by Narses, was in like manner defeated, and his army dispersed; which provoked the tyrant to d fuch a degree, that he not only recalled him, but ordered him to be led about in chains, exposing him thus to the outrages and insults of the populace. Phocas, despairing of success so long as Narses continued in the Persian interest, lest no stone unturned to gain him over; but after he had in the end, with the most solemn oaths, Phocas gains and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour, perfuaded him to return home, over Narfes, and repeated affurances of indemnity and favour perfuses and repeated him to return home. he no sooner had him in his power, than, unmindful of his promises and engagements, orders burns he caused him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and dissatisfaction of the Romans, alive. by whom he was in a manner adored on account of the eminent services he had rendered the empire, and to the no less satisfaction of the Persians, who dreaded the very name of Narfes, and besides were highly provoked against him for his having lately e forfaken them 7. Though destitute of forenowned a leader, they pursued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all Mesopotamia and Syria; and having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition. Phocas finding himself universally hated by the people on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, to strengthen and secure his authority by alliances with the nobility, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 607. married his daughter Domitia to Priscus, a patrician, and captain of the guards. But in the magnificent shews that were exhibited on occasion of the nuptials, the people having saluted the bride and bridegroom with the title of Augusti, the jealous emperor ordered The emperor's f Theophanes and Pamphylus, who superintended the sports, and had exposed the images cruelty. of Priscus and Domitia, without any evil design, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have likewise put Priscus to death, had not the people interposed in his behalf?. The jealousy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one Peronia, who was privy to all the fecrets of Constantina, the widow of Mauritius, informed the emperor, that the maintained a private correspondence with Germanus, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a design to raise her son Theodosius, whom she believed

\* Idem ibid.

many others,

still living, to the empire. Hereupon Constantina was immediately seized, and being a Constanting, put to the rack, confessed, that Romanus, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conspiracy. Romanus discovered upon the rack several others, and among the rest daughters, and Theodorus, presect of the east, Helpidius, John, Ziza, and many other persons of great put to death, distinction, who were all, by the emperor's orders, put to death, together with Romanus and Germanus, the tyrant not sparing even the daughter of the latter. As for

Syria, Pale-

Priscus conspires against the emperor.

of the Jews at Antioch.

Constantinople.

A conspiracy against the emperor dif-

Constantina, she was carried to the place where her husband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly executed with her three daughters a. The jealoufy of the suspicious tyrant being heightened by these discoveries, incredible multitudes of persons of all ranks were daily dragged to prison, which by that means was fo crouded, that great numbers died daily suffocated with the stench and noi- b fomeness of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compassion for the unhappy persons detained there, yielded her house adjoining to it to inlarge it b. Phocas thus raged at home, Cosrboes in the east laid waste without opposition Syria, stine and Phoe- Palestine and Phanicia, putting all to fire and sword; and the following year having by the Persians. put to slight the troops that were sent against him, he entered Galatia, and committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in Paphlagonia, advanced as far as Chalcedon . In the mean time Phocas, instead of protecting his people against an implacable and insulting enemy, raged with greater fury than Cosrboes himself; for this year, the sixth of his reign, he not only put to death all those who were any-ways related to Mauritius, but caused Commentiolus, governor of c Thrace, and one of the best officers of the empire, with several other persons of great distinction, to be inhumanly murdered. These cruelties alarmed Priscus, sonin-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending fooner or later the fame fate, refolved by fome means or other to provide for his own fafety, and to rid the world of fo great a plague. Accordingly, being informed that Heraclius, governor of Africa, was privately carrying on a conspiracy in that province, instead of discovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the chief men in the senate to the party of the conspirators, and at the same time dispatching persons, in whom he could conside, to Heraclius, advised him to send, without loss of time, his son Heraclius, and Nicetas, the fon of Gregoras his lieutenant, with what forces he could spare, to support the d people and nobility, who were ready to revolt d. Phocas, in the mean while, not apprifed of the danger that threatened him, dispatched Bonosus, whom he had lately appointed count of the east, with a considerable army to make head against the Persians; but while he was on his march, he received fresh letters from the emperor, An infarrection injoining him to haften to Antioch, where the Jews, rifing against the christians, had massacred great numbers of them, and among the rest Anastasius, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whose dead body they had ignominiously dragged thro' the streets, and insulted in a most outrageous manner. Bonosus having attempted in vain to appeale the tumult by fair means, fell upon the mutineers sword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest out of the city. Thus was the e tumult suppressed at Antioch; but at the same time far greater disorders happened A tumult at at Constantinople, where the people, reviling the emperor at the public shews for his cruelty, drunkenness and debaucheries, provoked him to a degree, that, transported with rage, he caused several of them to be seized, who were either beheaded on the spot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the sea; which so enraged the rest, that they set fire to the palace, and the public prison; by which means those who were detained there made their escape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conspiracy was formed against him by those in whom he most confided. The chief authors of it were Theodorus, a Cappadocian, the prafeetus prætorio, Helpidius, who had the care of the warlike engines, and Anastasius, f the comes largitionum. These, with several others of great authority near his person, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conspiracy being discovered by Anastasius, the emperor ordered all those who had been privy to it, Anastasius himself not excepted, to be put to death f. Phocas escaped this danger; but the following year 610, the eighth of his reign, he was overtaken by the bloody doom Heraclius pro- he had long deserved. For Heraclius, the son of the governor of Africa, who bore claimed empe- the same name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as e Glic. in annal. p. 170.

THEOPH. hift. misc. l. xviii. Седкен. in annal. Phocas. Glic. Theoph. C. Phoc. 7. Cedren. ann. 7. f Hist. miscel. an. 7. Phoc. b Glic. annal. in Conft. mag. Glic. in Phocas. Glic. Theoph. Cade. ibid.

fuch

a fuch by the people of Africa, failed from thence with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army on board, for Constantinople, while Nicetas marched thither by way of Alexandria and the Pentapolis. Heraclius steered his course to Abydus, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by several persons of rank, who had been banished by Phocas. From Abydus he sailed to Constantinople, where he engaged and Phocas, overutterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. Phocas took refuge in the palace; but one Pho-come in a featinus, whose wife he had formerly debauched, pursuing him with a party of soldiers, and put 10 forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having death. stripped him of the imperial robes, and cloathed him with a black vest, carried him in chains to Heraclius, who commanded first his hands and feet, then his arms b and privy parts, and at last his head, to be cut off. The remaining part of his body was delivered up to the foldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that Heraclius having reproached him with his evil administration, he answered with great calmness, It is incumbent upon you to govern better 8. Such was the deserved end of this cruel and bloody tyrant, after he had reigned seven years and some months. Upon his death, Heraclius was with loud acclamations proclaimed emperor; and Heraclius probeing crowned by Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, he placed the imperial crown claimed empeon the head of Fabia, thenceforth called Eudocia, the daughter of Rogatus, an African, ror. who had been formerly betrothed to him. Heraclius was descended of a noble and opulent family in Cappadocia, of a majestic aspect, well skilled in the art of war, c courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life. The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predecessor, were highly pleased with the change: but their joy was somewhat allayed by dismal tidings from the east, where the Persians made themselves masters of Edessa and Apamea, The Persians and penetrating as far as Antioch, cut off almost to a man a body of Romans, who make themattempted to stop them, committing every-where, without controul, most dreadful effectives masters ravages, and unheard-of cruelties. Heraclius, to answer the expectation the world had conceived of him, caused new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being fo intirely exhausted, that, of the many thousands who had seven years before revolted from Mauritius, and declared for Phocas, only two foldiers were d now living, the rest being cut off, says Cedrenus, by the avenging hand of providence, for their treachery to their lawful prince h. The new raised troops were sent into Cappadocia under the command of Crispus, who nevertheless could not prevent the Persians from over-running that province the following year, and making themfelves masters of Casarea, which they sacked, and laying waste both that province Ravage Capand Armenia, returned home loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incre-padocia and dible number of captives i. On the third of May of the same year 611. the empress Armenia, Eudocia was delivered of a fon; but she died soon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The fon was called Heraclius, and afterwards Constantine the younger k. Heraclius, not finding himself in a condition to restrain the Persians by force of arms, e dispatched embassadors to Cosrboes, offering to pay him a yearly pension, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms. But Costrhoes, deaf to all proposals, fent the next year a formidable army into Syria, under the conduct of Rasmizsus, who, after over-run having ravaged without opposition that country, broke into Palestine, and took the Egypt and city of Jerusalem, where they committed unheard of cruelties. They are said to Paleitine, have fold ninety thousand christians to the Jews, who purchased them not with a And take design to use them as slaves, but to vent their inveterate hatred, and implacable rage against the christians, by racking them with all the torments cruelty itself could invent. Zacharias, the patriarch, was carried into Persia, with an immense booty, and part of the cross, as was believed, on which our Saviour suffered. The same f year Heraclius married Martina, his brother's daughter, and caused her to be crowned with the usual pomp by Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople m. To this incestuous marriage Zonaras and Cedrenus ascribe all the calamities that afterwards besel him. The following year the Persians over-ran all Egypt, took and pillaged the city of Alexandria, and advancing from thence, as they met with no opposition, into Africa, laid siege to Carthage; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmolested into Persia, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the spoils of the feveral provinces, through which they passed. Herachus, who continued all this

<sup>\*</sup> Niceph. l. xviii. c. 26. Miscel. ann. 7. Phoc.

miscel. ann. 2. Heracl.

\* Zonar. p. 140.

Theoph. ad ann. H

Hist. miscel. l. iv. Cedren. ann. Heracl. 6. Leont in vit. Joan. Elecmos. h CEDREN. Heracl. ann. 1. 1 THEOPH. hift. 1 THEOPH. ad ann. Heracl. 5. Idem ibid.

bearken to no serms.

Heraclius railes a powerful army.

the Pertians.

The treachery of their general.

Heraclius invades Perlia, and gains a great victory.

to flight.

Ravages the Perlian dominions, and sakes several places.

time at Constantinople, where he created his fon Constantine Casar, and gave the title a of Augusta to his daughter, being well apprifed, that he had not sufficient strength to make head against so formidable an enemy, sent once more embassadors to Cofrboes, putting him in mind of the kindness formerly shewn him by Mauritius, and offering to conclude a lasting peace with him upon what terms he himself should judge reasonable. But Cosrboes, elated with his success, and aiming at nothing less Costhoes will than the utter destruction of the Roman name, returned the embassadors the following blasphemous answer; Let your master know, that I will bearken to no terms, till be bas, with all his subjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the sun, the great god of the Persians . Heraclius, by this impious and insulting answer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the Chagan or king of the Avari; b and having, with the confent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and filver vessels belonging to the churches, as the treasury was quite drained, he raised a powerful army, confisting not only of Romans, but of Hunns, Avari, and other barbarous nations. With these forces he resolved to march in person against Cost bases and accordingly having appointed his fon to govern in his absence, and under him Sergius the patriarch, and the patrician Bonus, a person of great wisdom and expe-He marches in rience, he fet out from Constantinople the day after Easter, training on his march such of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time Saes, the Persian general, who had ravaged all Cappadocia, taken by florm the city of Ancyra, and penetrated as far as Chalcedon, hearing that Heraclius was advancing with a mighty c army, fent deputies to him to invite him to an interview, which he hoped, faid the treacherous Persian, would end in a lasting peace between the two empires. The emperor complied with his request; and believing him in earnest, sent seventy persons of distinction on an embassy to the king of Persia. But these the Persian general, with the utmost treachery, loaded with chains, and carried them thus bound into Persia, where they were thrown into prison, and treated with great inhumanity by Cosrboes. Saes met with the punishment his treachery deserved; for the king, highly provoked against him for having seen the Roman emperor, and not brought him away prisoner with the rest, caused him to be flayed alive. One Sarbaras was appointed to command in his room, who entering Asia at the head of d a numerous army, made a dreadful havock in that province. Heraclius, in the mean time, bent his march to the confines of Armenia; and having put to flight a party of Persians, who guarded the streights leading into that province, he pursued his rout towards Pontus. As the year was far spent, the Persians, imagining he designed to take up his winter-quarters in Pontus, withdrew to theirs; which they had no fooner done, than Heraclius broke into their territories, destroying all before him with fire and fword. This sudden irruption obliged the Persians to quit Cilicia, which they had entered, and haften to the defence of their own country. Heraclius, apprifed of their approach, drew together his men dispersed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were intirely defeated, the Romans remaining masters both of their camp and baggage. The emperor being, by the feafon, that was already far advanced, prevented from pursuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned himself to Constantinople P. The following year Cosrboes sent early in the spring Sarnabazas or Sarmanazaris to lay waste the Roman provinces, which obliged Heraclius to quit Constantinople, and hasten into the east. Upon his arrival in Armenia, he dispatched embaffadors to Cofrhoes with new proposals for an accommodation; which being by the Persian monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded Persia anew, took several towns, which he levelled with the ground, and ravaged the country without controul. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty f thousand chosen men near the city of Gazacum or Gazacotis, he directed his march thither with a design to surprise him. But Cosrboes, receiving timely notice of his Puts Cossibles approach, instead of making the necessary preparations to receive him, betook himto fight. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered Gyzacum without opposition, where he is said by Theophanes and Cedrenus to have found the immense treasures of Crasus, king of Lydia, which he seized; and having secured it, with the many rich ornaments of a celebrated temple of the fun, he fet fire to the city,

> n Hift, miscel. l. xviii. • Тиеори. ibid. Серген. annal. aon. 4. P NICEPH. in Heracl. c. 5. THEOPH. & CEDREN. ad ann. 13.

a and marching with all possible expedition in pursuit of the king, he arrived at Thebatman, where Theophanes places the above-mentioned temple; and laying waste the countries through which he passed, continued his march to the frontiers of Media. But the fummer being far spent, he thought it adviseable to give over the pursuit. Accordingly having fet apart three days to return public thanks for the fuccess of this glorious campaign, and implore the further protection of heaven, he opened the book of the gospels, pursuant to a custom which began to obtain about this time, and imagining he was injoined there to winter in Albania, he directed his march to that province. In his retreat the Persians, desirous of recovering the immense booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were constantly b repulsed with great loss. As the weather proved very severe, and the captives, fifty thousand in number, were more affected with it than the rest, as being accustomed An instance of to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be released his good nawithout ransom, giving them leave to return unmolested to their respective countries q. ture. The following campaign proved no less successful to the Romans, Heraclius having He gains great defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them, with advantages their general Sarablacas, tho' the Lazians and other auxiliaries had shamefully aban-sians. doned him, and marched home. Encouraged with this fuccess, he took the field next year early in the spring; and crossing the Euphrates, made himself master of Samofata, and several other places. Sarabazas, at the head of a numerous army, e attempted to check the progress of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the Sanis. In this last battle the emperor gave fignal proofs of his conduct, and personal courage. After this victory, Heraclius took up his winter quarters at Sebastia, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. Cost hoes, transported with rage on feeing his armies thus shamefully defeated, seized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, out of hatred to Heraclius, raised a cruel perse-

cution against the catholics, sparing none but such as embraced the doctrine of Nestorius. At the same time, by his embassadors, he engaged in his cause the Avari, Costhoes sire

the Hunns, the Sclavonians, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading Thrace, up the barba-and laying fiege to Constantinople, were to divert the emperor from pursuing the d war in Persia. Heraclius, apprised of these negotiations, tho' carried on with great fecrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of Constantinople; the second, under the conduct of Theodorus, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of Sais, who threatened to invade Asia, while the emperor himself led the third into Lazica, in order to invade from thence the Persian dominions. Pursuant to this plan, Heraclius advanced into Lazica, and being there joined by forty thousand Chazari, or, as Cedrenus calls them, eastern Turks, he entered Persia in the depth of winter; and meeting with no opposition, laid waste feveral provinces. On the other hand the chagan, or king of the Avari, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of Persia, breaking into Thrace,

e committed dreadful ravages there, and in the end laid fiege to Constantinople; but Who sit down being in feveral attacks repulfed by the garison, and having lost the flower of their before Constanarmy, they thought it adviseable to drop the enterprize, and retire. About the are forced to fame time Sais, who had under his command the flower of the Persian army, received raise the siege. a dreadful overthrow from Theodorus, who lost but a very small number of men. The following year 626. Heraclius, invading Persia in the depth of winter, advanced as far as Nineveb, where he was met by Razastes, to whom Costboes, distrusting his other generals, had committed the whole management of the war. Hereupon a battle ensuing, the Persians, after an obstinate dispute, were put to flight, and their The emperor general himself slain, the Romans having lost on that occasion but fifty men; which gains other f the ecclesiastic writers ascribe to the miraculous assistance of Heaven. In this battle villeries.

the emperor behaved with his usual bravery, having killed three Persian commanders with his own hand r. Cofrhoes, upon the news of this defeat, fled to Seleucia on the Tigris, and there shut himself up with his wives, children and treasures, while Heraclius, having now no army to oppose him, made a dreadful havock of the most fertile provinces of the Persian dominions, destroying all with fire and sword. At Distagerda he found the ensigns and standards, which at different times had been taken from the Romans, and in other places rescued incredible numbers of Roman captives. In the mean time Sarbarazes, to divert Heraclius from ravaging Persia,

9 THEOPH. CEBREN. NICEPH. ibid.

Idem ad ann. Herael. 17.

. Vol. VI. Nº 7.

6 Y

laid

fian generals revolts.

Cosrhoes deposed, and his fon Syroes put

Who concludes a peace with the Romans.

falem.

Perfia conquered by the Saracens.

laid siege to Chalcedon; but, after he had continued some time before the place, without being able to reduce it, Cosrboes sent private orders to Chardarichas, another officer, to murder the general, and lead the army back into Persia. But the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's fon at Constantinople, by whom One of the Per- it was immediately fent to Sarbarazes, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the same time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger son Merdasa his successor; which Seroes, his eldest son, no sooner understood, than he joined Chardarichas; and being affifted by the Roman captives, whom he fet at liberty pursuant to the advice given him by Heraclius, he seized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with Merdasa, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his b unnatural fon, most outrageously insulted by all the nobility . Syroes, thus raised to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with Heraclius, upon terms no less honourable than advantageous to the empire; for he restored all the provinces than had been seized by his predecessor, with three hundred ensigns, and the wood which was supposed to have been part of the cross on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by Cosrboes in triumph from Jerusalem into Persia. He likewise set at liberty all the Roman captives, and among the rest Zacharias, patriarch of J rujalem. A peace being thus concluded, Heraclius returned to Constantinople, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at some distance by his son Constantius, the patriarch, and almost all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with c songs of triumph, and repeated acclamations. And truly no prince ever deserved better of the empire; for in the space of six years he recovered the several provinces which had been dismembered from it by the Persians, fully revenged all the indigmities offered to the Roman name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the most potent and formidable of all the enemies of the empire to such a low ebb, that they were never after-wards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. These things Heraclius performed, though, upon his accession to the empire, he found it over-run by several barbarous nations, the exchequer quite drained, the military discipline decayed, and the army confifting of raw and unexperienced levies, scarce deserving the d name of foldiers. Heraclius, having passed the winter at Constantinople, in the spring Heraclius ear- of the following year 628. took a progress to Jerusalem, carrying with him that ries back the part of the cross which had been taken by the Persians sourteen years before. He entered the city in great pomp; and having returned in the chief church folemn thanks to the Almighty for the many fignal victories he had been pleased to grant him, and for chusing him to rescue that sacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the christian name, he restored it with great solemnity to its sormer place. Upon this occasion was instituted the festival of the enaltation of the boly eross, which is celebrated to this day by the church of Rome on the fourteenth of September ". Of the miracles that are said to have happened on this occasion, the reader will find a • particular account in Cedrenus, and other ecclesiastic writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor published an edict banishing all the Jews from Jerusalem, and forbidding them, under fevere penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city. From Jerusalem, Heraclius took a farther progress into the eastern provinces. Upon his arrival at Hierapolis in Phrygia, he received news of the death of Syroes, the new king of Persia, murdered, according to some, by Sarbaras, one of his generals, according to others, by his own fon Adeser, who succeeded him, but was affaffinated in the seventh month of his reign by Barrazas, whom the Persians, a few months after, deposed, and put to death, raising Barahanes, the son of Costboos, to the throne in his room. Barabanes, after a short reign of seven months, was f fucceeded by Hormisda, the last Persian king of the race of Artaxerxes; for in his reign the Saracens put an end to the Persian monarchy, and established the kingdom of the Arabians in its room, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. From Hierapolis the emperor removed to Edessa, where he received embassadors from the king of India in the east, and from Dagobert, king of the Franks, in the west, sent to congratulate him on his late success against the Persians, and to court his friendship and alliance w. While the emperor continued at Edessa, Athanasmis,

THEOPH. hoc 2011. & CEDREN. 1 Idem ibid. w Theoph. 2ng. 22. Heracl. Almoin. l.iv. с. 21.

<sup>\*</sup> THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Heracl. 10.

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z the patriarch of the Jacobites, a man of great address, having infinuated himself into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in Chrift, Heraclius emwhich created a dangerous schism in the church, and gave rise to warm disputes, braces the de-Heraclius ever after maintaining it to the utmost of his power, and countenancing trune of the Monothelites. the Monothelites, that is, those who acknowledged but one will in Christ. This heresy however did not prove so prejudicial to the church as the pestilent and impious doctrine of the importor Mobammed, which was first broached in the reign of Heraclius, and Mohammed by him suffered to take so deep a root, that his successors were never able to sup-preaches his destrine. prefs it. The impostor died this year, the twenty-first of the reign of Heraclius, and 630th of the christian æra, after having reduced, with the assistance of the rabb ble, whom he had feduced, and of the Saracens, who had joined him, the cities of Mecca and Medina, and part of Arabia, Heraclius, in the mean time, neglecting the He reduces the affairs of the state, to promote and establish the heresy of the Monothelites, which cities of Mecca he had lately embraced. Mohammed, who, by a double usurpation, had declared Medina.

himself both the king and prophet of the Saracens, was succeeded by Eububezer, his kinfman, who reduced great part of Persia, and breaking into Palestine in 632. laid waste the territory of Gaza, after having deseated and cut in pieces the governor The Saracens of that province, with all his troops. The following year Eububezer died, and was make themfucceeded by Haumar, who made himself master of Bostra, and several other cities of of several pre-Arabia, and gained a complete victory over Theodorus, the emperor's brother, sent vinces. e to oppose him. Hereupon Heraclius appointed Boanes to command in the room of his brother, and at the same time dispatched Theodorus Sacellarius into Arabia. The latter was met near Emesa by the Saracens, under the command of Haumar; but he

prudently declined an engagement, being informed, that the emperor had injoined Boanes, who lay encamped at Damascus, to join him. In the mean time Heraclius, dreading the issue of the war, leaving Edessa, hastened to Jerusalem, and repaired from thence to Constantinople, carrying with him the cross, and whatever else was of value in the city, which, he feared, would foon fall into the enemy's hands. The following year Boanes having engaged the Saracens, was by them intirely defeated, Heaven They defeat the itself seeming to espouse their cause; for a violent wind arose in the very beginning Romans, and

d of the engagement, which blowing the dust in the faces of the Romans, rendered fakeDaniascus. them quite incapable of managing their arms; so that they were driven headlong into the Jerinochta, in which river most of them perished. After this victory they made themselves masters of Damascus; and advancing from thence into Phanicia, reduced that province without meeting with the least opposition. Haumar, encouraged with this success, took the field early next spring; and dividing his numerous army into two bodies, he fent one to invade Egypt, and led the other in person against Jerusalem. They were met upon the borders of Egypt by Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, who, by promising in the name of the people to pay them an annual pension of two hundred thousand denarii, prevailed upon them to spare the country, e and retire. This agreement was observed for three years, during which the Saracens never offered to molest the Egyptians. But in the mean time the emperor being advised to break the agreement, one Manuel, by birth an Armenian, was appointed governor of Egypt, and fent thither with a strong body of troops; so that the commissioners from the Saracens, when they came at the year's end to demand the usual pension, were received with contempt and disdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a prieft, but a Roman general, at the head of an army, and therefore would not submit to such ignominious conditions. The Saracens, provoked at this answer, flew to arms; and invading Egypt, put Manuel to flight, and made They reduce themselves masters of the whole country. The emperor, not having sufficient strength Egypt and f to drive them out, fent Cyrus to them, promising to stand to the former agreement, provided they withdrew out of Egypt. But the Saracens refused to quit upon any terms their new conquest z. The loss of Egypt, which had continued subject to the empire ever fince the time of Augustus, happened in the twenty-fifth year of Heraclius's reign, and 634th of the christian æra. Egypt being thus reduced, the troops

× Тивори, ad ann. Heracl. 24, 25.

which had been employed in that expedition were by Haumar sent into Syria; which

province they conquered in the space of two years, making themselves masters of

all the strong holds there, and of Antioch itself, the metropolis of the east. Haumar

in the mean time entering Palestine, marched without opposition to Jerusalem, which

pleged and taken by the Saracens,

Jesusslem be- city he took in 636. after a two years siege. Thus were the most wealthy and beau- a tiful provinces of the empire torn from it by the Saracens, an upstart nation, hitherto looked upon with a contempt suitable to their original. But of them we shall speak at length in a more proper place. Heraclius in the mean time, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progress of this new enemy, was so taken up with unseasonable disputes about religion, with public festivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened The ecclefiaftic writers look upon his fupine and unaccountable fecurity, as a punishment inflicted upon him by Heaven for countenancing the Monotbelites, and persecuting the catholics; for, not satisfied with holding the doctrine of those heretics himself, he endeavoured to establish it in all the provinces of the empire, by the b samous edict called ecthesis, or exposition. But, before he could put his wicked design in execution, he died of a dropfy, which was attended with strange and unaccount-His death happened in the month of May, after he had reigned able fymptoms.

Heraclius dies.

thirty years, and some months y. Heraclius was succeeded by his son Constantine, who died after a short reign of

seven months, poisoned, as was supposed, by his step-mother Martina, to make room for her own fon Heracleonas; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the usual folemnity. But he had not held the empire quite six months, when the senate revolting, deposed him; and after having cut off his nose, and pulled out Martina's tongue, sent them both into banishment. Pyrrhus, the heretical patriarch c of Constantinople, supposed to have been privy to the death of Constantine, abandoning his see, sled into Africa. The senate, having thus delivered the empire from the usurper Heracleonas, advanced Constans, the son of Constantine, and grandson of Hera-

Africa conquered by the Saracens,

wajle.

clared emperor. clius, to the throne. The first years of this prince's reign are almost quite barren of events; for Theophanes, and the other Greek writers, only tell us, that, in his fecond

year, Haumar began to build a temple at Jerusalem; that in his third happened an eclipse of the fun, and violent storms in his fixth; which were looked upon as the forerunners of more violent concussions: for the same year the Saracens, not satisfied with Syria, Mesopotamia, Egyst, Phanicia, Arabia, and Palestine, broke, like a torrent, into Africa; and having defeated the imperial prefect, by name Gregory, made d themselves masters of that spacious and fruitful country. The following year 648. Mahias or Mahuvias, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the island of

And likewife the islands of Cyprus, Aradus, and Rhodes.

Cyprus; which he easily reduced, and laid in ashes the city of Constantia. From Cyprus he failed to the island of Aradus, which he took, together with the city; and from thence steering his course to Rhodes, made himself master of that island, destroying the famous colosius of the Sun, one thousand three hundred and fixty years after it had been fet up by Laches or Chares. It had been overturned fixty-fix years after

Rhodians, pretending the prohibition of an oracle, had never attempted to erect it anew; yet looking upon the brass as in a manner sacred, they had never presumed to apply it to any other use; but Mahuvias caused it to be broken in pieces, and sold it to a Jewish merchant of Emesa, who, with the metal, loaded nine hundred camels.

it was erected, by a violent earthquake, which shook the whole island; and the

Armenia laid While Mahuvias was thus employed in the island of Rhodes, his countrymen, breaking into Armenia, laid waste that country far and wide, the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at Constantinople, or busying himself only in matters of religion, and promoting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the Monothelizes, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His supine negligence, and unaccountable indolence, encouraged Mahuvias to make an attempt upon Constantinople itself. With

this view he fitted out a strong fleet at Tripolis in Phanicia, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, both christians, f and the fons of a Grecian trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public prison, crouded with christian captives, with their affistance killed the ameras, as the Saracens called him, or the governor of the place, fet fire to the fleet, destroyed

all the naval preparations, and then escaped, in a ship provided for that purpose, into the Roman dominions. Mahuvias, having with incredible expedition fitted out another fleet, failed to Phanice in Lycia, where he engaged and defeated the impe-

rial navy, commanded by Constans in person, who with much-ado escaped in disguise to Constantinople 7, whence, to retrieve his reputation, he marched the following year against the Sclavi or Sclavonians, who had seized on that country, which to this 7 Theorem ad ann. Herael. 31. 2 Idem ad ann. Const. 15-13.

The emperor's fleet defeated.

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a day is called from them Sclavonia. The emperor defeated them in feveral encounters; but not being able to drive them quite out, he returned to Constantino; le, where he found embaffadors from the Saracens, now divided among themselves, come to solicit a peace; which the indolent and unwarlike prince readily granted them, yielding to A peace with them the many provinces they had feized, upon their paying to him and his fuccef- the Saracens. fors, by way of tribute, a thousand nummi a year, with a horse and a slave. The following year 659. the emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother Theodojius, who, on account of his virtue and integrity, was the darling of the people, caused him to be ordained deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears not being yet quite appeased, he ordered him soon after to be murdered; which The emperor b he had no fooner done, than he was feized with dread and terror, imagining that he murders his faw his brother constantly standing before him, with a cup of blood in his hand, commanding him to quench his inhuman thirst. Haunted and terrified with this imagination, and the remorfe of his conscience, he lest Constantinople, where the murder had been committed, and repaired to Sicily, resolving to transfer the seat of the empire to Syracuse; but the inhabitants of Constantinople, apprised of his design, kept in that metropolis his wise and children. From this time forward he wandered, like a fecond Cain, from place to place; but his guilt pursuing him whithersoever he went, he became an object of compassion even to his most inveterate enemies. In the mean time Mahuvias, who had caused his competitor Hali to be murdered, and now c reigned alone, without any regard to the late treaty, sent his son Izod to lay waste the Roman territories, who advancing as far as Chalcedon, and having made himself master The Saracens of Amorium, a strong city of Phrygia, left a garison in the place, and returned with man territories an immense booty to his father. Amorium however was soon after surprised, and retaken by Andreas, one of the emperor's officers, who put all the Saracens he found in the place to the sword. During the emperor's stay in Sicily, a war broke out between the Franks and Lombards; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of Italy, fitted out a mighty fleet, and landing at The emperor's Tarentum, marched directly to lay siege to Beneventum, taking Luceria, and several unsuccessful exother cities belonging to the Lombards, in his way. But Grimoald, duke of Bene-pedition against the Lombards. d ventum, marching, after a fignal victory over the Franks, to the relief of the place, the emperor, raising the siege in great haste, retired to Naples. Not long after, a body of twenty thousand Romans was almost intirely cut off, with Saburrus their general, by Romoald, the fon of Grimoald 2. After this defeat, the emperor, laying aside all thoughts of dispossessing the Lombards of that part of Italy which they held, took a progress to Rome, which he entered in great pomp, being met six miles from the city by Vitalianus, bishop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in Rome, and caused the most remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to Constantinople, he returned to Naples, and from thence to Syracuse, where he resided for the space of five years, oppressing his people with most enormous exactions, and His avarice. e even plundering the churches of their rich ornaments, and facred vessels. Having thus rendered himself both edious and contemptible to all his subjects, one Andrew, the fon of Troilus, resolved to rid the world of so great a plague; and accordingly dispatched him in the bath of Daphne at Syracuse, by repeated blows on the head with He is murdered the vessel that was made use of to pour hot water upon him. Thus perished Conflans II. in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and 668. of the christian æra. Upon his death, the people of Syracuse proclaimed one Mezizius, by birth an Armenian, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comeliness of his person. The news of his promotion no sooner reached Constantinople, than Constantine, the son of the deceased emperor, having, with the utmost expedition, f equipped a fleet, sailed to Sicily; and having deseated, taken, and put to death the He must have His son Conuturper, caused himself to be acknowledged emperor in his room 2. continued some time in the west, settling the provinces that were still subject to the stantine Pogoempire there; for we are told by Zonaras, that he was, by the people of Constanti-natus made nople, furnamed Pogonatus, because, at his departure from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of Constantinople received him, on his return from Sicily, with loud acclamations; but he had not not been long in the city, when some, missed by a strange notion, that as there were three persons in the trinity, so there ought to be three emperors on the throne, pressed him to take his two brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, for his partners in the empire.

PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 6. THEOPH. annal. ad ann. Conft. 27. PAUL. DIAC. l. v. prope fin.

Vol. VI. Nº 7.

They be lege Conflantinople;

enterprize. feated.

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break into Thrace.

menical coun-

Constantine

Justinian II.

This alarmed the young emperor, who, having got the broachers of this new doctrine into his power, put them to death, and caused the noses of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire b. While these things passed at Constantinople, the Saracens, entering Africa, where the people had insulted vinces ravaged some of their garisons, committed unheard-of barbarities, and having ravaged the by the Saracens country, returned with eighty thousand captives. The following year they made a descent upon Sicily, took and plundered the city of Syracuse, and over-ran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. They laid waste in like manner Cilicia; and having passed the winter at Smyrna, they entered Thrace in the month of April of the following year 672. and laid siege to Constantinople itself; but were received with fuch vigour and resolution by the emperor, who had already, with b indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it adviseable to withdraw in the month of September to Cyzicus. However, the ensuing spring they renewed the fiege, continuing thus to attack the city in the fummer, and retire to Cyzicus in the winter, for the space of seven years, say the Greek writers, though from some of them it appears, that, in the fourth year of the siege, a peace was concluded between the Romans and Saracens, as we shall relate anon. In this long siege, the Saracens lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by seafire, as it was called, because it burnt under water, being the invention of one Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Egypt. The enemy at length, despairing of success, But drop that abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked c Their fleet ship-wize. Their fleet ship-wiz. Florus, Petronius, and Cyprianus, gained a fignal victory in Syria over Supbianus, their army de-who commanded there a numerous body of Saracens; but lost in the engagement thirty thousand of his men . These misfortunes encouraged the Mardaites, or Maronites, to seize on mount Libanus, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of christian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount Taurus and Jerusalem, made frequent incursions into Syria, and so harassed and terrified the Saracens, that Mahuvias, not thinking himfelf able to contend with them and the Romans at the same time, sent embaffadors to treat of a peace with Constantine; which was in the end concluded upon the follow-They conclude a ing terms: 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of peace with the thirty years. 2. That the Saracens should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors three thousand pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. This peace was thought, as affairs then stood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire d. The Bulgarians It was scarce concluded, when the Bulgarians, leaving their native seats on the banks of the Volga or Bulga, whence some think they took their name, advanced as far as the Danube, which they passed without opposition, to the number of one hundred thousand persons; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged far and wide the countries through which they passed. The emperor sent a considerable army e against them; which being put to flight by the barbarians, he chose rather to conclude a peace, by promifing to pay them an annual penfion, than to purfue an expenfive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domestic, laboured with indefatigable pains to establish in the church that peace and tranquillity which reigned in the state. In order to this, he assembled the sixth gene-The fixth acu- ral or occumenical council, which was opened at Constantinople on the twenty-second of November of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the Monothelites was condemned, and by that means tranquillity, in a great degree, restored to the church, the abettors of that doctrine not daring, under a prince who had so much at heart the purity of the faith, to raife disturbances, as they had done under the preceding empe-Constantine enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet, which his piety, justice and moderation well deserved, the Saracens religiously observing the treaty between them and the empire, and the Lombards being, by their intefline broils, diverted from extending their conquests in Italy. In the beginning of the year 685, he was feized with a lingering diffemper, of which he died in the month of September, after having reigned seventeen years, and some months of

HE was succeeded by his son Justinian, a youth but sixteen years old. With him Abdelmelech, the new prince of the Saracens, confirmed the peace made with the

b THEOPH. CEDREN. ad hunc ann. e Idem ibid. ad ann. Conft. 5. 4 Idem ad ann. Conft. 9. e Cedren. ad ann. Conft. 17. NICEPH. C. 3.

empire,

a empire, and at the same time proposed by his embassadors a new treaty, in virtue of which Justinian was to repress the Maronites, who, by their frequent excursions from mount Libanus, greatly harassed the Saracens; and Abdelmelech to pay him for this fervice a thousand nummi a day, a horse, and a slave. To this treaty the young and unwary prince readily agreed, and immediately dispatched Magistrianus, with a chosen body of troops, against the Maronites, whom he overcame, and put out of a condition of molefting the Saracens for a long time after. In the fecond year of his reign, he marched in person against the Bulgarians, who had been allowed to settle in Lower Masia, from them afterwards called Bulgaria, and, without any regard to the treaty concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country, and took feveral b of their strong-holds. But the Bulgarians, soon recovering from their consternation, drew together their forces; and falling upon the emperor, drove him out of their 1s put to flight country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and restore the captives he had by the Bulgataken. He was attended with better success against the Sclavi or Sclavonians, whom rians. he defeated in several battles; which encouraged him to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the Saracens, tho' Abdelmelech had faithfully performed every thing required of him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to prevent a rupture. At length, finding the emperor obstinately bent upon a war, he raised a Makes war uppowerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals named Mobammed; on the Saracens who, causing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of Sebastopolis; but in the engagec ment that enfued, was obliged to give ground, and retire to his camp, where he must have perished with hunger, or submitted to the conqueror, had he not in the mean time gained over the commander of the Sclavi in the emperor's fervice; whose unexpected desertion, with twenty thousand of his men, caused such a consternation in the Roman army, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight, He is defeated being pursued with great slaughter by the enemy. The emperor with much-ado by them. reached Leucate, where, transported with rage, he caused the Sclavi or Sclavini who had continued with him, to the number of ten thousand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the sea. From Leucate he returned to Constantinople, where, without betraying the least concern for his late disd grace, or attempting to restrain the victorious Saracens, by whom the abandoned provinces were harasted in a most cruel manner, and Armenia intirely reduced, he was wholly taken up in embellishing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the rest he erected a magnificent banquetting-house, from him called Justinianeum, and a theatre near the palace, causing a church, dedicated to the virgin Mary, to be pulled down, to make room for it. This unchristian and unpopular action gained He renders him the ill-will of the people, whose aversion to him was heightened by the tyran- himself odious nical, arbitrary and cruel conduct of his two chief ministers Stephen and Theodotus. to the people. The former, by nation a Persian, caused several persons of distinction to be put to The cruelty of death, upon suspicions altogether groundless; and in the end came to such a pitch of his ministers. e arrogance, as to threaten in a most disrespectful manner Anastasia Augusta, the emperor's mother. Theodotus was by profession a monk; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and intrusted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty Stephen himfelf, cauting, under various pretences, such of the nobility as feemed to despise him, to be put to no less cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred, which the people had on feveral occasions shewn to him, and his two favourite ministers, resolved to be before-hand with them; and accord-He orders ageingly ordered Stephen the eunuch, and Rufus, one of his generals, to fall upon the neral massacre. inhabitants of Constantinople in the night-time, and massacre them in their houses, beginning with the patriarch Callinicus. But this bloody and inhuman massacre was f happily prevented in the following manner: Leontius, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the east, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in prison, was at this time set at liberty, and appointed governor of Greece, with orders to embarque immediately for his government; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, several of his friends came to visit him, and among the rest two monks, Gregory the superior of a monastery, and Paul, who, as they were skilled in astronomy, says Cedrenus, had foretold him, while he lay in prison, expecting every moment his last doom, that he should attain to the empire before his death. These, upon his expostulating with them for having deceived him with vain prog miles, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity to make good their prediction;

Justinian de-

Leontius

The Saracens masters of Africa.

Leontius deposed, and Aptimor made emperor.

200,000 Saracens cut in pieces.

Armenia betrayed to the Saracens,

Who are defeated in Cilicia. prediction; which, they said, he might easily do, the emperor being universally a abhorred, both by the nobility and people, and ready to receive him as their deliverer. Leontius hearkened to them; and taking with him his own soldiers, that is, those who had been appointed to attend him into Greece, he broke open the prison, and being joined by many others, who had been long detained there, he led them to the forum, inviting the people, as he went, to meet him in the church of St. Sophia; which being soon crowded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the assembled multitude, This is the day which the Lord hath made. The people, thus animated by the patriarch, proclaimed Leontius emperor, and hastening to the palace, seized on Justinian, carried him to the circus, and there, after many other indignities, cut off his nose, and with one voice banished him to Chersona. At the same time Theodotus b and Stephen were dragged to the forum, where they were burnt alive. This revolution happened in the tenth year of Justinian's reign, and 694. of the christian æra.

The first year of Leontius's reign was not disturbed by any foreign wars, or dome-

stic troubles. In the second Sergius, who commanded the Roman troops in Lazica, betrayed that province to the Saracens, who the following year invaded Africa, made themselves masters of Carthage, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by John the patrician, a man of great valour, and experience in war, whom the emperor had fent against them. The Saracens, to repair the great losses they had fustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to Africa, obliged John to fly to the fea-coast, where he embarqued with the troops under his command for Constantinople. c But the fleet having touched at Crete, some of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to an account for thus abandoning Africa to the enemy, prevailed upon the foldiers to revolt, and proclaim Apfimar, one of Leontius's generals, emperor. Apsimar, or, as he was afterwards called, Tiberius, readily accepted the imperial dignity; and failing without loss of time to Constantinople, surprised the city, took Leontius prisoner, and having caused his nose to be cut off, confined him to a monastery in Dalmatia, after he had reigned scarce three years 8. Tiberius, thus raised to the empire, sent his brother Heraclius into Cappadocia, to watch the motions of the Saracens. He, taking advantage of some divisions that reigned among them, penetrated into Syria as far as Samosata, wasting all before him, and returned to Cap- d padocia loaded with booty, after having put to the sword, as we are told, no fewer than two hundred thousand of the enemy h. Notwithstanding this loss, the Saracens broke into the Roman territories the following year, and laid siege to Antaradus in Syria; but not being able to master that place, they sat down before Mopsuestia in Cilicia, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of Tiberius's reign, Boanes, surnamed Hepsadæmon, betrayed Armenia to the Saracens. The same year Tiberius banished Philippicus a patrician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into Cephalenia, for relating a dream, which Tiberius interpreted as portending the empire to him. The following year, the nobility of Armenia, taking arms against their new masters, drove them out with great slaughter, and sent to Tiberius, demand- e ing his affistance. But in the mean time Mohammed, entering Armenia with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged with this fuccess, they invaded Cilicia once more, under the conduct of Azar; but were, to the number of ten thousand, either cut in pieces by Heraclius, or taken prisoners, and fent in chains to Constantinople i. In the mean time Justinian, the deposed emperor, who had been confined to a monaftery at Chersona, having betrayed a great desire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of Tiberius, and the evils attending a civil war, resolved to prevent them, by either killing Justinian, or sending him in chains to Constantinople; but he, suspecting their design, sled privately to the cha- f gan or king of the Chazari, who received him in a manner fuitable to his rank, and gave him his fifter Theodora in marriage. But being foon after gained by the rich prefents and large promifes of Tiberius, he undertook either to deliver up to him the unfortunate prince alive, or to fend him his head. The defign was revealed by one of the king's domestics to Theodora, and by her to her husband, who thereupon fled to Trebelis king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was received with great demonstrations of kindness. We are told, that being overtaken, on his slight from the country

f Theoph. Cedren. ann. Just. 10. Niceph. c. 4.
c. 5. h Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Aps. 2. ldcm ad ann. Tib. Aps. 3, 4, 5.

a of the Chazari, by a violent storm near the streights of Danaprium, Myaces, one of his domestics, apprehending the vessel to be in imminent danger, and therefore conjuring him to make a vow, that he would forgive his enemies, if it ever pleafed Heaven to restore him to his throne, he answered sternly, Let God drown me this moment, if I spare any of them k. Trebelis not only entertained the sugitive prince Trebelis, king with extraordinary magnificence, but having raifed a powerful army, marched with of the Buigahim strait to Constantinople, and laid siege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who rans, spenies the cause of looked upon their city as impregnable, rallying, and reviling both princes from the Justinian, walls; but the third day of the siege, some Romans having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the rest; which Tiberius no sooner knew, than he b fled with his treasures to Apollonias, leaving Justinian once more master of the imperial 1820 is reflered, city, and the empire. Being thus restored to his former dignity, he dismissed Trebelis, loaded with rich presents, and bestowed upon him part of the Roman dominions, called afterwards Zagoria. Having, after a diligent fearch, got into his power Tiberius, Leontius, by whom he had been driven out, and Heraclius the brother of Tiberius, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the shews sitting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconstant multitude repeating in the mean time that verse of the pfalmist, Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, &c. After this insulting pageantry, he caused their heads, and that of Heraclius, to be cut off. As for Callinicus the Leontius and e patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then banished him to Rome, that he Tiberius tut might have the cruel mortification of depending for his subsistence upon the bishop of to death. that city, whose authority he had always opposed to the utmost of his power. The emperor, having now got rid of those whom he most dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury against all who had adhered to them, putting to death incredible multitudes of citizens and foldiers, and dispeopling, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his restoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to Trebelis king of the Bulgarians, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded Thrace, at the head of a mighty army, with a design to recover the country he had yielded to him. But he was attended with no better d fuccess than his ingratitude deserved, his army being utterly deseated, and he himself Justinian de-obliged to make his escape in a light vessel to Constantinos le. The following year he Buigarians. equipped a mighty fleet, not with a defign to oppose the Bulgarians, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without controul, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of Chersona, and the Bosporans, who had resolved to dispatch him, or deliver him up to Tiberius, while he lived in exile among them. On board this fleet was embarqued a numerous army, with express orders to put all the inhabitants of those parts to the His cruelty. fword, without distinction of sex or age, of guilty or innocent. These cruel orders were executed with the utmost barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the fword; fome were by the cruel foldiery roasted alive, others cast into the sea, e &c. The children however were spared; which the inhuman emperor no sooner understood, than, transported with rage, he dispatched fresh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all massacred; but some of the leading men among the Bossorans having made their escape, and taken refuge in the country of the Chazari, with the assistance of that neighbouring nation, they defeated in feveral encounters the emperor's forces; and renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed Philippicus, the son of Bardanes, Philippicus who had been banished by Tiberius to Cephalenia, as we have related above, but proclaimed em-The troops that were fent against them by feror. happened to be then at Chersona. Justinian, finding they could not reduce the city of Chersona, pursuant to his orders, f and dreading the implacable humour of the tyrant, resolved to consult their own fasety, by acknowledging Philippicus; which they did accordingly, joining those against whom they had been sent. Philippicus, thus proclaimed and supported by two powerful armies, marched strait to Constantinople, which he entered without opposition, the emperor being then at Sinope in Paphlagonia with a body of Thracians, against whom Philippicus dispatched Elias prince of the Bostorans; who having gained over the Thracians, took the emperor prisoner, and cutting off his head, fent it to Justinian killed Philippicus, by whose orders it was conveyed to Rome. Tiberius, the emperor's son by Theodora, took fanctuary in a church; but was dragged from the altar, which he

k NICEPH. C. 5.

1 THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Tib. Apf. 7. NICEPH. ibid.

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7 A

grasped,

grasped, and sain by Maurus a patrician, in the presence of Anastasia his grand- a mother m. Such was the deserved end of Justinian II. in the eighth year after his restoration, and 711. of the christian æra.

Philippicus.

break into Thrace.

**Philippicus** deposed.

Anastasius/wc-

The seamen mutiny, kill their admiral, Theodosius emperor.

Leo revolts

Philippicus had no fooner taken possession of the throne, than openly espousing the cause of the Monothelites, he summoned a council of bishops, who were all intected with that herefy, and confequently eafily prevailed upon to condemn and revoke all the acts of the fixth general council. The emperor was induced to fummon this council by a Monot belite monk, who had foretold him he should one day attain the empire, if Cedrenus is to be credited, and now promised him a long and happy reign, provided he abolished the fixth general council, and established the doctrine of the Monothelites. But while Philippicus was thus busying himself in matters relating to reli-The Bulgarians gion, the Bulgarians, breaking unexpectedly into Thrace, advanced to the very gates of Constantinople; and having laid waste the country, and put to the sword an incredible multitude of people, returned, without meeting with the least opposition, loaded At the same time the Saracens, invading the Roman territories, committed dreadful ravages, took the city of Medæa, and several other places, and returned likewise unmolested, carrying with them great numbers of captives. These calamities rendering Philippicus odious to the people, one Rufus, at the instigation of two patricians, viz. Theodorus, and Georgius commander of the troops in Thrace, entering the palace with a company of Thracians, while the emperor was reposing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiscovered n. Nicephorus writes, that c Rufus, seizing the emperor, dragged him to the hippodrome, and there caused his eyes to be plucked out. Be that as it will, the next day, being Whitfunday, the people affembling in the great church, proclaimed Artemius, chief secretary to Pbilippicus, emperor; who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch P. Artemius, or, as he was afterwards called, Anastasius, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon fuccess in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous catholic, he made it his chief study to heal the divisions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the state; for, in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed Leo, an Isaurian, a person of great experience in war, commander in chief of all his forces, and fent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of Syria, d to protect Asia, Minor against the inroads of the Saracens. Being informed, that the Saracens designed to lay siege to Constantinople, he caused a great number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years, to depart the city. But news being brought in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet was failed to Phanicia, he ordered his to assemble from the different ports of the empire at Rhodes, appointing John, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral punishing with more severity than prudence some refractory seamen, the rest mutinied, and killed him; and being well apprised they could by no other means avoid the punishment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, c they declared Anastasius unworthy of the empire, and obliged one Theodosius, a person of a mean extraction, and then receiver of the revenue at Adramytium, to accept of the purple. Anastasius, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled to Nice in Bithynia, leaving a strong garifon in Constantinople; which city Theodosius immediately besieged by sea and land, and reduced, after having continued six months before it. He had no fooner entered the city, than he dispatched the magistrates and the patriarch to acquaint Anastasius with what had happened, who, upon promise of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, and taking the habit of a monk, delivered himself up to the new prince, by whom he was banished to Thessalonies, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years q. But Leo, whom Anastasius had appointed commander f from Theodo- in chief of all his forces, refusing to acknowledge Theodosius, drew together all the forces in the east, with a design, as he gave out, to restore the deposed emperor; but being persuaded by Masalnias, prince of the Saracens, to assume the purple, and powerfully affisted by Artavasdes, an Armenian, a man of great interest in that country, he marched, at the head of a considerable army, to Nicomedia, where he met, deseated, and took prisoner the son of Theodosius, who had been sent against him. From Nicemedia he pursued his march to Constantinople, being acknowledged emperor in all the

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m Theorn, ad ann. Just. 8. Niceph. с. 6. п Тнеори. ad a ldem ibid. ч ldem, с. 8. Тнеори. Серкен. ad ann. Anast. 2. <sup>п</sup> Тиєори. ad ann. Phil. 2. º NICEPH. C. 7.

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a places through which he passed. Hereupon Theodofrus, finding it was in vain to
   contend with fo powerful a rival, dispatched to him Germanus the patriarch, and
   some of the chief men in the senate, offering to resign the purple, on condition his
   life was spared. To this Leo readily agreed; and Theodofius, divesting himself of Theodofius
   the purple, entered, with his fon, into orders, after having reigned one year. Thus abdicates.
   Theophanes and Cedrenus. But Nicephorus writes, that the officers of the army,
   finding Theodosius unequal to the high station to which he had been raised, persuaded
   him to abdicate, and chose Lee in his room'. Be that as it will, Lee was received
   with loud acclamations at Constantinople, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of March Leo crowned
   of the present year 716. by the patriarch Germanus, after he had bound himself by a
b folemn oath to preferve, and, to the utmost of his power, defend the orthodox faith.
   He was a native of Isauria, of a mean extraction, and had served some time in the
  low station of a common soldier, from which he was raised by Justinian II. and admitted, on account of the tallness of his stature, and comeliness of his person,
   amongst the spatarii, that is, the emperor's guards. Anastasius appointed him com-
   mander in chief of all his forces, which post he held when he assumed the purple. He
   is diffinguished from the other emperors bearing the name of Leo by the surname of
   Iconomachus, which was given him on account of his combating the worship of
   images. In the first year of his reign, Masalnias, prince of the Saracens, at whose
   instigation he had assumed the purple, took by surprize the city of Pergamus; which pergamusta.
e is looked upon by the historians, as a punishment justly inflicted by Heaven upon the ken by the Sa-
  wicked and barbarous inhabitants, who, hearing the Saracens were preparing to invade racens,
  Asia, had ripped up the belly of a woman big with child, and boiling the infant in
  a kettle, had dipped their right hands in the water, being persuaded by a magician,
  that they would by that means become invincible, and defend their city against all
  the attempts of the enemy. In the second year of Leo's reign, Solyman, one of the
  generals of the Saracens, broke into Thrace; but he dying, Humar was appointed to
  command in his room, who lost most of his men by the severity of the winter. How-
  ever, in the following spring he approached Constantinople, and invested it by land, who before
   while Supbiam and Izeth, arriving with two mighty fleets, the one from Egypt, and Constantino-
d the other from Africa, blocked it up by sea; but most of their ships being destroyed, ple; but are either by the artificial fire, of which we have spoken above, or by storms, they thought don the enter-
  it adviseable to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lain before the prize. city thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years. The calamities which
   the inhabitants suffered during the siege, can hardly be expressed; thirty thousand of
  them are faid to have perished with hunger, and the like number to have been swept
  off by the plague". Haumar, prince of the Saracens, highly provoked at the disap-
  pointment of his armies and fleets before Constantinople, began to rage with great fury They perfectle
  against the christians in his dominions, forbidding them at first the exercise of their the christians.
  religion, and foon after commanding them, on pain of death, to renounce it, and
e embrace the abominable fect of Mobammed. Many, to avoid death, made an out-
  ward profession of the religion, if we may so call it, of their insulting masters, while
  fome few, notwithflanding the ignorance and depravity of that age, maintained, with
  unshaken constancy, the true religion, at the expense of their lives w. The same
   year Sergius, governor of Sicily, revolting, declared one Basilius, the son of Onoma-Sergius revolts
  gulus, emperor, changing his name into that of Tiberius; but Paul, an officer of the in Sicily; but
  houshold, who was sent against the usurper, having got him into his power, and is cut off.
  caused his head to be struck off, restored the island to its former tranquillity. Sergius,
  the chief author of the revolt, took refuge amongst the Lombards in Italy x. The
  fame year the empress Maria was, to the unspeakable joy of the emperor, and the
I inhabitants of Constantinople, delivered of a son, named Constantine, and commonly Constantine
  nicknamed Copronymus, from his having defiled the facred font at his baptism. Thea. Copronymus
  phanes, the true author of the history intituled miscella, which is fally ascribed to Paulus born.
  Diaconus, tells us, that Germanus the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the
  infant would one day prove a great plague to the church. The joy for the birth of
  the young prince was fomewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of Bul-
  garians, headed by the late emperor Anastasius, who, weary of a private life, had Anastasius at-
  prevailed upon those barbarians to acknowledge him for emperor, and support his tempts to re-
           PH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 1. S. Niceph. c. 9. Idem fbid.

"CEDREN. ann. Leon. 2. Beda de fex ætat. Paul. Diacon. l. vi. c. 47.

"Niceph. c. 10. Theoph. Cedren. fbid. "Hift. maifeel.
                                                              t Idem ibid. Theoph. Cedren. ubi pire.
     THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 1.
                                                                                 w Theoph. ad
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7 Hift. mifcel. p. 74.

claim

Conflantine crowned empe-

Leo's edict against images.

A tumult at Constantinople.

The people revolt in Italy.

Gregory II. opposes the emperor's edict.

Leo attembts upon his life.

They laid siege to Constantinople, hoping, by means of the 2 claim to the crown. partizans of Anastasius, among whom were several persons of great distinction, to make themselves soon masters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation, with a vigorous opposition, they seized on the unfortunate Anastasius, and delivered him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the bishop of Thessalonica 2. Leo, having happily weathered this storm, caused his fon Constantine to be solemnly crowned emperor, in order to secure the empire to The ceremony, was performed by the patriarch Germanus, on Easterday in 720. the fifth of Leo's reign 2. In the mean time the Saracens, under the conduct of their new prince Ized, who had succeeded Haumar, having equipped a mighty fleet, ravaged the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and landing in Sardinia, raged there with b unspeakable fury, destroying all with fire and sword; but being soon after diverted from molesting the empire by the intestine divisions that arose amongst them, another Ized, surnamed Mualabis, having set up for himself in Persia, the emperor was more at leifure to reform several abuses, that had crept into the court and state under the former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign, and 725. of the christian æra, he published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches, and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, opposed in the east by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and Johannes Damascenus; but Leo, having deposed Germanus, and raised Anastasius to the see of Constantinople in his room, caused his edict to be put in execution at Constantinople, and c the images to be pulled down and destroyed by his officers throughout the city, without sparing the statue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by Constantine the Great. The people, struck with horror in seeing the images of our Saviour and his faints thus infulted, and either torn in pieces, or burnt by the emperor's officers, affembled in a tumultuous manner, and having first vented their rage upon Leo's statues and images, slew to the palace; but being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced to disperse, and suffer the edict to take place. But in the west, especially in Italy, it was had in such abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave Luitprand, king of the Lombards, an opportunity of seizing on Ravenna, and several other cities d of the exarchate. He was however foon after driven out by the Venetians, who, at that time, made no small figure in Italy. Gregory II. then pope, or bishop of Rome, jealous of the growing power of the Lombards, had, by a letter to Ursus duke of Venice, prevailed upon him to espouse the interest of the emperor, and lead his forces against Ravenna; which city he surprised, before Luitprand, who was then at Pavia, had the least notice or suspicion of his design. Gregory had, from the very beginning, opposed with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worshipping of images; and now, prefuming upon the eminent fervice he had rendered the empire, he wrote a long letter to Leo, earnestly intreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well apprised, that Gregory had been prompted by his own interest, and not by that of e the empire, to prevent the Lombards from making new conquests in Italy, was exasperated to such a degree against him, for continuing still to oppose his edict, that he fent private orders to his officers in Italy, especially to Paul exarch of Ravenna, and to Mauritius, governor, or, as he was then styled, duke of Rome, injoining them to get Gregory, by some means or other, into their power, and send him dead or alive to Constantinople. But the people of Rome, who had a great veneration for their bishop, discovering the plot, guarded him so carefully, that the emperor's officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three affaffins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, which the third escaped, by taking fanctuary in a monastery, and there embracing a f religious life. Gregory, finding himself thus supported by the people of Rome, solemnly The exarch ex- excommunicated the exarch, for publishing, and attempting to put in execution, the communicated emperor's edict, writing at the same time letters to the Venetians, to king Luitprand, to the Lombard dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue stedsast in the catholic saith, and oppose, with all their might, the execution of the impious, as he styled it, and heretical edict. These letters made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of Italy, tho' of different interests, and often at war with each other, viz. the people of Rome, the Venetians, and the

. Lombards, entering into an alliance, refolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the The people of utmost of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of Rome, and Italy revolt. those of the Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, did not stop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor's statues, openly revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an iconoclast, that is, a breaker of images, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; nay, they had some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to Constantinople: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In Ravenna the people rose in defence of the images against Paul the exarch; and having killed him, and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to Luitprand king Ravenna subof the Lombards, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the mits to the Lombards. b general discontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In Naples the people took arms against Exhilaratus their duke, (for Naples was then governed by dukes sent from Constantinople) and murdered him, with his son Adrian, and one of The inhabithis chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the ants of Naples religion of their prince. However, as they hated the Lombards, with whom they had been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to Leo, and received Peter, who was appointed duke of Naples in the room of Exhilaratus. The people of Rome, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images, and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the diffurbances, refolved at length to renounce their allegiance to Leo, and to conti- The Romans nue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to revolt. c defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the Lombards, whom they had but too much reason to mistrust b. Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and other Greek writers, tell us, that the Romans, withdrawing their obedience to Leo, chose pope Gregory for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to And chuse the him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the Romans pope for their to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated Leo as head. an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and solemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, fay they, had the temporal and independent The rife of the dominion of the pope over Rome its rife, which was afterwards inlarged by Pepin and temporal domi-Charles the Great, and extended to the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and nion of the pope. d feveral other cities of Italy. But it appears from Paulus Diaconus, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Joannes Damascenus, who all flourished nearer those times, and in the places where the things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of Gregory himself to Leo, that he acknowledged him for his lawful fovereign as long as he lived, as did his wife Gregory III. his fucceffor. The Latin writers take no notice of Gregory's excommunicating and deposing the emperor, or absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when Leo deposed the patriarch Germanus, and appointed Anastasius in his room, Gregory excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earnestly intreated him not to abuse the power with which he had been trusted, to introduce innovations in the church d. However, the authority e of the Greek historians has been preferred to that of the Latins, by all the protestant, and most of the Roman catholic writers; but with very different views. testants followed them, that they might thence take occasion to make a comparison between our Saviour and the pope. When the multitude, fay they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, saying, My kingdom is not of this world: when the Romans offered the principality to Gregory, he readily accepted it, and from the servant of servants became the lord and master. Our Saviour expresly commanded tribute to be paid to Cæsar: the pope would suffer no more tribute to be paid to Leo his lawful fovereign, &c. c. On the other hand, the Roman catholics, by flanding to what the Greeks write, think they can defend the pope from all usurpation, and f establish his temporal power and jurisdiction upon a better and more plausible foundation, viz. the unanimous confent of the people, conferring upon him freely, and without constraint, the principality f; not reflecting, that those who thus chose him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful fovereign; and consequently that Gregory, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and uturpation. But from what we shall relate in the history of the Lombards in Italy, it will

\* Anast. Bibl. in Greg. II. Paul. Diac. l. vi. Sigon. ad ann. 725, 726. Epift. 1 & 2 Greg. ad Leon. Anast. Bibl. in Greg. II. Greg. II. in epift. 1. ad Leon. & Greg. III. epift. 2. ad Bonifac. d. Vide Anastas. ad ann. 658. e. Vide Spanh, contra Maimburg. in histor, imag. p. 52. f. Giannetas.

hist. Neap. l. v. p. 91. Vol. VI. No 7.

plainly

Confranting married to

wrecked.

Irene.

Leo dies, and is succeeded by Constantine Copronymus

Artabazdus revolts;

Conffantine.

plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the fovereignty of Rome at this time, but a many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its rife in Rome, but in the exarchate of Ravenna, and the Pentapolis, which were taken by the celebrated Pepin from Astulphus king of the Lombards, and given to pope Stephen, whom some call the fecond, others the third, of that name. As for the fovereignty of Rome, the popes did not enjoy it, as we shall demonstrate in a more proper place, till the year 876. when it was yielded to the apostolic see, as it began then to be called, by Charles furnamed the Bald. But to return to Leo: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in suppressing the worship of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty against those, who resused to comply with his edict; while the Saracens, breaking into the eastern provinces, laid them waste b without controul, carrying yearly back with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the seventeenth year of his reign, and 732. of the chriftian æra, he married his fon Constantine to the daughter of the king of the Chazari, after the had been instructed in the principles of the christian religion, and received at her baptism the name of Irene, a word signifying in the Greek tongue peace. The fame year the emperor caused a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a design to chastize and bring back to their duty the Romans, and other people of Italy, who had revolted Leo's fleet ship- on occasion of the edict against images; but the fleet being shipwrecked in the Adriatic fea, Leo could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppose the execution of his edict, than by caufing the revenues of the Roman fee in Calabria c and Sicily to be confiscated 8. In the last year of Leo's reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at Conflantinople, which overturned many churches, monasteries and private houses, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after Leo died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was succeeded by his fon Constantine, who no fooner faw himself sole master of the empire, than he led an army against the Saracens, who had made an irruption into Asia. In his absence Artabazdus, who had married his fifter, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people, and proclaimed emperor, he caused the sons of Constantine to be secured; but as he was well apprised, that the report he had industriously spread of Constantine's death would be soon contradicted, he began to consult d with the patriarch Anastasius, by what other means he might keep the people steady in their allegiance to him. Anastasius had been a zealous iconoclast in the late reign; but to curry favour with Artabazdus, who had a great veneration for images, and to estrange the minds of the people from Constantine, he assembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy cross, he took the following oath: By bim who died upon this wood, I swear, That Constantine one day addressed me with these words; I do not believe him to be the fon of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Christ, but a mere man; for Mary was delivered of him after the same manner, as Mary my mother was delivered of me. This deposition of the patriarch, whether true or false we cannot take upon us to determine, made such an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately deposed Constantine with one consent, and, with repeated acclamations, faluted Artabazdus again emperor, who took Nicephorus his eldeft fon for his partner in the empire h. This gave rife to a civil war, the greatest, fays Cedrenus, perhaps not without fome exaggeration, that had happened fince the But is defeated, beginning of the world. But all we know of it is, that Artabazdus, and his for and Combanti- Nice; borus, being defeated by Constantine in several encounters, were in the end nople taken by befreged in Constantinople; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to submit. Artabazdus and his two sons were taken, and delivered up to the emperor, who caused their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his foldiers, and either banished, maimed, or put to death, all those who had been any-ways f concerned in the revolt. Anastasius the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders, publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the most frequented streets of the city on an ass, with his face to the tail. However, the time-ferving prelate was continued in his fee, because the emperor could not find a worse, says Theophanes, to prefer to it in his room i. Constantine, having thus got rid of his enemies at home, refolved to march once more against the Saracens, who were at war among themselves. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered Syria; and having overthrown the enemy in feveral encounters, made himself master

a of Germanicia, and some other strong-holds, which had been long in their hands. Constantine The Saracens, notwithstanding their dom: this quarrels, to divert the emperor from recovers several pursuing his conquests in Syria, assembled a mighty fleet, which steered its course to the Stracens. the island of Cyprus, where it was to be joined by other ships of war, and a great number of transports with land-forces on board. But the Roman sleet coming unex- Destroys their pectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that island, feet. destroyed the whole navy, except three ships, which they suffered to escape with the news of fo great a calamity k. However, the emperor was diverted from pursuing the advantages that might have thence accrued to the empire, by the frequent earthquakes Dreailful that happened about this time, and were by far the most destructive that had been earthquakes. known in any age. In Syria and Palestine several cities were swallowed up, others intirely ruined, and some, if we may give credit to Nicephorus, removed, without any considerable damage, six miles and upwards from their former seats. At the same time happened an extraordinary darkness, which lasted from the fourth of August to the first of October, there being little or no distinction, during that time, between day and night1. This calamity was followed by another still more terrible, viz. a plague, which breaking out in Calabria, foon spread all over Sicily, Greece, the Aviolent islands in the Ægean sea, and at length reached Constantinople, where it raged for Plugue. three years together with fuch fury, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead m. The plague no fooner ceafed, than Constantine, having caused his fon Leo, c then scarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into Armenia; and taking advantage of the divisions that still reigned among the Saracens, made himself master of Miletene, Theodosiopolis, and several other places. But he was diverted from pursuing his conquests in the east, by a sudden irruption of the Bulgarians, who, provoked at the emperor's causing some forts to be built on the frontiers of Thrace, broke into that province, and advancing as far as the long wall, laid waste the whole country. Constantine, having recalled his forces out of the east, marched against them in person; but being surprised by the enemy in a Constantine narrow paffage called Beragaba, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fave defeated by the himself by flight to Constantinople a. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he Bulgarians. d renewed the edict published by his father against images, forbidding at the same time any worship to be paid to the faints, or their relies, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the bithops as opposed the execution of this edict, were driven from their fees; and the monks, who preached against either, sent into banishment, or sentenced to death. At the same time an He persecutes edict was published in Constantinofle, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, the worthippers under the severest penalties, any one to embrace a monastic life; nay, at Constanti- of images. nople most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the streets. But of this persecution the reader will find a more particular and distinct account in the ecclesiastic wrie ters, than it may be proper for us to give in this place o. The twenty-third year of A surprising Constantine's reign, and 763. of the christian æra, is remarkable for an extraordinary freji. frost, which began on the first of Oslober, and lasted till the latter end of February. At Constantinople both seas were frozen for an hundred miles from the shore, the ice being so thick as to bear the heaviest carriages, and covered with snow twenty cubits deep. When the frost broke, mountains of ice and frozen snow being driven by the winds through the streights, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the castle of Constantinople. The reader will find a surprising account of this frost in Theophanes, who, with thirty others, passed the streights upon one of these stoating islands, as he styles it P. The month following several prodigies appeared, or were thought to f appear, in the air. At the fame time a comet, which the Greeks called docites, because several proit resembled a beam, was seen for ten days in the east, whence it moved to the west, digies. and shone there for one-and-twenty days more, the people being struck with terror and amazement at the fight of these prodigies, and apprehending the last day to be at hand. Constantine in the mean time continued to perfecute with great severity those who appeared most zealous and forward in the worship of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the Bulgarians; who, breaking into the territories of the empire, committed every-where unheard-of cruelies. But Conftantine marching in person k N. :ры. in Conft. c. 13. 1 Idem ibid. Тигорн ad a Tнеорн. Cedren, ibid. п Тнеорн. ad ann. Conft. 19. 1 Idem ibid. Thtoph ad ann. Const. 6. Genres. ibid.

O Vide THEOPH. CEDREN. &c. ad ann.

against

Conit. 9-23.

P Vide THEOPH. ad ann. Conft. 23, 24.

Constantine defeats the Bulgarians.

Is deluded by their king.

He marches against them; but dies.

given to the pope.

Leo III.

ans, embraces the christian religion.

against them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to Constan- a This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one christian perished in However, he owed the victory, it seems, to the treachery of some Bulgarians, whom Elerich their king discovered by the following device: He wrote to Constantine, pretending a defire to refign the crown, and lead a private life at Constantinople; for which purpose he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to acquaint him what friends he had among the Bulgarians, that he might repair with them to Constantinople, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon Constantine, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no fooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, b resolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having spent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the spring against Elerich; but being seized on his march with a violent sever, he returned to Achadiopolis, whence he was conveyed to Selymbria, and from thence by fea to Strongylum, where he died on the fourteenth of September of the year 775. after he had reigned His character. twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-fix days g. As Constantine was a most zealous iconoclast, and did all that lay in his power to suppress the worship of the faints, their images and relics, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the other writers of those times, paint him in the blackest colours, biassed in some measure, as we may reasonably suppose, by passion, interest and prejudice. However, standing even to the c accounts of his declared enemies, we must allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well skilled in war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. As for the great severity which he exerted against such as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worship images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the christian religion. After all, his severity against the worshippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all christian writers, against the worshippers of idols. He defended the empire with equal bravery and success against the Saracens and Bulgarians; but was not in a condition to prevent the loss of the far greater part of his dominions in Italy, Astulphus, king of the Lombards, having reduced in 751. the city and exar- d chate of Ravenna, with the Pentapolis, which were foon after wrested from him by The exarchate Pepin king of France, and given to pope Stephen III. and hence sprung the temporal and Pentapolis dominion of the pope in Italy, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of Ravenna comprehended Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Cervia, and Secchia; the Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, comprised Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Sinogaglia, Ancona, Osimo, Umana, Jesi, Fossombrone, Monteseltro, Urbino, Cagli, Luceoli, and Engubio, as appears from the grant of Lewis the Pious, confirming the donation of Pepin. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a subject of the empire; but adding the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the sceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in Italy, on the ruins of the eastern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of Calabria and Brutium, with the dukedoms of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta. But of the state of Italy at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we shall speak at length in the history of the Lombards. Constantine was succeeded in the empire by his son Leo, who, soon after his accesfron, took his fon Constantine, whom he had by Irene, for his partner in the empire,

causing him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and bestowing at the same time the title of nobilissimi on his two brothers Anthemius and Eudoxius, Nicephorus, his fecond brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time h. Constantine was crowned in the latter end of April of the year 776, and the following month Nicephorus, Leo's brother, formed a conspiracy against the emperor and his son; but the plot being discovered, he was apprehended, and banished, with his accom-Elerich, king plices, to Cherfona. The fame year Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, who had done of the Bulgari- great mischief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earnest desire of embracing the christian religion, refigned his crown, and repaired to Constantinop'e, where he was received by Leo with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and

married to a relation of the empress Irene 1. In the third year of Leo's reign, some advantages were gained by the emperor's forces over the Saracens, who, by way of revenge, began to persecute the christians in a most cruel manner, causing all their churches in Syria to be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. The following Leo an enemy year Leo, who had hitherto diffembled his real fentiments concerning the worship of to images. images, openly declared against that superstitious, as he styled it, and idolatrous practice, reviving the edicts of his father and grandfather, and punishing, with the utmost severity, such as presumed to pay any kind of worship to the saints, the virgin Mary, or their images. Having found two images in the closet of the empress Irene, he never after admitted her to his bed, and caused those who had conveyed them to b her to be racked to death k. He did not long outlive them, being foon after seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the fixteenth of September 780. after having reigned five years and ten days. Theophanes writes, that Leo, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been deposited there by the emperor Heraclius, and was enriched with carbuncles of an inestimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the same time seized with a fever, which, by a just judgment, soon put an end to his life.

Leo was fucceeded by his fon Constantine, furnamed Porphyrogenitus, because he was Constantine born while his father was emperor; but as he was then only ten years old, his mother Porphyroge-Irene took upon her the administration. The young prince had scarce reigned forty nitus and days, when some of the senters and great officers consisted against him, with a linear c days, when some of the senators and great officers conspired against him, with a design to prefer his uncle Nicephorus to the imperial dignity; but Irene, having seasonably discovered the plot, caused the chief authors of it to be seized, and confined to discovered, and different islands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this the conspirators danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, she obliged all the late punished.

emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and administer the sacrament to the people on Christmas day, when she and her son restored to the church the crown of Heraclius, which Leo had feized. The same year 780, the Saracens, upon the news of Leo's death, broke into the eaftern provinces; but were driven back with great loss by the troops, which Irene had, upon the first notice of their motions, dispatched against d them m. The following year the empress, to procure a strong alliance by the marriage of her fon, sent embassadors into France, to propose a match between him and

the daughter of Gbarles king of that country, who was afterwards furnamed the Great, and crowned emperor of the west. The proposal being well received by Charles, an eunuch, by name Elisaus, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named Roldrudris, the Greek tongue, and instruct her in the manners and customs of the Greeks n. The same year Helpidius governor of Sicily revolted; but was driven out of the island Helpidius reby Theodorus a patrician, whom Irene had fent with a powerful fleet against him, and volis. obliged to take refuge among the Saracens in Africa, who, acknowledging him for emperor in opposition to Constantine, fell with such sury upon the eastern provinces,

e that Irene was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herself An annual to pay them an annual pension. The peace with the Saracens was scarce concluded, pension paid to when the Sclavi or Sclavini, breaking into Greece and Peloponnesus, seized on those the Stracens. countries. Against them the empress dispatched Saturacius a patrician, who overcame them in feveral battles; but fuffered them to continue in the contries they had feized, upon their promising to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788, the match between Constantine and Rotdrudris, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by Irene, who obliged her fon, much against his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean descent, named Mary, by birth an Armenian or Paphlagonian, and the niece or daughter of one Philaretus, f remarkable for his good nature and charitable disposition. Some ascribe the breaking off of the match with Rotdrudris to the ambition of Irene, apprehending, that Constantine would no longer be governed by her, but by his father-in law. Others tell

us, that the empress was provoked against Charles, on account of his invading the dukedom of Benevento in Italy, which she had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empress on that occasion disobliged her son to such a Missunderstanddegree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, ing between apprised of the misunderstanding that passed between him and his mother, and desirous and Irene.

Idem ad ann. 2. \* Idem ad ann. 5. CEDREN. in comp. annal. 1 THEOPH. ibid. m Idem ad ann. Const. 1. <sup>n</sup> Idem ad ann. 2. Idem ibid.

of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he a was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counfels of a woman. Constantine hearkening to their infinuations, they resolved to seize on

Constantine deprives her of

Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

legions broken and dispersed.

Saturacius, who governed with an absolute sway, as Irene's first minister, and after having banished him, to oblige the empress to resign the administration. But Saturacius, having notice of their design as soon as it was concerted, immediately imparted it to Irene, who caused all those who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods, and sent into banishment. As for her son, she chastized him with her own hands, and having confined him to his apartment, obliged the senate and soldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge Constantine, but her alone, for their foldiery to take fovereign, fo long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in b an oath of al- the different provinces, except some legions in Armenia, who resolutely declared they legiance to her. would adhere to Constantine, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The resolution of the Armenian legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim Constantine anew, and demand with unanimous consent, that he might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. Irene, dreading the fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement, who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and foldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. Constantine, now at liberty to act without controul, recalled, and advanced to the first employments, such as had been banished on his account, sending into exile Saturacius, and his mother's other favour- c ites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for Irene, he led her with great respect out of the palace, and attended her in person to a house built by herself, in which she had laid up an immense treasure P. The same year 790. a dreadful fire the administra- happened at Constantinople, which consumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of St. Chrysostom on the scripture, written with The following year the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake, his own hand. which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations, and retire to the open fields 4. The same year the emperor marched at the head of a considerable army against the Bulgarians, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in Thrace; but with what success, is uncertain: for Cedrenus writes, that he gained a great victory; but d Zonaras will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to Constantinogle, the friends of Irene, what by extolling her wisdom, prudence and experience in public affairs, what by intreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, Irene recalled. prevailed upon him to recal his mother to court, and restore her to her former authority; which however the Armenian legions could never be induced to acknowledge. Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew against the Bulgarians, encouraged thereunto by some mathematicians, who promised him certain victory; but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to defeated by the obtain it, the Bulgarians, taking advantage of his ill-grounded security, gave him a dreadful overthrow. Besides a great number of common soldiers, the best officers of e the army, and the most considerable men in the empire, lost their lives in the battle, with Pancratius the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occafion to the overthrow . The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this defeat, some malicious and designing courtiers took care to improve that disposition, by infinuating to him, that the foldiers quartered in Constantinople had formed a defign of preferring Nicepborus to the empire; which heightened his jealoufy to such a degree, as he was conscious to himself of his evil conduct, that he not only caused his eyes to be put out, but those likewise of his other uncles, Nicetas, Anthimus, and Eudocimus, tho' nothing had been alledged against them. Alexius Mosoles, whom the Armenian legions had demanded for their leader, when they refused to consent to the restoration f of Irene, was, at her instigation, treated with the like severity; which so provoked those legions, that they refused to obey Camilianus, appointed by the emperor to command them. Hereupon Constantianus, Artaseras and Chrysochires were sent against them at the head of a strong party; but the mutinous legions having defeated them, and taken them prisoners, caused, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; which fo provoked Constantine, that he marched against them in person; and having The Armenian defeated them in a pitched battle, put all their officers to death, caufing the com-

P Idem, & Cedren. ad ann. Conft. 10. Idem ad ann. 10, 11. I Idem ad ann. Conft. fol. 2. Idem ibid.

a mon foldiers to be led in chains to Constantinople, and conveyed from thence into different islands. The Armenian legions, who had always suspected, and been ready to oppose the ambitious designs of Irene, being thus broken and dispersed, she began to put the emperor, now destrute of that support, upon such measures, as, she thought, would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empress Mary, whom she had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, she advised him to divorce her, and marry Theodota or Theodotta, one of the maids of her cham-Constantine ber; who was accordingly crowned empress at Constantinople, where the nuptials were and marries folemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together. This Theodota. marriage occasioned great contests among the clergy concerning the lawfulness of it; b in which Irene artfully fided with those who opposed her son, encouraging them underhand to estrange the minds of the people from him. However, the success which attended his arms against the Saracens and Bulgarians, prevented the people from revolting, the privately stirred up by Irene, and her emissaries, to depose him. The Saracens had broken into Cilicia; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which Constantine scasonably dispatched against them. As for the Bulgarians, Cardames their king having fent embassadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of Constantinople, and there take it by force, if it was refused him, Constantine replied, that fince he was stricken in years, he would save him the trouble of fo long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly the marched against him at the head of a considerable army; upon the sight of which the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost consternation. Upon his Heputs the return to Constantinople, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of Prusa in Bulgarians to Bithynia, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empress flight. Theodota was delivered of a fon; at which he was so overjoyed, that he returned in great haste to Constantinople. Irene, taking advantage of his absence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promised to depose Constantine, and commit the government to her alone. Pursuant to this promise, some of them, returning to Constantinople, seized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of Porphyra, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in fuch a cruel and barbarous manner, He is murdered d that he died a few days after in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone, and ten with his mother p. Our historian observes, that five years before his uncles lost their eyes by his orders, on the same day of the same month, and in the same chamber v. Nicephorus and Christopher, her husband's brothers, hearing of the death of Constantine, took fanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence, and banished to Athens, where they are said to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raife disturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of Leo Isauricus; fo that no one was now left to dispute with Irene her title to the empire. She no fooner received intelligence of the death of her son, than leaving Prusa, the repaired to Constantinople; which she entered in a gilded chariot, drawn by four Irene proclaie horses, being attended by several patricians, who waited as her slaves on either side, medempress. while she threw money among the people, as was usual at the solemnity of a coronation x. In the mean time the Saracens, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eastern provinces; and having defeated the forces Irene sent against them, entered Thrace, made their excursions to the very gates of Constantinople, destroying all with fire and sword, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In 798, the second of Irene's reign, her great favourite Saturacius, prompted by his boundless ambition, Saturacius conspired against her, with a design to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon conspires his own head; but his design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, Irene, against her. f after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herself, in consideration of his former services, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empress shewed him, joined to a lively sense of his ingratitude to her, made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he died of grief soon after y. Irene, finding she could not depend even upon those whom she thought she had most she studies to reason to conside in, made it her chief study to gain the hearts of her people. With sain the afferthis view she remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of the people. Constantinople, encouraged commerce, and, what most of all obliged the people,

t Idem ad ann. 3. u Idem ad ann. 7. Const. fol. w Idem ibid. u Idem ad ann. Iren. 1.
Idem ad ann. Iren. 2.

promoted,

A match proposed between Irene and Charles the Great.

Which is opposed by Actius.

up Nicepho-

Irene deposed, and Nicephorus created emperor.

promoted, to the utmost of her power, the worship of images, causing them to be set a up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted against them by former emperors z. In 802. Charles, surnamed the Great, who had been crowned emperor of the west by pope Leo III. on Christmas-day of the year 800. sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, with proposals of a firm and lasting peace between him and Irene. To these embassadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with extraordinary pomp at Constantinople. The embassadors of Charles, among their other instructions, were ordered to propose a match between him and Irene, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their persons. Irene readily entered into the negotiation; but Aetius an eunuch, who bore the chief sway at court, by daily starting new difficulties, put off from time to time the conclusion of the treaty. b As he was excluded from the empire himself, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand to prefer to it his brother, by name Leo, at that time governor of Thrace and Macedon; but being well apprised, that his design would be unavoidably defeated, should the treaty between Irene and so powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no stone unturned to divert the empress from it, at least to get the conclusion of it suspended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private design. In the mean time the nobility, who hated Aetius, on revolt, and fet account of his haughty and imperious conduct, suspecting his design, and apprehending the empress, over whom he had gained a great ascendant, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take Leo for her partner in the empire, resolved to set up & Nicephorus, a patrician of great wealth and interest among the people. Accordingly, having first disposed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that Irene not only designed to marry Charles, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the west, by which means the eastern empire would foon become a province to the new empire of the west, they assembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they feized on Irene without opposition; and confining her under a strong guard to her chamber, conducted Nicephorus, their new emperor, with the usual folemnity to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom Irene had obliged by feveral acts of generofity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curfes against him. Nicephorus treated Irene with great civility and respect, till d he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to discover to him the place where her treasures lay concealed; which she had no sooner done, than, contrary to his folemn promife, he confined her to a monaftery, which she herself had built in an island; but soon after removed her from thence to the island of Lesbos, where she died of grief 2. She is greatly extolled, notwithstanding her unnatural conduct towards her fon, by all the writers of those times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worship of images, and the great pains she took utterly to suppress the herefy, as it was then called, of the iconoclasts. She built a great many monasteries, and hospitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained, if the writers of those times are to be credited, both the esteem and affections of her subjects. Her great attachment to the see of Rome, and the indefatigable pains she took to get the doctrine of the iconoclasts condemned in the second council of Nice, by her assembled for that purpose, have so far biassed some writers of that party, that they have not been ashamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy scripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her son, who perhaps well deserved such treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. Irene was thus deposed in 802, after having reigned ten years with her son, and five alone.

> # Idem ad ann. 4. • THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 1.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

## The Roman history, from the promotion of Nicephorus, to the death of Basilius II.

HE embassadors who had been sent, as we have related in the foregoing Nicephorus. chapter, by Charles the Great to propose a marriage between him and the chapter, by Charles the Great to propose a marriage between him and the empress Irene, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their stay in Constantinople, and utterly disconcerted the ambitious views of their master. However, as they were injoined to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well apprised of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendship of Charles, received his embassadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which Charles was acknowledged emperor of Concludes a b the west, and all Italy to the rivers Vulturnus and Ausidus yielded to him. Nicephorus, treaty with in the third year of his reign, caused Nicetas Triphyllius, to whom he was chiefly in-Gharles the debted for his promotion, to be taken off with poison, for no other crime but because he was beloved by the army. He gave several other instances of a most cruel, suspicious and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged Bardanes, governor of one of the eastern provinces, to revolt, and assume the Bardanes title of emperor. Michael and Leo, two officers of great reputation in the army, revolts; joined him at first; but soon after finding him unequal to so great a charge, they abandoned him, and went over to Nicephorus, who raised them to the first posts in the army. Bardanes, thus forfaken by his friends, fent a submissive message to Nice- But submission c phorus, and, upon his promifing to pardon him, retired to a monastery, and there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending to be intirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly manner to Constantinople; but on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by persons sent for that purpose. The emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, and fecure the crown to his family, took his fon Saturacius for his partner in the empire, and caused him to be crowned with the usual folemnity. Having thus settled his affairs at home, he marched against the Saracens, who had broken into the eastern provinces; but his army was Nicephorus utterly defeated, and he obliged to fave himself by a shameful slight, having nar-defeated by the rowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The following year the Saracens, Saracens, d to the number of three hundred thousand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing without opposition as far as Tyana, the metropolis of Cappadocia Minor, made themselves masters of that city, and several other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very gates of Ancyra in Galatia. Nicepborus marched against them with what forces he could raise; but not daring to venture an engagement, he dispatched embassadors with rich presents to Aaron, their kalif, who with much ado was prevailed upon to grant a peace upon the following terms: That the em- Nicephorus peror should pay to the Saracens a yearly tribute of thirty thousand pieces of gold, concludes a disbesides three thousand for his own head, and as many for that of his son; and that honourable he should not presume to repair such forts as had been dismantled. Nicephorus agreed them. e to these terms; but the enemy was no sooner retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demolished; which so provoked the Saracens, that they returned the same year, and raged with more fury than ever, They invade putting all to fire and sword, both on the continent, and in the island of Cyprus, the empire where they demolished the churches, and put an incredible number of the inhabit-anew. ants to the fword. The following year they made a descent upon the island of Rhodes, and took a great number of prisoners; but their fleet suffered much by a violent florm, which overtook them as they were returning home. The fame

year Nicephorus married his son Saturacius to Theophania, a near relation of the late

A match proposed between Irene and Charles the Great,

Which is op-

The nobility up Nicepho-

Irene deposed, and Nicephorus created emperor.

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purple, which required a person of a

a cloyster. Accordingly he earnestly as he was free from all ambition, inviotime fensible of the dangerous state of diery, and the patriarch. Michael no effered himself to be proclaimed emperor, his children, to the monastery of Pharus, eventh of July 813. after having reigned . Thus Theophanes, who lived at this wrote. But Cedrenus gives us a very dif-According to that writer, Michael had the garians, till Leo, who aspired at the empire, which so disheartened the Romans, that they , leaving the Bulgarians masters of the field. to Adrianople, and from thence to Constanti-... In his absence Leo, by exclaiming against dy prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt mielf; which however he pretended to decline, Leo raifed to he chief officers of the army, drawing his fword, the empire. threatened him with present death, if he did mpire, in him alone. When news was brought e army, and the usurpation of Leo, some of the antain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. carply reprimanded them, declaring he had rather in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended a blood. Accordingly he fent to Leo the diadem, thoes, the enligns of fovereignty, requiring him hension of danger, to Constantinople, and take pos-Thus Cedrenus, to whose authority we should, withthat of Theophanes, were we fure that the latter part er his name, was done by him; but as some able d it with the reign of Nicephorus, and that the remainmer writer, who, favouring Leo, concealed his ambiempire, we will not take upon us to decide whether , or was raised to it by the voluntary abdication of , upon his arrival at Constantinople, took care to have ad retired to the same monastery, separated; and thereaftery on the island Prota, and banished Procopia, with lace, having first caused Theophylast, their eldest son, to might have no iffue d. He had scarce taken possession Sulgarians, elated with their late success, entered Thrace, and fword. Leo having drawn together what forces he nit them, and offered them battle; which they not declinere flain on both fides, but at length the Romans, overwere put to the rout. As they were pursued by the enemy who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unexcomplete vicabarians with a referve of chosen men, who attended him, tory over the in the end obtained an intire victory. Great numbers of the Bulgarians. d more taken prisoners. Some reckon the king himself, by the former; but others will have him to have been only that be, the Bulgarians were so disheartened by this overthrow, inroads into the empire for some years after. The emperor to fear either from the Bulgarians, or the Saracens, who were nemicives, applied himself wholly to the suppressing of the wor- He opposes the to images. In order to this, he enforced the observance of the worship of l'antinople in 754. under Constantinus Copronymus, and published imagei. any worship to be paid to images, and commanding them to be

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d ZONAR. CEDREN. in Mich. e Idem ibid. CEDREN. in Lcon. removed

A tumult at Constantinople.

Nicephorus ravages with

He is defeated

and flain.

Saturacius.

empress Irene, though she had been some time before contracted to another, which a gave occasion to great complaints, and encouraged some to conspire against him: but they were all detected and punished with the utmost severity; nay, many persons of great distinction, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were, upon bare suspicions, dragged to prison, and there either put to death, or racked with the greatest cruelty. In the The Bulgarians seventh year of his reign, the Bulgarians, making an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of Crumus, their king, surprised Sardica, a city of Masia, and put the whole garison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. Nicephorus marched against them with a considerable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, instead of pursuing them, he returned to Constantinople, and imposed a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of Sardica; which incenfed them to b fuch a degree, that they rose in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the palace, but were repulsed by the emperor's guards with great slaughter. In the ninth year of his reign he raised a powerful army, and marching at the head of it, entered the country of the Bulgarians, destroying all with fire and sword. Crumus, their king, alarmed at his approach, fent embaffadors to fue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But Nicephorus, rejecting them with indignation, pursued his ravages, wasting the country, destroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, who had the misfortune to fall the country of into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Crumus, sensibly affected the Bulgarians, with the calamities of his subjects, fent the emperor a second submissive message, c offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But Nicephorus difiniffing the embaffadors with scorn, Crumus, pushed on by despair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor's camp; and having forced it, in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number of patricians, and most of the chief officers. Saturacius received a dangerous wound in the neck, but escaped in a litter to Adrianople. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of Nicephorus being found among the flain, Crumus caused his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for some time exposed to the view of the foldiery, he inclosed the scull in silver, and made use of it instead of a cup y. Such was the end of Nicephorus, after having reigned eight years, as d many months, and twenty-fix days. He is faid to have been strongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the Manichees, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries 2.

Saturacius fled, as we observed above, to Adrianople, where he was acknowledged emperor by some of the officers, who had escaped the general slaughter. But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and at the same time knew himself to be universally hated both by the nobility and people, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife Theophania. But in the Michael pro- mean time the senate caused Michael, who had married Procopia, lister to Saturacius, e claimed emper to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which Saturacius no sooner understood, than he retired with his wife to a monastery, where he embraced a religious life, and died foon after, having reigned two months and ten days. Michael, mindful of the oath he had taken to Nicephorus and his fon, declined at first the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed, that Saturacius, the better to secure the crown to his wife, had resolved to deprive him of his sight, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by Nicephorus, the patriarch, after he had by a folemn promise under his own hand obliged himself to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding christian blood a. The new emperor a few days after Takes his for caused his wife Procopia to be likewise crowned by the patriarch with his son Theo- f for his collegue, phylast, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was scarce warm in his throne, when the Saracens broke into the empire on one side, and the Bulgarians on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by Leo, who governed the eastern provinces, with the loss of two thousand men. Against the Bulgarians Is defeated by Michael marched in person; but having, after several slight skirmishes, ventured an the Bu garians, engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with shame and difference to Conflantinople. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to

<sup>7</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 9. \* CEDREN. ZONAR. in Niceph. THEOPH. ibid. \* THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 9.

a fuch a degree, that he resolved to quit the purple, which required a person of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyster. Accordingly he earnestly pressed Leo to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to Michael, and at the same time sensible of the dangerous state of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his request, tho' backed by the intreaties of the magistrates, the foldiery, and the patriarch. Michael no sooner understood, that Leo had in the end suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired with his wife Procopia, and his children, to the monastery of Pharus, where he took the monastic habit on the eleventh of July 813. after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days b. Thus Theophanes, who lived at this b time, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote. But Cedrenus gives us a very different account of the promotion of Leo. According to that writer, Michael had the advantage in the engagement with the Bulgarians, till Leo, who aspired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which so disheartened the Romans, that they betook themselves to a disorderly slight, leaving the Bulgarians masters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, escaped to Adrianople, and from thence to Constantinople, attended by a small body of horse. In his absence Leo, by exclaiming against him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from Michael, and offer the empire to himself; which however he pretended to decline, Leo raifed to till Michael Traulus or Balbus, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his fword, the empire. as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with present death, if he did e not immediately comply with the earnest intreaties of the whole army, who, he said, placed their fafety, and that of the empire, in him alone. When news was brought to Constantinople of the revolt of the army, and the usurpation of Leo, some of the emperor's friends advised him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor sharply reprimanded them, declaring he had rather lose his life, than involve the state in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effusion of much christian blood. Accordingly he fent to Leo the diadem, the purple robes, and the scarler shoes, the ensigns of sovereignty, requiring him to come, without the least apprehension of danger, to Constantinople, and take pos-fession of the imperial palace. Thus Cedrenus, to whose authority we should, withd out the least hesitation, preser that of Theophanes, were we sure that the latter part of the history, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as some able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the reign of Nicephorus, and that the remaining part was added by some other writer, who, favouring Leo, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether Leo usurped the sovereignty, or was raised to it by the voluntary abdication of Michael. The new emperor, upon his arrival at Constantinople, took care to have Michael, and his wife, who had retired to the fame monastery, separated; and therefore confined him to a monastery on the island Prota, and banished Procopia, with her children, to another place, having first caused Theophylast, their eldest son, to e be cruelly maimed, that he might have no issue d. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when the Bulgarians, elated with their late success, entered Thrace, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo having drawn together what forces he could, marched out against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, great multitudes were slain on both sides, but at length the Romans, overpowered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were purfued by the enemy in great disorder, Leo, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unex-He gains a pectedly upon the barbarians with a referve of chosen men, who attended him, tory over the renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an intire victory. Great numbers of the Bulgarians. enemy were slain, and more taken prisoners. Some reckon the king himself, by f name Crumus, among the former; but others will have him to have been only wounded. However that be, the Bulgarians were so disheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after. The emperor having now nothing to fear either from the Bulgarians, or the Saracens, who were at variance among themselves, applied himself wholly to the suppressing of the wor- He opposes the thip that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the observance of the worship of council held at Constantinople in 754. under Constantinus Copronymus, and published images. an edict forbidding any worship to be paid to images, and commanding them to be

removed

b Idem ad ann. Mic. 2. d ZONAR. CEDREN. in Mich. CEDREN. in Leon. e Idem ibid.

conspires against him.

removed out of the churches. Nicephorus the patriarch, Nicetas a patrician, and a one of the empre's Irene's relations, Theodorus a monk in great reputation, Theophanes the historian, and many others, were banished for refusing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redressing the Michael Balbus abuses both in the church and state, Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the stammerer, whom he had preferred to the first employments, conspired against him with a design to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head. But the plot being But is seized discovered, Michael was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But and condemned as the officers were leading him on Christmas eve to the place of execution, the empress Theodosia, by upbraiding her husband with cruelty and irreligion for not respecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy sacrament, prevailed b upon him to respite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his escape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himself. But Michael having, by means of some religious persons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permission, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to discover them to Leo, unless they speedily procured his release, alarmed them to such a degree, that they resolved, without loss of time, to put their design in execution. Accordingly, mixing themselves with those who performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a fignal agreed on beforehand, c they started up; but by mistake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the person who presided over the clerks, or, as we may call him, the dean of the chapel. Leo. in the mean time, well appriled of their delign, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conspirators, now sensible of their mistake; but defended himself with the chain of the incenfory, or, as some write, with the cross, till one of his hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conspirators rushing upon him, Leo murdered. dispatched him with many wounds, and in the end struck off his head f. Such was the end of Leo IV. after he had reigned seven years, five months, and sourceen days. suppressing the worship of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to d

His character. He is allowed, even by such as were his avowed enemies on account of his zeal in have reformed many abuses, that had long prevailed in the state. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch Nicephorus, who had been banished by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, tho' a wicked prince. The body of the unhappy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there exposed for some time to public view. After this, the conspirators, having seized on the empress Theodosia, confined her to a monastery, and banished her four fons, viz. Sabbatius, called also Constantine, Basil, Gregory, and Theodosius, to the island Prota, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by Michael's Michael Balbus order, in which cruel operation Theodofius died. Michael in the mean time being e proclaimed em- fet at liberty, and conducted by the conspirators from the prison to the palace, placed himself upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he still was, with his irons, the keys being no-where found: at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Michael, thus raised to the empire, was a native of Amorium, a city of Phrygia, inhabited chiefly by Jews, and fuch christians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. Michael himself observed the Jewish fabbath, denied the refurrection of the dead, and held several other tenets condemned by the catholic church &. In the first year of his reign he recalled a great number of bishops, monks, and others, who had been banished by Leo for not complying f with his edict forbidding the worship of images, but at the same time summoned them to dispute in a council at Constantinople the point in question. With this summons they refused to comply, alledging, that as the worshipping of images had been already approved of and established by a general council, it could admit of no dispute. This answer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheless was so far from proceeding with rigour against them, that he indulged them in the use of images without the city. In the second year of his reign, and 823d of the christian æra, a civil war broke out in the east, which involved the empire in endless calamities.

to images.

a It was raised by one Thomas, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their Thomas reaccounts. According to fome, he was meanly born, and at first a menial servant roles in the to a senator at Constantinople, whose wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, fled to the Saracens, among whom, after he had continued for the space of twenty-five years, protessing their religion, he obtained of their kalif a considerable body of troops, boasting, that he could easily subdue the whole Roman empire. The better to intice the Romans over to his interest, he gave out, that he was Constantine, the son of Irene. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the east, and inviolably attached to Leo, whose death he resolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a b grave aspect, of extraordinary strength and courage, and acceptable to the soldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eastern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated Michael, he foon raifed a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all Asia, seizing every-where on the public Mikes himself revenues, and plundering such cities as resused to submit to him. And now being master of Asia master of all Asia and Syria, he assumed the purple and diadem, and caused himself and Syria. to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of Antioch. Michael, in the mean time, dispatched all the troops he could assemble against him; but Thomas, meeting them in Afia, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a strong sleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then c croffing over into Thrace, appeared unexpectedly before Constantinople, not doubting Besieges Conbut the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his first approach. But to his stantinople. great furprize, they received him with most opprobrious language, repulsed him in two successive attacks, and in several fallies killed great numbers of his men. Thomas made the necessary preparations for a third assault, being resolved to make an utmost effort, and attack the city at the same time by sea and land. But a most violent storm arising, when he was upon the point of giving the signal, his fleet was dispersed, and his battering engines overturned, and rendered quite useless. This disappointment, and some successful fallies of the besieged, obliged him, as the season was already far advanced, to raife the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but d with a resolution to return before the city early in the spring; which he did accordingly: but Michael having in the mean time equipped a fleet, and raifed a landarmy, he met with far greater opposition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great flaughter in a fally, and his fleet driven ashore by that of the emperor. The usurper had in his army a commander of great valour and experience, named Gregory, who having been banished by Michael to the island of Scirus, because he was a near relation of Leo, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the usurper, and been entrusted by him with the command of twelve thousand men; but now observing, that fortune, which had hitherto attended Thomas in all his undertakings, began to forfake him, he resolved to make e his peace with Michael, the rather because his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on fo privately, but Thomas had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a sufficient number of troops before Constantinogle to carry on the siege, led the rest against Gregory; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated He defeats and his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then puts to death returned in triumph to pursue the siege. But in the mean time Mortagon, king of Gregory, who the Bulgarians, hearing the emperor was belieged in his metropolis, and either betray him. pitying his condition, or desirous of gaining his friendship, marched at the head of a numerous army to his assistance. Thomas, when informed of his approach, was f some time in suspense, whether he should continue the siege, or march with all his forces against the barbarians, but at length resolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the siege, he met and engaged the Bulgarians at a place called Cedostus, He is defeated but was by them put to flight with great flaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, by the Bulgari-his fleet before Constantinople revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of pursuing the siege, and to retire to Diabesis, a place distant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out against him, under the command of Catacelas and Olbianus, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, most of g whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. Thomas, with much Vol. VI. Nº 8.

and put to death.

ado, escaped to Adrianople, where he was immediately belieged by the emperor's a Is delivered up forces, and at length delivered up to Michael by his own people, no longer able to to the emperor, endure the famine, and the unspeakable hardships, to which they were reduced. The emperor, having caused his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an afs round the camp. He died foon after in the utmost agony. Anastasius, his adopted son, who for that honour had forsaken the monastic life, which he professed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of Byria, met with the same treatment as his father had done. Pavium and Heraclea, two maritime cities of Thrace, which Thomas had seized, refused to submit, not so much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor, on account of his opposing the worship of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned b by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by storm. Some other cities and castles continued to hold out for fome time, but they were all in the end reduced, and

the civil war intirely extinguished b. In the mean time the Saracens, who had fettled in Spain, and were grown too

The Saracens

And settle there.

land in Crete,

The city of

Candia built.

The emperor's forces defeated, and cut in pieces.

numerous for that country, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire; having equipped several ships, dispatched them in quest of some fruitful island, in which they might plant a colony. Apochapsus, who commanded this squadron, having ravaged most of the islands in the Mediterranean without opposition, all the ships and garisons being gone to the affishance of Thomas, touched in the end at Crete; and being greatly taken with the fertility and pleasantness of that island, described it to e his countrymen upon his return as a place, to use his expression, flowing with milk and honey. Hereupon the Saracens having equipped, during the winter, a fleet confifting of forty ships, well armed and manned, put to sea early in the spring; and landing in the island, encamped on the promontory Charax, whence Apochapsus sent spies to discover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the island was quite destitute of soldiers, and that he would no-where meet with the least oppofition. Hereupon he ordered the fleet to be fet on fire, that his men, laying afide all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that island as their native country. The emperor, upon the first notice of this descent, dispatched Damianus with a considerable body of troops to drive the Saracens out of the island. Damianus, being d joined by Photinus, advanced, as foon as he had landed his forces, against the enemy, who killed him at the first onset, and put his whole army to slight, Photinus having with much ado made his escape in a light vessel, and carried the news of the overthrow to the emperor. The Saracens, having now no enemy to oppose them, built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called Chandax, pointed out to them by a monk. From thence they made frequent excursions, and in a short time reduced the whole island, which by its new masters was thenceforth called Chandax, and by others Candia, from the above-mentioned city i. This happened in the second year of the reign of Michael Balbus, and the 822d of the christian æra. Michael, thinking it would reflect eternal ignominy, if he suffered the Saracens to settle in Crete, as soon e as he had put an end to the civil war, dispatched Craterus, with a powerful fleet, and a numerous army, to recover the island. Craterus, having landed his men without opposition, fell upon the enemy with great resolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining to neither side; but soon after the Saracens, great numbers of them being slain, and more taken prisoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great confusion. Had the Romans pursued them, they might have easily, in that consternation, cut them all off to a man, and made themselves masters of their city. But instead of following the fugitives, and affaulting, without loss of time, the place whither they had all retired, they spent the night in riot and drunkenness, as if the war had f been already concluded, without so much as placing a guard or centry, to prevent their being surprised. The enemy, apprised of their security, resolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly fallying out in the dead of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine, and partly affeep, and cut them off almost to a man. Craterus, their general, with great difficulty escaped on board a small vessel to the island of Cos. But the prince of the Saracens, not finding his body among the flain, dispatched some vessels with

a troops after him, who landing on the island, surprised him, and nailed him to a cross. After this defeat, the emperor, despairing of being able to recover the island of Crete, contented himself with defending the other islands, and restraining the piracies of the Cretan Saracens k. Besides the loss of the pleasant and fruitful island of Crete, several other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, viz. Several public great conflagrations, destructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inun-calamities. dations, strange phænomena in the heavens, general dearth and scarcity of provisions, violent storms, &c. which are all ascribed by Cedrenus to the contempt of images. But these calamities did not reclaim him from the loose and dissolute life which he led without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the fixth year of b his reign, his wife being dead, he forced Euphrosyna, the daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, out of a monastery, where she had led from her infancy a recluse life, and married her. Soon after, Euphemius, an officer of great interest and authority in the army, falling in love with another facred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of the monastery, and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of Sicily, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alledged against Euphemius to be true, to cut off his nose. To avoid this punishment, Euphemius drew several other officers of the army into a conspiracy; repulsed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; c and then flying to the Saracens in Africa, promised to betray Sicily into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the Romans. To this the Saracen governor of Africa readily confented; and having acknowledged him emperor, fent him back with a fufficient number of troops to Euphemius make good his title. He landed in Sicily without opposition; and advancing to emperor by the Syracuse, endeavoured, by a flattering speech, to persuade the inhabitants, who stood Saracens. on the walls, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the rest he observed two brothers, who were men of great interest in the city, to pay him greater respect, and hear him with more attention, than the rest; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the rest of his company d to meet and salute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The Saracens however did not quit the advantage He is killed. which he had put into their hands; but being thus introduced by him, made themfelves by degrees masters of the whole island; and passing over into Italy, landed at The Saracens Taranto; whence they drove the Romans, and got possession of Calabria, and the reduce Sicily. adjoining provinces. The emperor died soon after of a flux, having reigned eight Michael dies. years, nine months, and feven days; and was buried in the church of the apostles. His death happened on the first of October 829. HE was succeeded by his fon Theophylus, who, in the beginning of his reign, to Theophylus.

gain the affections of the people, and prevent conspiracies, pretended to be a strict e observer of justice, and a severe affertor of the laws of the empire. Tho' his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of Leo, yet he refolved to punish all those who had been any-ways accessary to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he fummoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace Magnaura, or, as it was called from the five towers, Pentapyrgium. When they were affembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time refolved to reward the eminent fervices of those, who had been instrumental in his promotion; but since death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himself, as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore defired them to withdraw from the rest into a particular f room, where he would examine the merit of each person, and reward him accordingly. Hereupon those, who had been accessary to the murder of Leo, readily discovered themselves, in expectation of some great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confession, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws against murder in execution, and to punish, according He punishes the to their deferts, those who had not only shed innocent blood, but had inhumanly murderers of massacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then dismissed the assemble. bly, and the officer, pursuant to his orders, punished all those who had conspired against Leo as murderers . After this he sent Euphrosyne back to the monastery,

<sup>\*</sup> ldem ibid. 1 CEDREN. in Mich. ann. 8. ZONAR. P. 173. m JOANN. CUROPUL. in Theophyl.

Constantine crowned empe-

Leo's edict against images.

A tumult at Conflantinople.

The people revolt in Italy.

Gregory II. opposes the emperor's edict.

Leo attempts sepon his life.

They laid fiege to Constantinople, hoping, by means of the a claim to the crown. partizans of Analtalius, among whom were feveral persons of great distinction, to make themselves soon masters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation, with a vigorous opposition, they seized on the unfortunate Anastasius, and delivered him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the bishop of Thessalonica 2. Leo, having happily weathered this storm, caused his fon Constantine to be solemnly crowned emperor, in order to secure the empire to The ceremony was performed by the patriarch Germanus, on Easterhis posterity. day in 720. the fifth of Leo's reign 2. In the mean time the Saracens, under the conduct of their new prince Ized, who had succeeded Haumar, having equipped a mighty fleet, ravaged the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and landing in Sardinia, raged there with b unspeakable fury, destroying all with fire and sword; but being soon after diverted from molesting the empire by the intestine divisions that arose amongst them, another Ized, surnamed Mualabis, having set up for himself in Persia, the emperor was more at leifure to reform several abuses, that had crept into the court and state under the former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign, and 725. of the christian æra, he published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches. and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, opposed in the east by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and Johannes Damascenus; but Leo, having deposed Germanus, and raised Anastasius to the see of Constantinople in his room, caused his edict to be put in execution at Constantinople, and c the images to be pulled down and destroyed by his officers throughout the city, without sparing the statue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by Constantine the Great. The people, struck with horror in seeing the images of our Saviour and his faints thus infulted, and either torn in pieces, or burnt by the emperor's officers, affembled in a tumultuous manner, and having first vented their rage upon Leo's statues and images, slew to the palace; but being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced to disperse, and suffer the edict to take place. But in the west, especially in Italy, it was had in such abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave Luitprand, king of the Lombards, an opportunity of seizing on Ravenna, and several other cities d of the exarchate. He was however foon after driven out by the Venetians, who, at that time, made no small figure in Italy. Gregory II. then pope, or bishop of Rome, jealous of the growing power of the Lombards, had, by a letter to Ursus duke of Venice, prevailed upon him to espouse the interest of the emperor, and lead his forces against Ravenna; which city he surprised, before Luitprand, who was then at Pavia, had the least notice or suspicion of his design. Gregory had, from the very beginning, opposed with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worshipping of images; and now, presuming upon the eminent service he had rendered the empire, he wrote a long letter to Leo, earnestly intreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well apprised, that Gregory had been prompted by his own interest, and not by that of c the empire, to prevent the Lombards from making new conquests in Italy, was exasperated to such a degree against him, for continuing still to oppose his edict, that he fent private orders to his officers in Italy, especially to Paul exarch of Ravenna, and to Mauritius, governor, or, as he was then styled, duke of Rome, injoining them to get Gregory, by some means or other, into their power, and send him dead or alive to Constantinople. But the people of Rome, who had a great veneration for their bishop, discovering the plot, guarded him so carefully, that the emperor's officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three affaffins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, which the third escaped, by taking sanctuary in a monastery, and there embracing a f religious life. Gregory, finding himself thus supported by the people of Rome, solemnly The exarchex- excommunicated the exarch, for publishing, and attempting to put in execution, the communicated emperor's edict, writing at the same time letters to the Venetians, to king Luitprand, to the Lombard dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue stedsast in the catholic saith, and oppose, with all their might, the execution of the impious, as he styled it, and heretical edict. These letters made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of Italy, tho' of different interests. and often at war with each other, viz. the people of Rome, the Venetians, and the

Lombards, entering into an alliance, resolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the The people of utmost of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of Rome, and Italy revolt. those of the Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, did not stop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor's statues, openly revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an iconoclast, that is, a breaker of images, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; nay, they had some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to Constantinople: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In Ravenna the people rose in defence of the images against Paul the exarch; and having killed him, and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to Luitprand king Ravenna subof the Lombards, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the mits to the Lombards. b general difcontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In Naples the people took arms against Exhilarctus their duke, (for Naples was then governed by dukes sent from Constantinople) and murdered him, with his son Adrian, and one of The inhabithis chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the anti of Naples religion of their prince. However, as they hated the Lombards, with whom they had kill their duke or governor. been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to Leo, and received Peter, who was appointed duke of Naples in the room of Exhilaratus. The people of Rome, finding the emperor inflexible in his defign against the worship of images, and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the disturbances, refolved at length to renounce their allegiance to Lco, and to conti- The Romans nue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to revelt. c defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the Lombards, whom they had but too much reason to mistrust b. Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and other Greek writers, tell us, that the Romans, withdrawing their obedience to Leo, chose pope Gregory for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to And chase the him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the Romans pope for their to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated Leo as head. an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and solemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, fay they, had the temporal and independent The rife of the dominion of the pope over Rome its rife, which was afterwards inlarged by Pepin and temporal domi-Charles the Great, and extended to the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and nion of the pope. d several other cities of Italy. But it appears from Paulus Diaconus, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Joannes Damascenus, who all flourished nearer those times, and in the places where the things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of Gregory himfelf to Leo, that he acknowledged him for his lawful fovereign as long as he lived, as did lik wife Gregory III. his fucceffor . The Latin writers take no notice of Gregory's excommunicating and deposing the emperor, or absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when Leo deposed the patriarch Germanus, and appointed Anastasius in his room, Gregory excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earnestly intreated him not to abuse the power with which he had been trusted, to introduce innovations in the church d. However, the authority e of the Greek historians has been preferred to that of the Latins, by all the protestant, and most of the Roman catholic writers; but with very different views. testants followed them, that they might thence take occasion to make a comparison between our Saviour and the pope. When the multitude, say they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, faying, My kingdom is not of this world: when the Romans offered the principality to Gregory, he readily accepted it, and from the servant of servants became the lord and master. Our Saviour express commanded tribute to be paid to Cafar: the pope would fuffer no more tribute to be paid to Leohis lawful fovereign, &c. c. On the other hand, the Roman catholics, by standing to what the Greeks write, think they can defend the pope from all usurpation, and establish his temporal power and jurisdiction upon a better and more plausible foundation, viz. the unanimous confent of the people, conferring upon him freely, and

Anast. in Greg. II. Paul. Diac. l. vi. Sigon. ad ann. 725, 726. Epift. 1 & 2 Greg. ad Leon.
Anast. Bibl. in Greg. II. Greg. II. in epift. 1. ad Leon. & Greg. III. epift. 2. ad Bonifac.
Vide Spanh. contra Maimburg. in hiftor. imag. p. 52.
Giannetas. hist. Neap. 1. v. p. 94. Vol. VI. No 7. plainly

without constraint, the principality i, not reflecting, that those who thus chose him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful fovereign; and consequently that Gregory, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and ulurpation. But from what we shall relate in the history of the Lombards in Italy, it will

plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the fovereignty of Rome at this time, but a

Constantine

married to

wrecked.

Leo dies, and

is succeeded by

Copronymus

Constantine

Artabazdus

revolts;

Irene.

many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its rife in Rome, but in the exarchate of Ravenna, and the Pentapolis, which were taken by the celebrated Pepin from Astulphus king of the Lombards, and given to pope Stephen, whom some call the fecond, others the third, of that name. As for the fovereignty of Rome, the popes did not enjoy it, as we shall demonstrate in a more proper place, till the year 876. when it was yielded to the apostolic see, as it began then to be called, by Charles furnamed the Bald. But to return to Leo: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in suppressing the worship of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty against those, who resused to comply with his edict; while the Saracens, breaking into the eastern provinces, laid them waste b without controul, carrying yearly back with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the seventeenth year of his reign, and 732, of the chriftian æra, he married his fon Constantine to the daughter of the king of the Chazari. after she had been instructed in the principles of the christian religion, and received at her baptism the name of Irene, a word signifying in the Greek tongue peace. The fame year the emperor caused a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a design to chastize and bring back to their duty the Romans, and other people of Italy, who had revolted Leo's fleet ship- on occasion of the edict against images; but the fleet being shipwrecked in the Adriatic fea, Leo could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppose the execution of his edict, than by caufing the revenues of the Roman fee in Calabria c and Sicily to be confiscated 8. In the last year of Leo's reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at Conflantinople, which overturned many churches, monasteries and private houses, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after Leo died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was succeeded by his fon Conflantine, who no fooner faw himself sole master of the empire, than he led an army against the Saracens, who had made an irruption into Asia. In his absence Artabazdus, who had married his fifter, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people, and proclaimed emperor, he caused the sons of Constantine to be secured; but as he was well apprised, that the report he had industriously spread of Constantine's death would be soon contradicted, he began to consult d with the patriarch Anastasius, by what other means he might keep the people steady in their allegiance to him. Anastasius had been a zealous iconoclast in the late reign; but to curry favour with Artabazdus, who had a great veneration for images, and to estrange the minds of the people from Constantine, he assembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy cross, he took the following oath: By bim who died upon this wood, I swear, That Constantine one day addressed me with these words; I do not believe him to be the son of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Christ, but a mere man; for Mary was delivered of him after the same manner, as Mary my mother was delivered of me. This deposition of the patriarch, whether true or false we cannot take upon us to determine, made such an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately deposed Constantine with one consent, and, with repeated acclamations, faluted Artabazdus again emperor, who took Nicephorus his eldest son for his partner in the empire h. This gave rise to a civil war, the greatest, fays Cedrenus, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that had happened since the But is defeated, beginning of the world. But all we know of it is, that Artabazdus, and his fon and Combanti- Nice; borus, being defeated by Constantine in several encounters, were in the end nople taken by besieged in Constantinople; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to fubmit. Artabazdus and his two fons were taken, and delivered up to the emperor, who caused their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his foldiers, and either banished, maimed, or put to death, all those who had been any-ways f concerned in the revolt. Anastasius the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders,

Conftintine.

THEOPH. ad ann. Leon. 17. b Idem ad ann. Conft. 4. 1 Idem ad ann. Const. 3.

publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the most frequented streets of the city on an ass, with his face to the tail. However, the time-ferving prelate was continued in his fee, because the emperor could not find a worse, says Theophanes, to prefer to it in his room i. Constantine, having thus got rid of his enemies at home, refolved to march once more against the Saracens, who were at war among themselves. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered Syria; and having overthrown the enemy in feveral encounters, made himself master

THEOP CEDREN. ibid.

Conit. 13-23.

P Vide THEOPH. ad ann. Conft. 23, 24.

a of Germanicia, and some other strong-holds, which had been long in their hands. Constantine The Saracens, notwithstanding their domestic quarrels, to divert the emperor from recovers levepursuing his conquests in Syria, assembled a mighty fleet, which steered its course to the Saracens. the island of Cyprus, where it was to be joined by other ships of war, and a great number of transports with land-forces on board. But the Roman sleet coming unex-Destroys their pectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that island, flees. destroyed the whole navy, except three ships, which they suffered to escape with the news of fo great a calamity k. However, the emperor was diverted from pursuing the advantages that might have thence accrued to the empire, by the frequent earthquakes Dreadful that happened about this time, and were by far the most destructive that had been earthquakes. b known in any age. In Syria and Palestine several cities were swallowed up, others intirely ruined, and fome, if we may give credit to Nicephorus, removed, without any confiderable damage, fix miles and upwards from their former feats. At the same time happened an extraordinary darkness, which lasted from the sourth of August to the first of Oslober, there being little or no distinction, during that time, between day and night. This calamity was followed by another still more terrible, viz. a plague, which breaking out in Calabria, foon spread all over Sicily, Greece, the Aviolent islands in the Agean sea, and at length reached Constantinople, where it raged for plugue. three years together with fuch fury, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead m. The plague no fooner ceased, than Constantine, having caused his fon Leo, c then scarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into Armenia; and taking advantage of the divisions that still reigned among the Saracens, made himself master of Miletene, Theodosiopolis, and several other places. But he was diverted from pursuing his conquests in the east, by a sudden irruption of the Bulgarians, who, provoked at the emperor's causing some forts to be built on the frontiers of Thrace, broke into that province, and advancing as far as the long wall, laid waste the whole country. Constantine, having recalled his forces out of the east, marched against them in person; but being surprised by the enemy in a Constantine narrow paffage called Beragaba, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fave defeated by the himself by slight to Constantinople ". Soon after his return to that metropolis, he Bulgarians. d renewed the edict published by his father against images, forbidding at the same time any worship to be paid to the faints, or their relies, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the bithops as opposed the execution of this edict, were driven from their fees; and the monks, who preached against either, sent into banishment, or sentenced to death. At the same time an Hepersecutes edict was published in Constantinople, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, the worthingers under the feverest penalties, any one to embrace a monastic life; nay, at Constanti- of images. nople most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the streets. But of this persecution the reader will find a more particular and diftinct account in the ecclefiaftic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place. The twenty-third year of A surprising Constantine's reign, and 763. of the christian æra, is remarkable for an extraordinary freji. frost, which began on the first of Ollober, and lasted till the latter end of February. At Constantinople both seas were frozen for an hundred miles from the shore, the ice being so thick as to bear the heaviest carriages, and covered with snow twenty cubits When the frost broke, mountains of ice and frozen show being driven by the winds through the streights, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the castle of Conflantinople. The reader will find a furprifing account of this frost in Theophanes, who, with thirty others, passed the streights upon one of these floating islands, as he styles it P. The month following several prodigies appeared, or were thought to f appear, in the air. At the same time a comet, which the Greeks called docites, because several proit resembled a beam, was seen for ten days in the east, whence it moved to the west, digies. and shone there for one-and-twenty days more, the people being struck with terror and amazement at the fight of these prodigies, and apprehending the last day to be at hand. Constanting in the mean time continued to perfecute with great severity those who appeared most zealous and forward in the worship of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the Bulgarians; who, breaking into the trritories of the empire, commetted every-where unheard-of cruelies. But Conflantine marching in person k N. :PH. in Conft. c. 13.

Chenken, ibid.

Theoph. ad ann. Conft. 19.

Conft. 22, 24. 1 Idem ibid. THLOPH ad ann. Conft. 6. CEDREN. ibid.

° Vide THEOPH. CEDREN. &c. ad ann.

against

Constantine 4 8 1 Bulgarians.

Is deluded by their king.

He marches against them; but dies.

given to the

pope.

Leo III.

ans, embraces the christian religion.

against them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to Constan- a This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one christian perished in However, he owed the victory, it seems, to the treachery of some Bulgarians, whom Elerich their king discovered by the following device: He wrote to Constantine, pretending a desire to resign the crown, and lead a private life at Constantinople; for which purpose he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to acquaint him what friends he had among the Bulgarians, that he might repair with them to Constantinople, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon Constantine, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no sooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, b resolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having spent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the spring against Elerich; but being seized on his march with a violent sever, he returned to Achadiopolis, whence he was conveyed to Selymbria, and from thence by fea to Strongylum, where he died on the fourteenth of September of the year 775. after he had reigned His character. twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-fix days g. As Constantine was a most zealous iconoclast, and did all that lay in his power to suppress the worship of the faints, their images and relics, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the other writers of those times, paint him in the blackest colours, biassed in some measure, as we may reasonably suppose, by passion, interest and prejudice. However, standing even to the c accounts of his declared enemies, we must allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well skilled in war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. As for the great severity which he exerted against such as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worship images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the christian religion. After all, his feverity against the worshippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all christian writers, against the worshippers of idols. He desended the empire with equal bravery and success against the Saracens and Bulgarians; but was not in a condition to prevent the loss of the far greater part of his dominions in Italy, Aftulphus, king of the Lombards, having reduced in 751. the city and exar- d chate of Ravenna, with the Pentapolis, which were foon after wrested from him by The exarchate Pepin king of France, and given to pope Stephen III. and hence sprung the temporal and Pentapolis dominion of the pope in Italy, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of Ravenna comprehended Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Cervia, and Secchia; the Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, comprised Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Sinogaglia, Ancona, Osimo, Umana, Jest, Fossombrone, Monteseltro, Urbino, Cagli, Luceoli, and Eugubio, as appears from the grant of Lewis the Pious, confirming the donation of Pepin. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a subject of the empire; but adding the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the sceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in Italy, on the ruins of the eaftern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of Calabria and Brutium, with the dukedoms of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta. But of the state of Italy at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we shall speak at length in the history of the Lombards. Constantine was succeeded in the empire by his son Leo, who, soon after his acces-

fron, took his fon Constantine, whom he had by Irene, for his partner in the empire, causing him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and bestowing at the same time the title of nobilifimi on his two brothers Anthemius and Eudoxius, Nicephorus, his fecond brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time 1. Constantine was crowned in the latter end of April of the year 776, and the following month Nicephorus, Leo's brother, formed a conspiracy against the emperor and his son; but the plot being discovered, he was apprehended, and banished, with his accom-Elerich, king plices, to Chersona. The same year Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, who had done of the Bulgari- great mischief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earnest desire of embracing the christian religion, refigned his crown, and repaired to Constantinopic, where he was received by Leo with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and

a married to a relation of the empress Irene 1. In the third year of Leo's reign, some advantages were gained by the emperor's forces over the Saracens, who, by way of revenge, began to persecute the christians in a most cruel manner, causing all their churches in Syria to be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. The following Leo an enemy year Leo, who had hitherto diffembled his real fentiments concerning the worship of to images. images, openly declared against that superstitious, as he styled it, and idolatrous practice, reviving the edicts of his father and grandfather, and punishing, with the utmost severity, such as presumed to pay any kind of worship to the faints, the virgin Mary, or their images. Having found two images in the closet of the empress Irene, he never after admitted her to his bed, and caused those who had conveyed them to b her to be racked to death k. He did not long outlive them, being foon after feized with a violent fever, of which he died on the fixteenth of September 780. after having reigned five years and ten days. Theophanes writes, that Leo, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been deposited there by the emperor Heraclius, and was enriched with carbuncles of an inestimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the same time seized

with a fever, which, by a just judgment, soon put an end to his life.

Leo was fucceeded by his fon Constantine, surnamed Porphyrogenitus, because he was Constantine born while his father was emperor; but as he was then only ten years old, his mother Porphyroge-Irene took upon her the administration. The young prince had scarce reigned forty nitus and days, when some of the source and great officers considered against him with a Irene. c days, when some of the senators and great officers conspired against him, with a design to preser his uncle Nicephorus to the imperial dignity; but Irene, having season-Aconspiracy ably discovered the plot, caused the chief authors of it to be seized, and confined to discovered, and different islands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this the conspirators danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, she obliged all the late punished. emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and administer the sacrament to the people on Christmas day, when she and her son restored to the church the crown of Heraclius, which Leo had seized. The same year 780, the Saracens, upon the news of Leo's death, broke into the eastern provinces; but were driven back with great loss by the troops, which Irene had, upon the first notice of their motions, dispatched against

d them m. The following year the empress, to procure a strong alliance by the marriage of her fon, fent embassadors into France, to propose a match between him and the daughter of Charles king of that country, who was afterwards furnamed the Great, and crowned emperor of the west. The proposal being well received by Charles, an eunuch, by name Elifaus, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named Rotdrudris, the Greek tongue, and instruct her in the manners and customs of the Greeks n. The same year Helpidius governor of Sicily revolted; but was driven out of the island Helpidius reby Theodorus a patrician, whom Irene had fent with a powerful fleet against him, and volts. obliged to take refuge among the Saracens in Africa, who, acknowledging him for emperor in opposition to Constantine, fell with such fury upon the eastern provinces,

e that Irene was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herself An annual to pay them an annual pension. The peace with the Saracens was scarce concluded, pension paid to when the Sclavi or Sclavini, breaking into Greece and Peloponnesus, seized on those the Satacens. countries. Against them the empress dispatched Saturacius a patrician, who overcame them in feveral battles; but suffered them to continue in the contries they had seized, upon their promising to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788, the match between Constantine and Rotdrudris, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by Irene, who obliged her fon, much against his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean descent, named Mary, by birth an Armenian or Paphlagonian, and the niece or daughter of one Philaretus,

f remarkable for his good nature and charitable disposition. Some ascribe the breaking off of the match with Rotdrudris to the ambition of Irene, apprehending, that Constantine would no longer be governed by her, but by his father-in law. Others tell us, that the empress was provoked against Charles, on account of his invading the dukedom of Benevento in Italy, which she had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empress on that occasion disobliged her son to such a Misunderstanddegree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, ing between apprised of the misunderstanding that passed between him and his mother, and desirous and Irene.

1 Idem ad ann. 2. \* Idem ad ann. 5. CEDREN. in comp. annal. ad ann. Const. 1. <sup>n</sup> Idem ad ann. 2. · Idem ibid.

1 THEOPH. ibid. m Idem of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he a

Constantine deprives her of

The emperor defeated by the

His cruelty.

legions broken and dispersed.

was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counsels of a woman. Constantine hearkening to their infinuations, they resolved to seize on Saturacius, who governed with an absolute sway, as Irene's first minister, and after having banished him, to oblige the empress to resign the administration. But Saturacius, having notice of their design as soon as it was concerted, immediately imparted it to Irene, who caused all those who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods, and sent into banishment. As for her son, she chastized him with her own hands, and having confined him to his apartment, obliged the fenate and foldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge Constantine, but her alone, for their foldiery to take fovereign, fo long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in b an oath of al. the different provinces, except some legions in Armenia, who resolutely declared they legiance to her. would adhere to Constantine, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The resolution of the Armenian legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim Constantine anew, and demand with unanimous consent, that he might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. Irene, dreading the fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement, who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and foldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. Constantine, now at liberty to act without controul, recalled, and advanced to the first employments, such as had been banished on his account, sending into exile Saturacius, and his mother's other favour- c ites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for Irene, he led her with great respect out of the palace, and attended her in person to a house built by herself, in which she had laid up an immense treasure P. The same year 790. a dreadful fire the administra- happened at Constantinople, which confumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of St. Chrysostom on the scripture, written with The following year the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake, his own hand. which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations, and retire to the open fields 4. The same year the emperor marched at the head of a considerable army against the Bulgarians, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in Thrace; but with what success, is uncertain: for Cedrenus writes, that he gained a great victory; but d Zonaras will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to Constantinosle, the friends of Irene, what by extolling her wisdom, prudence and experience in public affairs, what by intreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, Irene recalled. prevailed upon him to recal his mother to court, and restore her to her former authority; which however the Armenian legions could never be induced to acknowledge. Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew against the Bulgarians, encouraged thereunto by fome mathematicians, who promifed him certain victory; but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to obtain it, the Bulgarians, taking advantage of his ill-grounded fecurity, gave him a dreadful overthrow. Besides a great number of common soldiers, the best officers of e the army, and the most considerable men in the empire, lost their lives in the battle, with Pancratius the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occa-The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this fion to the overthrow :. defeat, some malicious and designing courtiers took care to improve that disposition, by infinuating to him, that the foldiers quartered in Constantinople had formed a defign of preferring Nicepborus to the empire; which heightened his jealoufy to fuch a degree, as he was conscious to himself of his evil conduct, that he not only caused his eyes to be put out, but those likewise of his other uncles, Nicetas, Anthimus, and Eudocimus, tho' nothing had been alledged against them. Alexius Mosoles, whom the Armenian legions had demanded for their leader, when they refused to consent to the restoration f of Irene, was, at her instigation, treated with the like severity; which so provoked those legions, that they refused to obey Camilianus, appointed by the emperor to command them. Hereupon Constantianus, Artaseras and Chrysochires were sent against them at the head of a strong party; but the mutinous legions having defeated them, and taken them prisoners, caused, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; which so provoked Constantine, that he marched against them in person; and having The Armenian defeated them in a pitched battle, put all their officers to death, caufing the com-

> P Idem, & CEDREN. ad ann. Conft. 10. Idem ad ann. 10, 11. I Idem ad ann. Conft. fol. 2. Idem ibid.

a mon foldiers to be led in chains to Constantinople, and conveyed from thence into different islands. The Armenian legions, who had always suspected, and been ready to oppose the ambirious designs of Irene, being thus broken and dispersed, she began to put the emperor, now destrute of that support, upon such measures, as, she thought, would render him edious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empress Mary, whom the had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, the advised him to divorce her, and marry Theodota or Theodotta, one of the maids of her cham-Constantine ber; who was accordingly crowned empress at Constantinople, where the nuptials were and marries folemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together. This Theodota. marriage occasioned great contests among the clergy concerning the lawfulness of it; b in which Irene artfully fided with those who opposed her son, encouraging them underhand to estrange the minds of the people from him. However, the success which attended his arms against the Saracens and Bulgarians, prevented the people from revolting, tho' privately stirred up by Irene, and her emissaries, to depose him. The Saracens had broken into Cilicia; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which Constantine scasonably dispatched against them. As for the Bulgarians, Cardames their king having fent embaffadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of Conftantinople, and there take it by force, if it was refused him, Constantine replied, that fince he was stricken in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly the marched against him at the head of a considerable army; upon the sight of which the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost consternation. Upon his Hepatisthe return to Constantinople, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of Prusa in Bulgarians to Bithynia, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empress flight. Theodota was delivered of a fon; at which he was fo overjoyed, that he returned in great haste to Constantinople. Irene, taking advantage of his absence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promised to depose Constantine, and commit the government to her alone. Pursuant to this promise, some of them, returning to Constantinople, seized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of Porpbyra, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in fuch a cruel and barbarous manner, He is murdered d that he died a few days after in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone, and ten with his mother ". Our historian observes, that five years before his uncles lost their eyes by his orders, on the same day of the same month, and in the same chamber v. Nicephorus and Christopher, her husband's brothers, hearing of the death of Constantine, took fanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence, and banished to Athens, where they are said to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raise disturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of Leo Isauricus; so that no one was now lest to dispute with Irene her title to the empire. She no fooner received intelligence of the death of her fon, than leaving Prusa, the repaired to Constantinople; which she entered in a gilded chariot, drawn by four Irene proclaie horses, being attended by several patricians, who waited as her slaves on either side, medempress. while she threw money among the people, as was usual at the solemnity of a coronation x. In the mean time the Saracens, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eastern provinces; and having defeated the forces Irene sent against them, entered Thrace, made their excursions to the very gates of Constantinople, destroying all with fire and sword, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In 798, the second of Irene's reign, her great favourite Saturacius, prompted by his boundless ambition, Saturacius conspired against her, with a design to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon conspires his own head; but his design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, Irene, against her. f after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herself, in consideration of his former fervices, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empress shewed him, joined to a lively sense of his ingratitude to her, made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he died of grief soon after y. Irene, finding the could not depend even upon those whom the thought the had most she studies to reason to confide in, made it her chief study to gain the hearts of her people. With gain the asset this view she remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of store feetles. Constantinople, encouraged commerce, and, what most of all obliged the people,

t Idem ad ann. 3. t Idem ad ann. 7. Conft. fol. t Idem ibid. t Idem ad ann. Iren. 1.
Idem ad ann. Iren. 2.

promoted,

A match proboled between Irene and Charles the Great.

Which is opposed by Actius.

The nobility up Nicephorus.

Irene deposed, and Nicephorus created emperor.

promoted, to the utmost of her power, the worship of images, causing them to be set a up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted against them by former emperors z. In 802. Charles, furnamed the Great, who had been crowned emperor of the west by pope Leo III. on Christmas-day of the year 800. sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, with proposals of a firm and lasting peace between him and Irene. To these embassadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with extraordinary pomp at Constantinople. The embassadors of Charles, among their other instructions, were ordered to propose a match between him and Irene, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their persons. Irene readily entered into the negotiation; but Aetius an eunuch, who bore the chief sway at court, by daily starting new difficulties, put off from time to time the conclusion of the treaty. b As he was excluded from the empire himself, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand to prefer to it his brother, by name Leo, at that time governor of Thrace and Macedon; but being well apprised, that his design would be unavoidably defeated, should the treaty between Irene and so powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no stone unturned to divert the empress from it, at least to get the conclusion of it suspended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private design. In the mean time the nobility, who hated Aetius, on revolt, and set account of his haughty and imperious conduct, suspecting his design, and apprehending the empress, over whom he had gained a great ascendant, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take Leo for her partner in the empire, refolved to fet up & Nicephorus, a patrician of great wealth and interest among the people. Accordingly, having first disposed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that Irene not only designed to marry Charles, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the west, by which means the eastern empire would foon become a province to the new empire of the west, they assembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they seized on Irene without opposition; and confining her under a strong guard to her chamber, conducted Nicephorus, their new emperor, with the usual solemnity to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom Irene had obliged by feveral acts of generofity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curfes against him. Nicephorus treated Irene with great civility and respect, till d he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to discover to him the place where her treasures lay concealed; which she had no sooner done, than, contrary to his folemn promise, he confined her to a monastery, which she herself had built in an island; but soon after removed her from thence to the island of Lesbos, where she died of grief a. She is greatly extolled, notwithstanding her unnatural conduct towards her fon, by all the writers of those times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worship of images, and the great pains she took utterly to suppress the herefy, as it was then called, of the iconoclasts. She built a great many monasteries, and hospitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained, if the writers of those times are to be credited, both the esteem and affections of her subjects. • Her great attachment to the see of Rome, and the indefatigable pains she took to get the doctrine of the iconoclasts condemned in the second council of Nice, by her assembled for that purpose, have so far biassed some writers of that party, that they have not been ashamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy scripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her son, who perhaps well deserved such treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. Irene was thus deposed in 802, after having reigned ten years with her fon, and five alone.

> E Idem ad ann. 4. • Тнеорн. ad ann. Niceph. 1.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

## The Roman history, from the promotion of Nicephorus, to the death of Basilius II.

HE embassadors who had been sent, as we have related in the foregoing Nicephorus. chapter, by Charles the Great to propose a marriage between him and the empress Irene, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their stay in Constantinople, and utterly disconcerted the ambitious views of their master. However, as they were injoined to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well apprised of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendship of Charles, received his embassadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which Charles was acknowledged emperor of Concludes a b the west, and all Italy to the rivers Vulturnus and Ausidus yielded to him. Nicephorus, treaty with in the third year of his reign, caused Nicetas Triphyllius, to whom he was chiefly in-Grant. debted for his promotion, to be taken off with poison, for no other crime but because he was beloved by the army. He gave several other instances of a most cruel, suspicious and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged Bardanes, governor of one of the eastern provinces, to revolt, and assume the Bardanes title of emperor. Michael and Leo, two officers of great reputation in the army, revolts; joined him at first; but soon after finding him unequal to so great a charge, they abandoned him, and went over to Nicephorus, who raised them to the first posts in the army. Bardanes, thus forfaken by his friends, fent a submissive message to Nice- But submits. c phorus, and, upon his promifing to pardon him, retired to a monastery, and there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending to be intirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly manner to Constantinople; but on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by persons sent for that purpose. The emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, and secure the crown to his family, took his fon Saturacius for his partner in the empire, and caused him to be crowned with the usual folemnity. Having thus settled his affairs at home, he marched against the Saracens, who had broken into the eastern provinces; but his army was Nicephorus utterly defeated, and he obliged to fave himself by a shameful slight, having nar-defeated by the rowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The following year the Saracens, Saracens. d to the number of three hundred thousand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing without opposition as far as Tyana, the metropolis of Cappadocia Minor, made themselves masters of that city, and several other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very gates of Ancyra in Galatia. Nicephorus marched against them with what forces he could raise; but not daring to venture an engagement, he dispatched embassadors with rich presents to Aaron, their kalif, who with much ado was prevailed upon to grant a peace upon the following terms: That the em-Nicephorus peror should pay to the Saracens a yearly tribute of thirty thousand pieces of gold, concludes a disbelides three thousand for his own head, and as many for that of his son; and that honourable he should not presume to repair such forts as had been dismantled. Nicephorus agreed them. e to these terms; but the enemy was no sooner retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demolished; which so provoked the Saracens, that they returned the same year, and raged with more sury than ever, They invade putting all to fire and sword, both on the continent, and in the island of Cyprus, the empire where they demolished the churches, and put an incredible number of the inhabit-anew. ants to the sword. The following year they made a descent upon the island of Rhodes, and took a great number of prisoners; but their fleet suffered much by a violent storm, which overtook them as they were returning home x. The same year Nicephorus married his son Saturacius to Theophania, a near relation of the late

A tumult at Constantinople.

Nicephorus ravages with

He is defeated and flain.

Saturacius.

claimed empe-

empire.

empress Irene, though she had been some time before contracted to another, which a gave occasion to great complaints, and encouraged some to conspire against him: but they were all detected and punished with the utmost severity; nay, many persons of great distinction, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were, upon bare suspicions, dragged to prison, and there either put to death, or racked with the greatest cruelty. In the The Bulgarians seventh year of his reign, the Bulgarians, making an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of Crumus, their king, surprised Sardica, a city of Masia, and put the whole garison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. Nicephorus marched against them with a considerable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, instead of pursuing them, he returned to Constantinople, and imposed a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of Sardica; which incenfed them to b fuch a degree, that they rose in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the palace, but were repulsed by the emperor's guards with great slaughter. In the ninth year of his reign he raised a powerful army, and marching at the head of it, entered the country of the Bulgarians, destroying all with fire and sword. Crumus, their king, alarmed at his approach, fent embaffadors to fue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But Nicephorus, rejecting them with indignation, pursued his ravages, wasting the country, destroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Crumus, sensibly affected the Bulgarians, with the calamities of his subjects, sent the emperor a second submissive message, c offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But Nicephorus difiniffing the embaffadors with scorn, Crumus, pushed on by despair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor's camp; and having forced it, in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number of patricians, and most of the chief officers. Saturacius received a dangerous wound in the neck, but escaped in a litter to Adrianople. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of Nicephorus being found among the flain, Crumus caused his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for some time exposed to the view of the foldiery, he inclosed the scull in silver, and made use of it instead of a cup y. Such was the end of Nicephorus, after having reigned eight years, as d many months, and twenty-fix days. He is faid to have been strongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the Manichees, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries 2.

Saturacius fled, as we observed above, to Adrianople, where he was acknowledged emperor by some of the officers, who had escaped the general slaughter. But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and at the same time knew himself to be universally hated both by the nobility and people, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife Theophania. But in the Michael pro- mean time the senate caused Michael, who had married Procopia, lister to Saturacius, e to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which Saturacius no sooner understood, than he retired with his wife to a monastery, where he embraced a religious life, and died foon after, having reigned two months and ten days. Michael, mindful of the oath he had taken to Nicephorus and his fon, declined at first the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed, that Saturacius, the better to secure the crown to his wife, had refolved to deprive him of his fight, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by Nicephorus, the patriarch, after he had by a folemn promife under his own hand obliged himself to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding christian blood 2. The new emperor a few days after Takes his for caused his wife Procopia to be likewise crowned by the patriarch with his son Theo- f for his collegue. phylast, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was scarce warm in his throne, when the Saracens broke into the empire on one fide, and the Bulgarians on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by Leo, who governed the eastern provinces, with the loss of two thousand men. Against the Bulgarians Is defeated by Michael marched in person; but having, after several slight skirmishes, ventured an the Bu garrans, engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with shame and resigns the and difference to Constantinople. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to

> \* CEDREN. ZONAR. in Niceph. THEOPH. ibid. 7 THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 9. \* THEOPH, ad ann. Niceph. 9.

a fuch a degree, that he refolved to quit the purple, which required a person of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyfter. Accordingly he earneftly pressed Leo to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to Michael, and at the same time sensible of the dangerous state of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his request, tho' backed by the intreaties of the magistrates, the foldiery, and the patriarch. Michael no fooner understood, that Leo had in the end fuffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired with his wife Procopia, and his children, to the monastery of Pharus, where he took the monastic habit on the eleventh of July 813. after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days h. Thus Theophanes, who lived at this b time, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote. But Cedrenus gives us a very different account of the promotion of Leo. According to that writer, Michael had the advantage in the engagement with the Bulgarians, till Leo, who aspired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which so disheartened the Romans, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight, leaving the Bulgarians masters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, escaped to Adrianople, and from thence to Constantinople, attended by a finall body of horse. In his absence Leo, by exclaiming against him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from Michael, and offer the empire to himself; which however he pretended to decline, Leo raised to till Michael Traulus or Balbus, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his fword, the empire. as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with present death, if he did not immediately comply with the earnest intreaties of the whole army, who, he said, placed their fafety, and that of the empire, in him alone. When news was brought to Constantinople of the revolt of the army, and the usurpation of Leo, some of the emperor's friends advised him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor sharply reprimanded them, declaring he had rather lose his life, than involve the state in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effusion of much christian blood. Accordingly he sent to Leo the diadem, the purple robes, and the scarlet shoes, the ensigns of sovereignty, requiring him to come, without the least apprehension of danger, to Constantinople, and take pos-fession of the imperial palace. Thus Cedrenus, to whose authority we should, withd out the least hesitation, prefer that of Theophanes, were we sure that the latter part of the history, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as some able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the reign of Nicephorus, and that the remaining part was added by fome other writer, who, favouring Leo, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether Leo usurped the sovereignty, or was raised to it by the voluntary abdication of Michael. The new emperor, upon his arrival at Constantinople, took care to have Michael, and his wife, who had retired to the same monastery, separated; and therefore confined him to a monastery on the island Prota, and banished Procopia, with her children, to another place, having first caused Theophylast, their eldest son, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no issue d. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when the Bulgarians, elated with their late success, entered Thrace, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo having drawn together what forces he could, marched out against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, great multitudes were slain on both sides, but at length the Romans, overpowered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were pursued by the enemy in great disorder, Leo, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unex-He gains a pectedly upon the barbarians with a referve of chosen men, who attended him, tory over the renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an intire victory. Great numbers of the Bulgarians. enemy were flain, and more taken prisoners. Some reckon the king himself, by f name Crumus, among the former; but others will have him to have been only wounded. However that be, the Bulgarians were so disheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after . The emperor having now nothing to fear either from the Bulgarians, or the Saracens, who were at variance among themselves, applied himself wholly to the suppressing of the wor- He opposes the thip that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the observance of the worship of council held at Constantinople in 754. under Constantinus Copronymus, and published images. an edict forbidding any worship to be paid to images, and commanding them to be

b Idem ad ann. Mic. 2. CEDREN. in Leon. d ZONAR. CEDREN. in Mich. e Idem ibid.

removed

against him.

removed out of the churches. Nicephorus the patriarch, Nicetas a patrician, and a one of the empreis Irene's relations, Theodorus a monk in great reputation, Theophanes the historian, and many others, were banished for refusing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redressing the Michael Balbus abuses both in the church and state, Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the stammerer, whom he had preferred to the first employments, conspired against him with a design to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head. But the plot being But is seized discovered, Michael was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But and condemned as the officers were leading him on Christmas eve to the place of execution, the empress Theodosia, by upbraiding her husband with cruelty and irreligion for not respecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy sacrament, prevailed be upon him to respite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his escape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himself. But Michael having, by means of some religious persons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permission, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to discover them to Leo, unless they speedily procured his release, alarmed them to such a degree, that they resolved, without loss of time, to put their design in execution. Accordingly, mixing themselves with those who performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a fignal agreed on beforehand, c they started up; but by mistake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the person who prefided over the clerks, or, as we may call him, the dean of the chapel. Leo. in the mean time, well appriled of their delign, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conspirators, now sensible of their mistake; but defended himself with the chain of the incensory, or, as some write, with the cross, till one of his hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conspirators rushing upon him, L:0 murdered. dispatched him with many wounds, and in the end struck off his head f. Such was the end of Leo IV. after he had reigned seven years, five months, and sourceen days. His character. He is allowed, even by such as were his avowed enemies on account of his zeal in

suppressing the worship of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to d have reformed many abuses, that had long prevailed in the state. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch Nicephorus, who had been banished by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, tho' a wicked prince. The body of the unhappy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there exposed for some time to public view. After this, the conspirators, having seized on the empress Theodosia, confined her to a monastery, and banished her four fons, viz. Sabbatius, called also Constantine, Basil, Gregory, and Theodosius, to the island Prota, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by Michael's Michael Balbus order, in which cruel operation Theodofius died. Michael in the mean time being e proclaimed em- fet at liberty, and conducted by the conspirators from the prison to the palace, placed himself upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he still was, with his irons, the keys being no-where found: at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Michael, thus raised to the empire, was a native of Amorium, a city of Phrygia, inhabited chiefly by Jews, and fuch christians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. Michael himself observed the Jewish fabbath, denied the refurrection of the dead, and held feveral other tenets condemned by the catholic church 8. In the first year of his reign he recalled a great number of bishops, monks, and others, who had been banished by Leo for not complying f He is an enemy with his edict forbidding the worship of images, but at the same time summoned them to dispute in a council at Constantinople the point in question. With this summons they refused to comply, alledging, that as the worshipping of images had been already approved of and established by a general council, it could admit of no This answer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheless was so far from proceeding with rigour against them, that he indulged them in the use of images without the city. In the second year of his reign, and 823d of the christian æra, a civil war broke out in the east, which involved the empire in endless calamities.

to images.

2 It was raised by one Thomas, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their Thomas reaccounts. According to some, he was meanly born, and at first a menial servant roles in the to a senator at Constantinople, whose wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, fled to the Saracens, among whom, after he had continued for the space of twenty-five years, professing their religion, he obtained of their kalif a considerable body of troops, boasting, that he could easily subdue the whole Roman empire. The better to intice the Romans over to his interest, he gave out, that he was Constantine, the son of Irene. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the east, and inviolably attached to Leo, whose death he resolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a b grave aspect, of extraordinary strength and courage, and acceptable to the soldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eaftern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated Michael, he foon raifed a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all Asia, seizing every-where on the public Mikes himself revenues, and plundering fuch cities as refused to submit to him. And now being massler of Asia mafter of all Asia and Syria, he affumed the purple and diadem, and caused himself and Syria. to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of Antioch. Michael, in the mean time, dispatched all the troops he could assemble against him; but Thomas, meeting them in Afia, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a strong sleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then c croffing over into Thrace, appeared unexpectedly before Constantinople, not doubting Besteges Conbut the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his first approach. But to his stantinopie. great furprize, they received him with most opprobrious language, repulsed him in two fuccessive attacks, and in feveral fallies killed great numbers of his men. Thomas made the necessary preparations for a third assault, being resolved to make an utmost effort, and attack the city at the same time by sea and land. But a most violent storm arising, when he was upon the point of giving the signal, his sleet was dispersed, and his battering engines overturned, and rendered quite useless. This disappointment, and some successful sallies of the besieged, obliged him, as the season was already far advanced, to raife the fiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but d with a resolution to return before the city early in the spring; which he did accordingly: but Michael having in the mean time equipped a fleet, and raifed a landarmy, he met with far greater opposition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great flaughter in a fally, and his fleet driven ashore by that of the emperor. The usurper had in his army a commander of great valour and experience, named Gregory, who having been banished by Michael to the island of Scirus, because he was a near relation of Leo, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the usurper, and been entrusted by him with the command of twelve thousand men; but now observing, that fortune, which had hitherto attended Thomas in all his undertakings, began to forfake him, he resolved to make e his peace with Michael, the rather because his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on so privately, but Thomas had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a fufficient number of troops before Constantinosle to carry on the siege, led the rest against Gregory; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated He defeats and his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then puts to death returned in triumph to pursue the siege. But in the mean time Mortagon, king of Gregory, who the Bulgarians, hearing the emperor was belieged in his metropolis, and either beiray him. pitying his condition, or desirous of gaining his friendship, marched at the head of a numerous army to his affistance. Thomas, when informed of his approach, was f some time in suspense, whether he should continue the siege, or march with all his forces against the barbarians, but at length resolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the siege, he met and engaged the Bulgarians at a place called Gedoclus, He is defented but was by them put to flight with great flaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, by the Bulgari-his fleet before Constantinople revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of pursuing the siege, and to retire to Diabesis, a place distant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out against him, under the command of Catacelas and Olbianus, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, most of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. Thomas, with much Vol. VI. Nº 8.

and put to death.

ado, escaped to Adrianople, where he was immediately besieged by the emperor's a Is delivered up forces, and at length delivered up to Michael by his own people, no longer able to to the emperor, endure the famine, and the unspeakable hardships, to which they were reduced. The emperor, having caused his hands and seet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an ass round the camp. He died soon after in the utmost agony. Anastasius, his adopted son, who for that honour had forsaken the monastic life, which he professed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of Byria; met with the same treatment as his sather had done. Pavium and Heraclea, two maritime cities of Thrace, which Thomas had seized, refused to submit, not so much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor; on account of his opposing the worship of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned b by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by storm. Some other cities and castles continued to hold out for some time, but they were all in the end reduced, and

the civil war intirely extinguished b.

In the mean time the Saracens, who had fettled in Spain, and were grown too numerous for that country, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, having equipped several ships, dispatched them in quest of some fruitful island, in which they might plant a colony. Apochapsus, who commanded this squadron, having ravaged most of the islands in the Mediterranean without opposition, all the ships and garisons being gone to the assistance of Thomas, touched in the end at Crete; and being greatly taken with the fertility and pleasantness of that island, described it to e his countrymen upon his return as a place, to use his expression, flowing with milk and honey. Hereupon the Saracens having equipped, during the winter, a fleet confifting of forty ships, well armed and manned, put to sea early in the spring; and landing in the island, encamped on the promontory Charax, whence Apochapsus sent spies to discover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the island was quite destitute of soldiers, and that he would no-where meet with the least opposition. Hereupon he ordered the sleet to be set on fire, that his men, laying aside all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that island as their native country. The emperor, upon the first notice of this descent, dispatched Damianus with a considerable body of troops to drive the Saracens out of the island. Damianus, being d joined by Photinus, advanced, as foon as he had landed his forces, against the enemy, who killed him at the first onset, and put his whole army to flight, Photinus having with much ado made his escape in a light vessel, and carried the news of the over-

throw to the emperor. The Saracens, having now no enemy to oppose them, built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called Chandax, pointed out to them

by a monk. From thence they made frequent excursions, and in a short time reduced the whole island, which by its new masters was thenceforth called Chandax, and by others Candia, from the above-mentioned city. This happened in the second year of the reign of Michael Balbus, and the 822d of the christian æra. Michael, thinking it would reflect eternal ignominy, if he suffered the Saracens to settle in Crete, as soon e

The Saracens

And settle

there.

The city of Candia built.

> as he had put an end to the civil war, dispatched Craterus, with a powerful fleet, and a numerous army, to recover the island. Craterus, having landed his men without opposition, fell upon the enemy with great resolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining to neither side; but soon after the Saracens, great numbers of them being slain, and more taken prisoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening sled in great confusion. Had the Romans pursued them, they might have easily, in that consternation, cut them all off to a man, and made themselves masters of their city. But instead of following the fugitives, and affaulting, without loss of time, the place whither they had all retired, they spent the night in riot and drunkenness, as if the war had f

been already concluded, without fo much as placing a guard or centry, to prevent their being surprised. The enemy, apprised of their security, resolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly fallying out in the dead The emperor's

forces defeated, of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine, and partly affeep, and cut them off almost to a man. Craterus, their general, with great difficulty escaped on board a small vessel to the island of Cos. But the prince of the Saracens, not finding his body among the flain, dispatched some vessels with

and cut in pieces.

a troops after him, who landing on the island, surprised him, and nailed him to a cross. After this defeat, the emperor, despairing of being able to recover the island of Crete, contented himself with defending the other islands, and restraining the piracies of the Cretan Saracens k. Besides the loss of the pleasant and fruitful island of Crete, several other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, viz. Several public great conflagrations, destructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inun-calamities. dations, strange phænomena in the heavens, general dearth and scarcity of provisions, violent storms, &c. which are all ascribed by Cedrenus to the contempt of images. But these calamities did not reclaim him from the loose and dissolute life which he led without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the fixth year of b his reign, his wife being dead, he forced Euphrosyna, the daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, out of a monastery, where she had led from her infancy a recluse life, and married her. Soon after, Euphemius, an officer of great interest and authority in the army, falling in love with another facred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of the monastery, and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of Sicily, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alledged against Euphemius to be true, to cut off his nose. To avoid this punishment, Euphemius drew several other officers of the army into a conspiracy; repulsed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; c and then flying to the Saracens in Africa, promised to betray Sicily into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the Romans. To this the Saracen governor of Africa readily consented; and having acknowledged him emperor, fent him back with a sufficient number of troops to Euphemius make good his title. He landed in Sicily without opposition; and advancing to acknowledged Syracuse, endeavoured, by a flattering speech, to persuade the inhabitants, who stood Saracens. on the walls, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the rest he observed two brothers, who were men of great interest in the city, to pay him greater respect, and hear him with more attention, than the rest; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the rest of his company d to meet and salute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The Saracens however did not quit the advantage He is killed. which he had put into their hands; but being thus introduced by him, made themfelves by degrees masters of the whole island; and passing over into Italy, landed at The Saracens Taranto; whence they drove the Romans, and got possession of Calabria, and the reduce Sicily. adjoining provinces 1. The emperor died foon after of a flux, having reigned eight Michael dies. years, nine months, and feven days; and was buried in the church of the apostles. His death happened on the first of October 829.

HE was succeeded by his son Theophylus, who, in the beginning of his reign, to Theophylus. gain the affections of the people, and prevent conspiracies, pretended to be a strict e observer of justice, and a severe assertor of the laws of the empire. Tho' his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of Leo, yet he refolved to punish all those who had been any-ways accessary to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he summoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace Magnaura, or, as it was called from the five towers, Pentapyrgium. When they were assembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time refolved to reward the eminent fervices of those, who had been instrumental in his promotion; but since death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himself, as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore defired them to withdraw from the rest into a particular f room, where he would examine the merit of each person, and reward him accordingly. Hereupon those, who had been accessary to the murder of Leo, readily discovered themselves, in expectation of some great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confession, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws against murder in execution, and to punish, according He punishes the to their deferts, those who had not only shed innocent blood, but had inhumanly murderers of massacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then dismissed the assemble. bly, and the officer, pursuant to his orders, punished all those who had conspired against Leo as murderers m. After this he fent Euphrosyne back to the monastery,

<sup>\*</sup> ldem ibid. 1 CEDREN. in Mich. ann. 8. Zonar. p. 173. m JOANN. CUROPUL. in Theophyl.

from whence his father had taken her, and applied himself with great diligence to a public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought against his minifters, administering justice with the utmost impartiality, and frequently visiting in person the markets, in order to settle the prices of the necessary provisions. In the He marries his third year of his reign he married his favourite daughter, by name Mary, to Alexius daughter to Alexius Mose flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. As he reposed in him an intire confidence, he conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raised him to the proconfulship, and at last, as he had yet no issue-male of his own, created him Cafar, and fent him at the head of a numerous army to restrain the Saracens, who committed dreadful devastations in Italy. Being attended there with uncom- b mon fuccess, his rivals at court, jealous of the esteem he was in with the emperor. and the reputation he had acquired, represented him as one who aspired at the empire, strengthening their malicious suggestions with an old prediction, that A should one day drive out Th. This Alexius no sooner understood, than he desired leave of Theophylus to retire, and embrace a monastic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to these infinuations, denied his request, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, Theophylus having a fon foon after, and his daughter, who was married to Alexius, dying about the same time, he was at length prevailed upon, by Who embraces the repeated importunities of his fon-in-law, to comply with his request, and fuffer \* monastic life. him to retire ". Besides Alexius, the emperor had two other eminent commanders, c viz. Manuel and Theophobus. The former had been raised by Leo, and the late emperor Michael, to the first posts in the army. The latter was the natural son of a Persian embassador, descended from the blood royal of that nation, who dying soon after the birth of his son, lest him at Constantinople, where he was educated after the Roman manner. All those of the royal family of Persia being either destroyed or driven out by the Saracens, who had made themselves masters of their country, the few Persians, who had outlived the general flaughter of their nation, hearing of Theophobus, sent to the emperor, desiring him for their king. But Theophylus chose rather to raise him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his sisters in marriage, giving at the same time, by a law enacted for that purpose, all his subjects d leave to intermarry with the Persians; which brought great numbers of that nation over to the Romans, who formed them into one body, called the Persian legion, from which the emperor promifed himself no small service in the expedition, which he was about to undertake against the Saracens, who had invaded the Roman territories. Against them the emperor, attended by Manuel and Theophobus, marched The Romans in person; but in the battle which ensued, the Romans, after a most bloody and defeated by the obstinate contest, gave ground, and fled in the utmost confusion. The emperor, with his guard, two thousand Perstans, and Theophobus, gained a neighbouring hill, The emperor in where he was immediately furrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmost great danger. efforts to take him prisoner, his own men striving with equal resolution and intrepidity to defend him. The day being thus spent, when night came on, the Romans, by the advice of Theophobus, filled all on a fudden the air with loud acclamations, founding at the same time their trumpets, and other warlike instruments. The Saracens, deceived by this firatagem, and concluding they had received fome reinforcement, retired in great hafte, lest they should be surrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his escape to the rest of the army. The Perfians were so taken with the conduct of Theophobus on this occasion, that they addressed the emperor, begging he would suffer them to serve under him, in a separate body, which was readily granted. The following year he was attended with better success; The defeats the for having engaged the Saracens, he gained a complete victory, killed great num- f bers of them, and took above twenty thousand prisoners, whom he carried in triumph to Constantinople. This encouraged him to make another attempt the next spring; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himself in great danger of being taken prisoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy's ranks. Manuel, apprised of the danger he was in, broke through to him with a body of chosen men, in order to bring him off. But he refusing to retire, lest by his retreat he should discourage his army, Manuel presenting his sword to his breast, and telling him, that the flate would fuffer more by his captivity than by his death, threatened to kill him,

Saracens.

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a unless he retreated with him to the rest of the army. The emperor then complied, Manuel, and his chosen band, opening him a way through the midst of the enemy. Theophylus had, at first, a just sense of this eminent piece of service, styling Manuel his deliverer; but afterwards, envying him the reputation he had thereby acquired, and His ingratiashamed of being indebted to one of his subjects for his safety, he readily gave ear to tude to Mathe malicious infinuations of fome courtiers, accusing him of ambitious views, and nuel. privately resolved to deprive him of his fight; of which Manuel being seasonably informed by the emperor's cup-bearer, he fled to the Saracens, and, upon condition Wino flies to the he should not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their service, and was Saracens, foon raised to the highest honours, and trusted with the command of their armies b against the Cermata, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in several battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching Constantinople, the emperor, grieved for the loss of so brave and faithful a commander, resolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promiting to reinstate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to Manuel by a monk, he received it with unspeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting against the Romans; but now pretending a desire of being revenged on those by whom he had been unjustly accused to the emperor, he defired leave of Ishmael, prince of the Saracens, to make war upon the Romans in Casc padocia. Ishmael, highly pleased with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but, as he had already given fignal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his fon to ferve under him. Being arrived in Cappadocia, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his defign, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting; and being met, as had But returns to been agreed on before-hand between him and the governor of the province, by fome the Romans. Roman troops, he acquainted the prince with his design, desiring him to return to the army, and acquaint them with it. From Cappadocia he immediately repaired to Constantinople, where he was received with great solemnity by the emperor in the church of Belchernæ, raised to the highest post in the army, and chosen to stand as godfather d to his fon Michael, whom he foon after took for his partner in the empire. The following year the Saracens invaded Cappadocia under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched against them in person; but both armies, seized, while they were already in fight of each other, with a panic fear, betook themselves to flight, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. The following year 837. Theophylus invaded Syria, ravaged the country far and wide, and having made himself master of several strong-holds, returned in triumph to Constantinople, leaving Theophobus to command the army. In his absence the Persians, now increased to The Persians thirty thousand, depending upon their strength and numbers, seized on Theophobus at musiny. Sinople, and, notwithstanding all his intreaties, protestations and arguments, declared e him emperor. Theophobus gave the emperor private notice of what had passed, assured The fidelity of him of his loyalty, tho' he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity, Theophobus. and laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to make his escape to Constantinaple, where he was received by the emperor with the greatest demonstrations of kindness, and continued in his former honours and employments. The rebellious Persians were, at his request, pardoned, and received into favour; but dispersed into several provinces 1. Theophylus, in ravaging Syria, had, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the prince of the Saracens, destroyed Sozopetra, the place of his nativity; which provoked him to such a degree, that, breathing nothing but revenge, he raised a The Saracens mighty army, ordering every soldier to engrave upon his shield the word Amorium, invade the emf the birth-place of Theophylus, and capital of Cilicia, which he was resolved, at all pire. events, to destroy. The emperor, informed of these mighty preparations, raised what forces he could, and marched with them to Dorylæum, distant about three days journey from Amorium. There, in a council of war, several officers advised him to decline an engagement with the Saracens, whose army was far more numerous than that of the Romans, and to remove the inhabitants of Amorium to some other place; but the emperor, imagining such a proceeding would reslect no small disgrace upon him, resolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly sent thither a strong detachment, under the command of Aetius, general of the east, Theodorus

Defeat the Romans.

Amorium taken and destroyed.

Theophylus d.es.

His character.

Michael III. gent.

She persecutes

Craterus, Theophilus Bubutzicus, and other experienced generals. In the mean time a the prince of the Saracens dispatched his son, with ten thousand Turks, and a strong party of Armenians, to try the strength of the emperor's forces. The two armies met at a place called Dazymenum; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the Saracens were at first put to the rout; but the Romans, in pursuing the fugitives, were so galled by the arrows of the Turks, that they not only gave over the pursuit, but betook themfelves to a disorderly flight. The Persians however, tho' abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor, made head against the enemy, till night coming on, gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the Saracens, informed of his fon's fuccess, marched directly to Amorium, and being there joined by the young prince, laid close siege to the place, which, after a long b and obstinate resistance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named Badiates, who, upon fome discontent, had abjured the christian religion. The Suracens, enraged at the resolute opposition they had met with, put most of the men to the fword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was so affected with the destruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abstained from all rourishment, drinking nothing but snow-water, which threw him into a dysentery. Being apprised that his end approached, he caused himself to be carried to Magnaura; and having summoned the senate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic speech to continue faithful to his wife and son, and protect them from all e treachery. After this, finking under the affliction of his mind, and diftemper of his body, he fainted away, and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days. Joannes Curopalates, whom we have followed in the history of this prince's reign, as the nearest to those times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of Theophobus, who had been arrested upon some groundless suspicions, to be cut off, and brought to him; and that, touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering these words, Neither shall I be henceforth Theophylus, nor thou Theophobus o. But Zonaras and Cedrenus write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor's officers, without his knowledge P. He professed a greater enmity to images, and persecuted with greater severity than any of his predecessors had done, those who worshipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of those times in the blackest colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his sworn enemies, speak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact observer of justice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy to covetousness. Of the latter Cedrenus gives us the following instance: having one day observed from his palace a ship of great burden fraught with merchandize entering the harbour of Constantinople, he asked the mariners, To whom the cargo belonged? They answering, To the empress, he replied with great indignation, God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant? Having thus spoken, he commanded the mariners to come ashore, and fire to be set to the vessel, e faying, If princes apply themselves to trade, their subjects must starve 9. He beautified the city of Constantinople with many stately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be scaled. He banished all loose and scandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to all manner of dissoluteness, and a pattern of the antient Roman temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by several wholsome laws r.

Theophylus was fucceeded by his fon Michael; but as he was then only fix years old, Theodorare his mother Theodora took upon her the administration; which she began by exerting her zeal for the worship of images, recalling all those who had been banished on that account in the late reign, and banishing such as differed in opinion from her. She f drove from his see John the patriarch of Constantinople, and placed Methodius a monk, and zealous patron of images, in his room, ordering the second council of Nice, in and Manichees. which the worship of images was approved of and established, to be observed throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly suppressed the iconoclasts, whose doctrine had prevailed in Constantinople, and most cities of the east, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, she fell in the next place upon the Manichees, of whom no fewer than an hundred thousand are faid to have been destroyed; which

O JOAN. CUROPAL. ibid. ZONAR. ibid.

P CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid.

<sup>4</sup> CEDREN. in Theoph.

r CEDREN.

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a drove the rest to despair and rebellion, having one Carbeas of that sect for their leader; who hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his persuasion, fled with four thousand of the same sect to the Saracens, and opened them a passage into the Roman territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himself, being instigated thereunto by Bardas, brother to Theodora, who promifed himself mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but despairing of being able to succeed in his designs, so long as Manuel and Theostifus, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his son, continued near his person, he resolved, in the first place, to remove them by some means or other. He had scarce taken this b resolution, when a misunderstanding arose between those two faithful ministers; which Bardas improved with such art, that Manuel, quitting the court, retired to a Manuel retires private life. He being removed, Bardas easily persuaded the emperor, that Theoc- from court. tistus, having nothing less in view than the empire, designed to marry either the empress, or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing, by depriving him of his fight. Upon these malicious, and altogether groundless, insinuations, Theolistus was, by the young prince's orders, apprehended, dragged to prison, and there most inhumanly murdered. Michael and Bardas resolved to finish Theoclistus what they had begun, by removing the empress, who, well apprised of their design, murdered. to spare them the crime of shedding more blood, determined to retire of her own accord. Accordingly, having summoned the senate, she laid before them the present c condition of the treasury, to obviate, by that means, the extravagant expences of her fon, and at the fame time to fhew them how careful and frugal she had been during her administration; for she had, by a commendable occonomy, not only spared the immense treasure left by her husband, but greatly improved it. After this, she resigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great satisfaction of her brother and The empress fon, now at liberty to act without restraint or controul. However, lest she should Theodora reattempt to resume the power she had so readily quitted, Michael ordered her, and her signs. three daughters, to be shut up in a monastery, where she died soon after of grief's. This happened in 855. after Theodora had governed the state for the space of fourteen years. Michael, thus free from all restraint, abandoned himself to the most insamous Michael a d debaucheries, taking pride in imitating Nero, whom he proposed to himself for his wicked and impattern, and even seemed to exceed in all manner of wickedness. He, in a short time, pious prince. squandered away the immense treasure lest him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of most extravagant, debauched and profligate wretches, whom, to expose to ridicule the most sacred things, he often caused to appear in copes and other vestments, in which priefts used to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the most holy functions and ceremonies. One Gryllus, the most profligate of the crew, he styled patriarch; others he called metropolitans; and took to himself the title of one of the chief bishops. Thus attended, he used to walk in broad day-light, as in procession, through the streets, imitating and deriding the patriarch and his clergy. Having e once caused the infamous Gryllus to be apparelled like the patriarch, he sent for his mother in the name of Ignatius, who then held that see. The empress came immediately; but as she fell down upon her knees to crave his blessing, Gryllus, discovering himself, derided the piety of the good empress with indecent gestures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole affembly . The diffolute prince, having in a short His predigality. time wasted all his treasures, was reduced to the necessity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a bishop named Leo, the greatest man of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for among the boughs were dispersed several golden birds, which, by the help of an engine, fung melodiously, while the spectators were at the same time no less agreeably f surprised and frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the same artifice. The prodigal emperor had likewise disposed of the imperial robes, and other curiosities, for which the palace was famous, had he not been prevented by death. In the year 854. he undertook an expedition against the Saracens, and laid siege to a city of theirs on the Euphrates; but the besieged sallying out upon the Romans while they were at their devotions on a Sunday, put the whole army to slight, and made them- Is routed by she selves masters of their camp, and all their baggage, the emperor himself having with Saracens. much-ado made his escape. Two years after, the Saracens, entering with an army of

JOANN, CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid. 1 Idem ibid.

thirty

thirty thousand men the Roman dominions, put the emperor to flight, tho' at the head a

of forty thousand Thracians and Macedonians. The loss of this battle however was soon repaired by the good fortune of Petronas, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the Saracens in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, cut off the kalif himself, and his whole army, took his fon prisoner, and returned in triumph to Constantinople. In 860. Bardas created he raised his uncle Bardas, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, to the dignity of Cafar, in which high station he acted in a most arbitrary manner, without the least regard to the laws and customs of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay any thing to her charge, and married his own niece. Hereupon the holy patriarch Ignatius refused to communicate with him on the feast of the epiphany; which provoked him to such a degree, that having affembled a synod at Constanti- b nople, he suborned several false witnesses, who accused Ignatius of having murdered his predecessor Methodius; upon which he was deposed, and thrown into prison, Photius being raised to the patriarchal see in his room; which occasioned great disturbances at Constantinople. In 867, the emperor, at the persuasion of Bardas, who ruled with an absolute sway, undertook an expedition against the Saracens, who had fettled in Crete, whence they were continually infesting the coasts of the empire, and made this year a descent upon Thrace, penetrating far into the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor marched in person, attended by Bardas; and arriving at a place called Chorus, ordered his army to encamp there. The fervants of Bardas, whether on purpose or unadvisedly, is un- c certain, pitched their mafter's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor seemed to resent; and the enemies of Bardas at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reason he had to be jealous of so insolent and ambitious a favourite, incensed him to such a Heismurdered degree, that he gave them private orders to dispatch him; which they did accordingly on the first of April of the present year. The soldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himself, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to Constantinople u. The ruin of Bardas made room for Basilius, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter aversion d to all manner of business and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and foon after, that is, on the twenty-fixth of May of the same year, declared him his partner in the empire. Basilius was born in Macedon, but an Armenian by descent, and, according to Cedrenus, descended from the royal family of the Arsacida; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obscure parents. At the facking of Adrianople by Crumus king of the Bulgarians, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but fet at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace. As he was tall in flature, of a comely afpect, and well-shaped, Theophilizes, a nobleman of great distinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his protostrator, that is, his gentleman of the horse. Having soon after tamed an e unruly horse belonging to the emperor, he was, by the interest of Bardas, taken into the emperor's fervice, and raised to the post of master of the horse; which giving him an opportunity of converling often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great afcendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon Bardas, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, resolved on his destruction. But Basilius, apprised of his design, was before-hand with him, as we have related above. Basilius, being upon the death of Bardas advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redress the many abuses that had crept into the state, and to reclaim Michael from his vicious courses; but the dissolute prince was so far from sol- f lowing his wholfome counfels, that he refolved to rid himself of so troublesome a

censor; which hastened on his own ruin: for Basilius, finding he could by no other means fave himself, but by destroying his collegue, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and afleep; and, with the affiftance of fome others privy to his defign,

wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years, three

partner in the empire.

Michael takes

Michael mur- first cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then dispatched him with many

months alone ".

" Idem ibid. CEDREN. ZONAR, in Mich.

W CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

Bafilius, now fole mafter of the empire, governed with great justice and modera-Bafilius. tion, preferring fuch only as were persons of known probity, and allowing all his fubjects free access to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign a conspiracy was formed against him by George and Symbatius, two patricians; but it being seasonably discovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices banished. To obviate any suture attempts of the same nature, in the second year of his reign he raifed his eldest son Constantine to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created Leo and Alexander, his second and third sons, Casars. As for his fourth son, by name Stephen, he caused him to take orders, with a design to raise b him to the patriarchal fee. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monastery of St. Euphemia, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to make war upon the Manichees. We have observed above, that in the late reign one Carbeas, a Manichee, fled, with five thousand of the fame fect, to the Saracens, with a defign to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his persuation. Great numbers of the persecuted Manichees flocking to him for shelter, he made frequent inroads into the Roman territories from three strong-holds in Armenia, viz. Arganum, Armera, and Tephrica, which had been yielded to them by the Saracens. Against these Manichees Basilius marched in per-Hebreaks the fon, laid waste their country, took or killed their best commanders, and returned Manichees. c with an immense booty to Constantinople; which city he entered in triumph. The following year the Manichees, resolved to revenge the losses they had sustained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of Chrysochir; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almost to a man cut off, with their leader, whose head was sent to Constantinople. By this deseat the strength of the Saracens was so broken, that they were never afterwards in a condition of molesting the empire, as they had done for several years together. Encouraged with his success against the Manichees, His success he entered Syria the following year 880. attended by his eldest son Constantine, reco-against the Savered several strong-holds out of the hands of the Saracens, and took an incredible racens. number of prisoners. On his return he made himself master of Casarea, the metrod polis of Cappadocia, and of feveral other strong-holds, which he levelled with the ground. The prisoners he took in this expedition were so numerous, that not being able to spare sufficient forces to guard them, he commanded multitudes of them to be put to the fword; which struck such terror into the Saracens, that some of their governors not only submitted, but joined the emperor against their own nation. The African Saracens, and those of Crete, attempting to invade the empire, were likewife defeated with great flaughter, and the fleet of the former utterly destroyed by Nazar the Roman admiral. These extraordinary advantages were, in some degree, Syracuse taken counterbalanced by the loss of Syracuse, which the Saracens of Cartbage took and by the Saradestroyed. Adrian, a patrician, who had been sent to relieve it, arriving too late, cens, and detended the emperor, upon his return to Constantinople, caused him to be dragged from the great church, where he had taken fanctuary, and fent him into exile x. Basilius, at fuch times as he was not engaged in wars, busied himself in building and repairing churches, of which Cedrenus mentions a great number. Zonaras blames him for erecting and dedicating so many churches to the honour of St. Michael, as if he had deligned thereby to expiate the murder of the emperor Michael. His eldest fon Constantine being dead, he raised his second son Leo to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great sway which Theodorus Santabarenus, by prosession a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's presence. Of this the jealous monk was soon apprised, and therefore f resolved to destroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence The treachery of a conspiracy against Basilius, which was to be put in execution while he was hunt- of a monk. ing, he first persuaded the young prince privately to arm himself, and some of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppose any attempt upon the life of his father; and then haftening to the emperor, told him in great confernation, that his fon defigned to murder him; that his defign was to be put in execution the first time he went out to hunt; and that, if he caused him to be searched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, giving ear to the wicked and malicious infinua-

tions of the monk, ordered his fon to be searched; and a dagger being found under

Leoimprisched his garments, committed him to close prison in an apartment of the palace, where a his eyes had been put out at the instigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the fenate interposed in his behalf. However, he was long kept under close confinement;

but at length released, at the earnest and repeated intreaties of the senate, and restored to his former dignity. Curopalates tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the fenate to mention to him the young prince's name, or make any further application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining several of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of some, who used to lament there the unfortunate prince's condition, cried out all on a sudden, Alas, unhappy Leo! His friends, laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their

Balilius dies.

neglect, notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, renewed their former applicabions; to which Basilius at length yielded v. Basilius not long after died, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and seven days. Cedrenus writes, that he was carried off by a diarrhœa; but Zonaras tells us, that while he was hunting, a flag thrusting his horns under his girdle, and lifting him up from the ground, shook him with fuch violence, that he died foon after. The fame writer adds, that one of the emperor's attendants having disengaged him from the stag, by cutting his girdle, he, instead of rewarding him, caused his head to be cut off, for drawing his sword in the presence of his sovereign. But of this no mention is made either by Cedrenus or Curopalates. Some pretend, that, before he died, he embraced a monastic life, but without divesting himself either of his power, or the ensigns of majesty. It is certain, c that, towards the latter end of his reign, he addicted himself intirely to the conver-His instructions sation of monks, and to works of piety. To his son Leo, whom he appointed his to his fon Leo. fuccessor, he left, with the empire, some excellent maxims or rules of government,

comprised in fixty-fix chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence; Basilius, emperor of the Romans in Christ, to Leo his dear son, and collegue in the empire. The maxims contained therein are truly worthy of a great prince, and a christian philosopher. Bafilius made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of bafilicæ, that is, royal or imperial laws; for they did not take their name, as some have imagined, from the emperor Basilius, by whose orders they were compiled. They were written in the Greek tongue, the Latin, in which the laws of Justinian were d compiled, being at this time scarce understood in the eastern empire. Basilius is, by all the antient writers, deservedly ranked among the best emperors. Basilius was succeeded by his son Leo, whom he had taken for his partner in the

Lco.

empire, upon the death of his eldest son Constantine. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and so well versed in all the branches of literature, that he deservedly acquired, as Antoninus had done, the furname of Philosof bus. His first care was to punish Theodorus Santabarenus the monk, whom he ordered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then banished him to Athens, where his eyes were put out, Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, had favoured Theodorus, and conspired with him to raise a kinsman of his own to the throne; he had besides raised great disturbances in the church: for which crimes he was, by Leo's orders, deposed, and banished into Armenia, Stephen, the emperor's brother, being raised to the patriarchal see in his He honours the room. To shew his gratitude to the emperor Michael, who had first preferred his father, and had been murdered by him, he caused his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monastery of Chrysopolis, where it had been interred, to the church of the Apostles in Constantinople, and there to be deposited in a stately monument of marble. In the year 893, the eighth of Leo's reign, a war broke out between the Romans and Bulgarians on the following occasion: A great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at Constantinople, whence it was, at the request of some merchants, removed to Thessalonica. There f the collectors of the customs oppressing with new and unlawful impositions the Bulgarian merchants, Simeon their king having first applied in vain to the emperor for redress, resolved to do himself justice; and accordingly, entering the Roman territories at the head of a powerful army, ravaged and laid waste the country as far as Macedon, where he was met by the Roman army, under the command of Procopius Crenites and Curticius, who were both cut off, with most most of their men, in the engagement that enfued. Simeon, having taken in the purfuit a great number of prifoners, caused their noses to be cut off, and sent them back thus deformed to Con-

memory of Michael.

His army defeated by the Bulgarians.

a stantinople. The emperor, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the Ungri or Hungarians, whom our author styles Turks, to invade the country of the Bulgarians on one fide, while he entered it on the other. Against the Hungarians Simeon marched in person; but was by them utterly deseated, the flower of his army being cut off, and he himself with much-ado escaping to a city named Dorostolum, whence he fent embassadors to Leo suing for a peace; which was readily granted him upon very honourable terms. But the emperor's forces were no fooner withdrawn, The treachery than Simeon fell unexpectedly upon the Hungarians; and having put them to flight, of the Bulgaravaged their country, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo, provoked at this breach of the treaty, and more at his new and unreasonable demands, resolved to b fall upon him with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly destroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent into Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catacalon, and Theodosius a patrician. But Simeon, who carefully watched their motions, falling unexpectedly upon them, cut most of them in pieces, with Theodofius, and a great number of officers of distinction; which obliged the emperor to submit to the best terms he could obtain 2. While Leo was engaged in these wars abroad, several conspiracies were formed against him at home; which however were seasonably discovered, and the conspirators sent into exile, the emperor being averse to the shedding of blood. In 901. the empress Theophano, or, as others call her, Theophania, being dead, the emperor married one Zoe, the most beautiful woman of her age, whom he The emperor c had kept as his concubine in his wife's life-time, and caused her to be crowned with marries a the usual folemnity, conferring at the same time on her father, by name Zantzas, the cond and third title of Father of the emperor. Zoe did not long enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death. Lee married to be chief wife. her death, Leo married to his third wife a lady of extraordinary beauty, named Eudocia; but she dying in child-bed, together with the infant, Leo, who had yet no iffue male to succeed him, married to his fourth wife another Zoe, who brought him a son, called Constantine. This fourth marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great disturbances and divisions in the church of Constantinople; for Nicolaus Mystieus, at that time patriarch, not only declared against the marriage, but excommu- Is excommuninicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to cated for marriage. d be restored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch to a monastery, rying a fourth. and placed one Euthymius Syncellus in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to Nicolaus, and others to Euthymius; which occasioned a schism in the church. Though Euthymius restored the emperor to the communion of the faithful, yet he resolutely opposed him, when, by the advice of the senate, he was about to publish an edict, declaring it lawful to marry the fourth time. Leo had formerly published an edict, subjecting those who married thrice to the penalties which had been decreed against them by some antient councils, and the clergy would not suffer him to revoke that edict 2. Some time before his fourth marriage, as he was going on Whitfunday in a folemn procession to the church of St. Mocius, as was customary on that day, a person e of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, just as he entered the church, gave An attempt him such a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and those about upon the empehim believed him dead; and truly he had been killed upon the spot, had not the vio- ror's life. lence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. Alexander, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but no proof could be alledged against him, the traitor, though tortured in a most cruel manner, obstinately resulting to discover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off b. The following year 902. the fixteenth of Leo's reign, the Saracens, having equipped a mighty fleet, took Taurominium in Sicily, reduced the island of Lemnos, and ravaging Taurominium f without controul the coasts of Asia, threw the imperial city itself into great consterna- and Thessalotion. In the end of the summer they laid siege to The flatonica, which they took, and nica taken by would have destroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large sum by Simeon, one of the Saracens, the emperor's fecretaries, who was on that account raifed to the rank of a patrician. Leo, not able to make head against the Saracens at sea, raised a powerful army, which he sent into the east, under the conduct of Eustathius Argyrus, and Andronicus Ducas, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great success, having who are dogained several victories over them. However, the year following they invaded with feated by the

\* Vide Const. Porphyrogen, in præamb. ad edict. unionis.

Idem in Leon. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

LEO GRAMMAT, 1. iii. & iv.

a mighty army the Roman territories; which obliged the emperor to dispatch Himerius and Andronicus Ducas against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct; but a satal misunderstanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one Samonas, put a stop to the progress of their

Samonas, a Saracen by birth, and formerly chamberlain to the emperor, hav-

ing discovered a conspiracy, had been, on that account, advanced to the first employments in the state. Having by that means acquired immense wealth, he attempted to escape into his own country, carrying with him his treasures; but was stopped upon the road, and brought back to Constantinople by Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus. The emperor, provoked at his thus abandoning him, notwithstanding the many favours he had heaped upon him, kept him for some time under close con- b finement; but in the end reftored him to his former rank and honours. As Samonas bore an irreconcilable hatred to Andronicus, on account of his fon Constantine, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large fum, to warn him by letter not to join Himerius, who, he said, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes as soon as he had him in his power. Andronicus, giving credit to this letter, refused to join Himerius, who nevertheless engaged the Saracens, and gave them a total overthrow. Andronicus, dreading the emperor's indignation, seized a castle near Iconium, called Cabala, with a delign to revolt; which Samonas no sooner understood, than making use of all his authority at court to his destruction, he prevailed upon the emperor, with his artful c infinuations, to declare Andronicus a traitor, and to dispatch a strong army against him, under the command of Iberitzas Gregoras. Hereupon Andronicus, despairing of pardon, fled to the Saracens, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. Leo, greatly concerned for the loss of so brave a commander, who had hitherto ferved him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, resolved to persuade him, if possible, to return home. this view he released a Saracen captive, on condition he delivered to Andronicus a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promised to restore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated affurances of his friendship and esteem; but the captive, bribed by Samonas, instead of conveying the letter to Andronicus, delivered it d to the kalif, who immediately caused the unfortunate Andronicus, with his son Constantine, and the rest who had attended him in his slight, to be thrown into prison, where they were treated with the utmost cruelty. Andronicus soon perished under the hardships he endured; several others purchased their liberty by renouncing their religion; but Constantine, the son of Andronicus, made his escape, with a small number of attendants, and tho' pursued, sometimes by fighting, and sometimes by casting gold in the way, and by that means diverting the greedy foldiery, got fafe to Confrantinople, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and feafted upon his arrival in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to fuffer himself to be so far misled by the omen of his name as to aspire at the empire; adding, that he had been assured by those who could foretel things of that nature, that his own fon Constantine was destined by Heaven to the empire; and that, if Ducas ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would be inevitably cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place where he was now treated with fo much honour and magnifi-The event confirmed the truth of this prediction, as we shall relate anon. About this time Samonas, the emperor's chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, was at length disgraced on the following occasion: He had recommended a youth, named Constantine, by birth a Paphlagonian, to wait on the

Ducas, difgraced, flies to the Saracens.

Andronicus

frantine returns to Constantinople.

He dies; but bis fon Con-

Samonas difgraced.

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empress, who, being greatly taken with his address, and other good qualities, used fall her interest to preser him. This gave no small jealously to Samonas, who, apprehending he might in time be supplanted by this new savourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accused the empress of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldness to publish a libel against the emperor himself, who, finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monastery, and appointed his rival Constantine great chamberlain in his room. In 911, the twenty-sixth and last year of his reign, the Saracens, under the

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a on the coasts, and in the islands of the Egean sea, Himerius was sent with a powerful fleet against them; but in a sea-fight near the island of Samos, the Roman navy was The Roman theet against them; but in a lea-night near the mand of sames, the same has a fleet defeated utterly defeated, Himerius himself having with much difficulty escaped to Mitylene, fleet defeated by the Stracens. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the colic on the ele- Leo dies. venth of May of the present year, after having reigned twenty-five years, and three months. He left behind him only one fon, by name Constantine; but as he was scarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother Alexander, after having earnestly intreated him to leave it at his death to his son Constantine, whom he recommended to his care d. Leo is allowed on all hands to have been a prince of great pru-His character dence, and an uncommon penetration in the management of public affairs. He is and works.

b highly extolled by the ecclefiastic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith, and by them compared to the most zealous and vigilant among their bishops. As he was a man of great learning, he left several works behind him, viz. a letter to Omarus king of the Saracens, concerning the mysteries and truth of the christian religion, and the herefies and blasphemies of the Saracens; a book of military discipline, which has been translated into Latin; another on hunting; several theological and historical tracts, still to be seen, tho' strangely maimed and corrupted, in the Vatican library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the bishops, he wrote to all his subjects, encouraging them to the practice of every christian virtue; but as he applied himself above all to the study of the law, he new-modelled the Roman c jurisprudence. His father Basilius had, in the year 870, with the affistance of his two fons Constantine and Leo, published an epitome of Justinian's code, which he called procheiron. This work, which consisted of forty titles, is still to be found among the manuscripts in the Valican library. It is by some ascribed to Basilius; Constantine and Leo, by others only to Leo and Constantine, and by some to Leo alone; whence Cujacius, and other civilians, conclude it to have been revited by Leo, and brought into a better form. Leo, not fatisfied with that, published about the year 886. his basilieæ, divided into fixty books, and fix volumes. In this great work the emperor followed the order which Justinian had observed in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, novellæ, and from the constitutions of the succeeding d emperors down to Basilius, whatever was superfluous, or had been abrogated by the custom of after-times, being retrenched. The basilica were no sooner published, than the books of Justinian were quite laid aside, both in the schools and courts of justice. Leo dying, his son Constantine revised and corrected the basilica, which had been published by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected, to be made use of both at the bar and in the schools. The basilica of Leo were called priores, and those of Constantine posteriores; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the Greek jurisprudence to the end of the empire .

Leo being dead, his brother Alexander was by the senate and people acknowledged Alexander 4 emperor; but he, in the very beginning of his reign, gave such instances of his cruelty, debauched e avarice and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his subjects. Those who seemed prince. to discountenance him in his lewd and dissolute courses, he banished under various pretences, placing persons of most infamous characters in their room, and suffering himfelf to be intirely governed by debauchees and proftitutes. He was so taken with one Basilitzas, a person of a mean descent, but of a most dissolute life, and his inseparable companion in the most abominable extravagancies, that he resolved to settle the empire on him, and, by castrating his nephew Constantine, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of fuccession. But he was diverted from such an unpopular attempt, by some of the late emperor's friends representing to him, that the child, who was of a weak and fickly conftitution, would, in all likelihood, be foon removed out of the way I by a natural death. In the mean time he banished the empress Zoe from the court, fuffering none to continue there, but such as were slaves to his sensual pleasures, and subservient to his brutish appetites. Simeon, prince of the Bulgarians, no fooner heard of his accession to the empire, than he dispatched embassadors to him to renew the treaties of peace and friendship concluded by former emperors between the two He provokes nations; but Alexander, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike and power- the Busgarians ful nation, dismissed their embassadors in an ignominious manner; at which Simeon justly provoked, invaded with a mighty army the Roman territories, destroying all

d CUROPALAT. ZONAR, CONST. MANASS. GLYCAS, ibid. obser. c. 10. Doviat. hist. jur. civil. p. 47.

<sup>\*</sup> STRUV. hist. jur. Græc. c. 4. Cujac. 1. vi.

Alexander, instead of offering to oppose him, pursued without a

He dies. Coalt atine

empire.

with fire and sword.

interruption his dissolute courses, till death, hastened on by his intemperance, delivered the world from so pernicious a monster. As he was one day using violent exercise, after having eaten and drunk to a great excess, some of the vessels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till he died. Before his death, which happened in 912. after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared Constantine his succeffor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, such persons as had been most subservient to him in his infamous pleasures, and were, on that account, despised and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. This encouraged Confantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus, of whom we have spoken above, to attempt

the fovereignty, notwithstanding the warning given him by the late emperor; but as b he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was seized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, most

of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being discovered, and punished either with death or banishment. During these domestic The Bulgarians broils, Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, having laid waste Thrace, was advanced to the

break into the very gates of Constantinople, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a short time; but the unexpected and vigorous opposition he met with from the inhabitants, obliged him, after several unsuccessful attempts, to abandon the enterprize, and retire to Hebdomon, whence he fent embassadors to the young prince's governors, with overtures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, Simeon was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of Blacherna,

whence he returned home loaded with rich presents. Cedrenus writes, that a peace was concluded; but Zonaras affures us, that the treaty was broken off, before it could be brought to a happy conclusion, the prince of the Bulgarians refusing to submit to the conditions infifted upon by the regents. If an agreement was made, it was broken foon after, as we shall relate anon. In the mean time the regents, disagreeing amongst

themselves, at the earnest request of the people of Constantinople, and of the young prince himself, recalled to court the empress Zoe; who, having soon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's presence the favourites of Aexander. herown hands, and put others in their room, who were better qualified for that high trust f. Zoe

The Bulgarians had scarce taken upon her the administration, when the Bulgarians broke into the invade the em- empire on one fide, and the Saracens on the other. The former, after having laid wafte Thrace, fat down before Adrianople, which was betrayed to them by one Pancratucus an Armenian, whom Simeon had bribed with rich presents. The Saracens, under the conduct of Damianus, kalif of Tyre, having equipped a powerful fleer,

committed great devastations on the coasts. Zoe, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, refolved, pursuant to the advice of the senate, to make peace upon any terms with the Saracens, and employ the whole strength of the empire against the Bulgarians. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and a mighty army fent against the latter, under the conduct of Leo Phocas, who, having

mustered his numerous forces in the spacious plain of Diabasis, led them strait against the enemy, encamped at a small distance. Before the engagement, Constantine, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was skyled protopapa, exposing the wood of the holy cross to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and swear, that they would fight to the last. After this, both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but the Romans prevailing after a most obstinate dispute, the Bulgarians sled in the utmost confusion. The victory however was unluckily

matched out of their hands by the following accident: Lee, the Roman general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the pursuit, his horse broke loose, while f he stooped down to drink. The foldiers, who knew him, seeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was flain, and thereupon giving over the pursuit, began to retire in a disorderly manner; which Simon quickly perceiving, rallied his men, and facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the Romans, put them to

flight, and purfued them with great flaughter, not only great numbers of the common foldiers being flain in that confusion, but many officers of great distinction 4. this unhappy mistake some ascribe the dreadful overthrow which the Romans received on this occasion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. They tell

The empress

Zoe gets all

the power into

The Romans defeated.

2 us, that while Lee was bufy in the pursuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that Romanus Lacapenus, the admiral, a man of great power and authority, who had been ordered to hover on the coast with his fleet, and assist Leo, if required, was returned to Constantinople, with a design to seize on the empire in the absence of the army, and the chief officers. Upon this intelligence, Leo, fay they, who had the fame ambitious view, returned immediately to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth. But the foldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, were fo discouraged, that they turned their pursuit into a sudden and disorderly slight h. Simeon, slated with this unexpected success, resolved to return before Constantinople; but two strong detachments from his army being met on their march by the imperial troops, Two parties of and utterly defeated, he thought it adviseable to drop that enterprize, and return the Bulgarians

home. In the mean time the two rivals, Leo and Romanus, returning to court, began routed. to plot, not only against the emperor, but against each other; for they had both nothing less in view than the fovereignty. But the faction of Romanus prevailing at length over that of Lao, the latter was declared a traitor; and being feized in a Leo diffraced, castle named Aicas, whither he had fled for shelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, and deprived deprived of his fight, and by that means rendered incapable of any further attempts. of his fight. Romanus, having thus got rid of Leo, and driven all his partizans from the empe-

For's presence, persuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his son Christopher commander in chief of the allies, which post was at that time one of the greatest dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engrossed to himself the whole power, he drove the empress Zoe from the palace, and confined her to the Zoe confined to monaftery of St. Euphemia. Soon after her departure, he caused himself to be first a monastery. declared Casar, and afterwards to be solemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, Romanus the young prince rather filently permitting, than approving of these extraordinary crowned empeproceedings. The following year 921. Romanus caused his two sons, Stephen and ror-Christopher, to be crowned in the great church, referving the other, by name Theophylastus, for the patriarchal dignity; nay, with the utmost arrogance he ordered himself to be named before Constantine in all public edicts and monuments. Several projects were fet on foot by the friends of young Constantine to deliver him from the d controul, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all discovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors of them punished with the utmost feverity. Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, taking advantage of these intestine broils, broke anew into the Koman territories; and having defeated, with great slaughter, the imperial troops dispatched against him, he advanced, without opposition, to the very gates of Constantinople; but despairing of being ever able to reduce that metro-

speech put the Bulgarian in mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal cluded with Judge of the christian blood he had already shed. At the same time the Saracons, the Bulgarians. who had long insested the coasts and the islands, being surprised by John Radenus, the Roman admiral, in the harbour of Lemnos, were cut off almost to a man, and their whole fleet destroyed. Not long after, Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, died, and was succeeded by his son Peter, who, breaking into the Roman dominions, destroy'd all with fire and sword, without any regard to the treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father. When he heard Romanus was marching against him at the head of a powerful army, he dispatched a monk to him, with proposals for a peace, which he defired might be strengthened and confirmed with a marriage. This overture being well received by Romanus, the Bulgarian prince, after feveral negotiations, repaired to Constantinople, where he was splendidly entertained by Ro-

polis, he defired an interview with the emperor Romanus; which being readily granted,

f manus in the palace of Blackerna, and with great solemnity married by Stophon, the The king of the patriarch, to Mary, the daughter of Christopher, the emperor's son. At one of Bulgarians many public entertainments that were made on this occasion, the Bulgarians loudly marries the complaining, at the infligation of Romanus, as was supposed, that the emperor Con-ter of Romanus stantine should take place of Christopher, the father-in-law of their prince, Romanus, nus. pretending to gratify them, caused his son, with a seeming reluctancy, to take the most honourable place. The nuptial solemnities were scarce over, when the Sarasens in Syria invaded the Roman territories; but John Curouas, the imperial general in those parts, not only drove them back with great loss, but having besieged and

a peace thereupon ensued between the two nations, Romanus having in a pathetic A peace con-

The Rolli

Romanus depoted by bis

own fon.

Melitena taken taken the city of Melitena, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. a from the Sara- The following winter proved very severe; and the long troft, said to have lasted an hundred and twenty days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which swept off incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in several provinces, and whole cities overturned. At Constantinople a fire broke out, which confumed many stately buildings. But Romanus was not fo much affected with these public calamities, as with the death of his fon Christopher, who died on the fourteenth of August of the present year 933 . The following year one Basilius, a native of Macedon, giving out, that he was Constantine Ducas, who had been stain in the beginning of the prefent reign, drew valt crowds after him; but being feized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at Constantinople, who, after having caused one of his b hands to be cut off, set him at liberty. But he continuing still to pass himself upon the credulous multitude for the son of Andronicus, got together great numbers of malecontents, who having feized on a strong hold, made from thence frequent incurfions into the neighbouring country, destroying all with fire and sword. But Romanus, having with much difficulty got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive k. In 944. the Rossi, who inhabited the European Sarmatia, and were known to the antients by the names of Roxolani and Bastarnæ, having equipped a numerous fleet, confifting, according to some, of ten, according to others, of fifteen thousand vessels, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of the empire. Theophanes, the Roman admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, destroyed their c utterly defeated whole fleet; and the two generals Bardas and Curcuas, pursuing those who had by the Romans faved themselves ashore, made such a havock of them, that very sew returned home with the news of their misfortune. All this while Constantine, the lawful prince, lived without the least authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully watched an opportunity of recovering his former power; and with this view gained over some persons in great credit and esteem with Romanus, and his fons, who being well apprifed, that to remove Romanus was the first step towards the re-establishment of Constantine, applied to Stephen, the usurper's youngest son, and by degrees brought him to rebel against his father, whom he seized on the fixteenth of December of the present year 944, and confined to a monastery in the d island Prota. He being thus removed, Stephen caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother Constantine, who had been raised by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the fovereignty. This gave rife to a misunderstanding between the two brothers, which proved satal to both. For Constantine having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been desirous of bringing about an accommodation, caused them both to be seized in the midst His sons deposed of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, viz. Stephen to the island of and banified. Panormus, and Constantine to Terebintus, where they were both ordained priests. Stephen was afterwards removed to Proconnesus, and from thence to Rhodes, then to Mitylene, and lastly to Lesbos, where he died, after having borne his missortunes for many years with great constancy and resolution. Constantine having two years after killed one of his keepers, with a delign to make his escape out of the island of Samothrace, whither he had been removed, the rest, transported with rage, fell upon him, and slew him. As for Romanus, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile m. Constantine, thus restored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all those who had been instrumental in his restoration, preferring them to the first employments in the state. Soon after, in order to prevent any future designs that might be formed against him, he caused his son Romanus to be crowned with the usual folemnity, and Romanus, the son of Stephen, with Basilius, the natural fon of Romanus the elder, and Michael, the fon of Christopher, to be f made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. In 948. the Saracens breaking into the empire with a mighty army, Bardas Phocas, and his two fons Nicephorus and Leo. were dispatched with the flower of the Roman forces against them. Bardas was one of the best officers of his age; but being hated by the foldiery on account of his extreme covetousness, he performed nothing answerable to the high character he bore; nay, his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerously wounded

Constantine restored to his former power.

> CUROPALAT. in Roman. LEO GRAMMAT. in Rom. k Idem ibid. 1 Idem. ZONAR. CEDREN. M CUROPALAT. CEDREN ZONAR. ibid. LUITPAND. l. V. C 9, 10, 11. in Rom. LUITPRAND. L. V. p. 384.

> in the forehead, and with much ado brought off alive by some of his friends. His

a two fons gained several signal victories over the enemy, by whom however they Leo and Nicewere not more feared than beloved by those who served under them. Leo, having phorus gain overthrown the Saracens in a pitched battle, took, among the other prisoners, Apo-tages over the lasemus, a person of great distinction, and nearly related to Chahdanus, the kalif; Saracens. which the emperor no fooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be fent to Constantinople, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod in an infulting manner upon his neck. The kalif, highly provoked at this indignity, used in a most barbarous manner Constantine, the third son of Bardas Phocas, whom he had. taken prisoner, in order to make him abjure the christian religion; but not being able to prevail with him, he caused him to be poisoned. Phocas, to revenge his b death, put to the sword all the relations of the kalif, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kalif having raifed a numerous and formidable army, marched against Phocas and his sons, carrying with him Nicetas, a patrician, and several other prisoners of distinction, with an intent to cause them to be massacred in the sight of the Roman army. But Nicetas, who was a man of great address, having in the mean time infinuated himself into his favour, was by him made privy to all his defigns, which he found means to impart to Phocas, who lying in ambush for him in a narrow pass, cut off his numerous army almost to a man, the kalif himself escaping with much difficulty, after having put to the sword all the Roman prisoners; except Nicetas, who, by bribing his keepers, had made his escape. e in the beginning of the engagement. After this victory, Phocas, invading the territories of the Saracens, took several strong-holds, and laid waste whole provinces. But in the mean time the Saracens, who had settled in Crete, committing dreadful ravages on the coasts, the emperor having with incredible expedition fitted out a powerful fleet, dispatched it with a strong army on board against the island of Crete, where they landed, without the least opposition from the Saracens, altogether unprowided against fo sudden a descent, and would have easily made themselves masters of the whole island, had they been commanded by an officer of any skill or experience. But the emperor having appointed commander in chief in this expedition one of his chamberlains, named Constantine Gongylas, who had been brought up in the court, d and was confequently an utter stranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miscarried. For the Saracens, finding he neither took care to fortify himself by any works, nor to send out scouts to get intelligence, concluded from thence, that he was no warrior; and recovering from their consternation, fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight with great flaughter, and made The Romans themselves masters of his camp and baggage. He had himself fallen into the enemy's accept defeated hands, had not some of his guards, in spite of their utmost efforts, conveyed him in Crete. on board one of his vessels. Not long after this defeat, Romanus, the emperor's son, prompted by his ambition, and egged on by his wife Theophano or Theophania, con-Romanus, the ipired with her against his father; and having gained over Nicetas, one of the atten-emperor's son, e dants at the emperor's table, prevailed upon him to administer poison to the prince, attempts upon instead of a potion, which had been prescribed to him by his physicians. But the emperor happening to stumble after he had taken in his hand the poisonous cup, the greater part of the draught was spilt by that lucky accident; so that what remained had not the defired effect, tho' his life was for some time in great danger. month of September of the same year, he undertook a journey to mount Olympus, to beg the prayers of the monks, as given out, for the fuccess of his arms against the Saracens, whom he defigned, if possible, to drive out of Syria: but the true motive of his journey was to advise with Theodorus, bishop of Cyzicus, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal see Polyeullus, who had succeeded Theof phylastus, the fon of Romanus. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his fon, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to Constantinople, where he died on the ninth of November 960. after having constantine lived fifty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle dies. and mother, twenty-five with Romanus, and fifteen alone . Curopalates, from whom His character; other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife Helena, and his favoutire Bajilius, who abusing the trust reposed in them, set every thing to sale, bestowing the first employments in the state on the highest bidder. By this means all the

bffices, both civil and military, were filled with perfors no ways qualified for them, a which equally redounded to his dishonour, and the detriment of the state. He is likewise condemned for punishing the smallest faults with the utmost severity. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning, which he is faid to have revived, after lessers had been long neglected. He was himfelf well skilled in most branches of literature, especially in history, arithmetic, astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. Zonaras commends him on account of his priety, which, fays he, appeared.

Romanus.

A debauched

The island of

Crete reco-

vered.

The Saracens east.

Nicephorus Mantinople, and triumphs.

in all his writings and epiftles P. Constantine was succeeded by his son Romanus, surnamed the boy, to distinguish him from the other Romanus, his grandfather; for he was the ion of Constantine by Helena, the daughter of Romanus, the usurper. He is deferredly reckoned amongst b the most lewd and debauched princes mentioned in history. Tho' he was himself capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts, yet be committed the whole management of affairs to one Joseph, his chief chamberlain, that he might with more liberty, and without interruption, purfue his pleasures; which he did, wallowing in all manner of debaucheries, without bestowing one thought on the public. Soon after his accession, he caused his young son Bastlius to be crowned with the usual solemnity by the patriarch Polyeustus; and imagining he had by that means secured the empire to his posterity, he took no surther care either of his family or the public. In the second year of his reign, Nicephorus Phocas, a person of extraordinary merit, who had been raised by Constantine to the chief command of all the c forces of the empire, undertook, with the confent of Romanus and the senate, an expedition against the Saracens in Crete; and landing in that island, defeated the enemy in several engagements, made himself master of all their strong holds, Chandax itself not excepted, took Curupes, the kalif, and Arcemas, his lieutenant, prifoners, and in the space of seven months reduced the whole island. But before he could settle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor, at the instigation of Joseph, who growing jealous of the success of Nicepborus, alarmed the young prince with a pretended prediction, that he who conquered Crete should become master of the whole Roman empire. While Nicephorus was thus fignalizing himfelf in Crete, his brother Leo was attended with equal success in the east, where he gave the Saracens the d overcome in the greatest overthrow they had ever received. Chabdanus, their kalif, with much difficulty, made his escape; but the rest were either killed upon the spot, or taken prisoners. Such numbers of captives were sent by Leo to Constantinople, that all the houses, both in the city and the neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the writers of those times, filled with Saracen slaves. Leo, on his return to Confantinople, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother Nicepborus, of whom the emperor entertained no fmall jealoufy on account of the above-mentioned prediction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered to march against Chabdanus, the kalif of Syria, who having recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire with a new invasion. But Nicepborus, meeting him on the borders of e Syria, overthrew him in a pitched battle; and then laying siege to Beraa, made himself master of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of christian captives, who on that occasion recovered their liberty. The news Romanus dies. of this victory had not yet reached Constantinople, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years four months and five days, viz. ten with his father, and the rest alone. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of March of the year 963. is by some ascribed to poison, administered to him by his wife Theophano; by others, to his great lewdness and intemperance?. He left two fons behind him, viz. Bafilius and Constantine; but as they were yet very young, the empress Theophano took upon her the administration; which she had no sooner f done, than the commanded Nicephorus to repair to Constantinople, much against the comes to Con- will of Joseph, the prime minister, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he displayed the rich spoils he had taken in the island of Crete, and the city of Berea. During his stay at Constantinople, he found that Joseph suspected him of ambitious defigns, as if he aspired at the empire, which he was well apprised would end in his ruin, Joseph Rill bearing great sway at court. In order therefore to remove the suspicions of the prime minister, having defired and obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that

P CUROPALAT. ZONAR. ibid.

1 CUROPAL. in Roman.

contempt

a contempt it deserved, he had long panted after a retired and monaffic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindness of his matters. who had forced employments upon him of the greatest trust. At the same time he shewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore constantly next his skin. The credulous minister, surprised at this speech, and the sight of the hair cloth, fell downat his feet, and with tears in his eyes, begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alledged against him. Nicephorus having thus gained the good opinion of Joseph, was suffered to return to the army in the east; where he had not been long, ere Joseph, jealous of the esteems he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him escape out of his hands, b and feriously to consider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raising disturbances in the state. As his apprehensions daily increased, he wrote in the end to Tzimisches and Curcuas, two principal commanders in the east, promising to prefer them to the first posts in the army, provided they seized on Nicepharus; and secured him in a monastery, or by any other means removed him our of the way. But the two officers not only delivered the letters to Nicepborus, but advised? him to provide for his own fafety by the only means that was now left him, viz. that of taking upon him the sovereignty. This proposal he rejected at first, or seemed to reject, with the utmost horror; but Tzimisches and Curcuas threatening him with their drawn fwords, he accepted of the empire, as was given out; to fave e his life, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor on the second of July of the is prothe year 963 2. Some writers tell us, that he was not so much prompted by his claimed empeambition to usurp the fovereignty, as by his love for the empress Theophano, of ror. whom he had been long enamoured. They add, that he maintained a private, and perhaps not altogether innocent, correspondence with her, which greatly heightened the suspicions of the prime minister, who had secret intelligence of all that passed. As Nicephorus was no less beloved by the people of Constantinople, on account of his affability and mighty exploits, than Joseph was hated for his pride and haughty \* carriage, the news of what had happened in the east was received by all ranks of people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, nothing being heard in d the streets but success and prosperity to Nicephorus Callinicus, or the brave conqueror. The house of Joseph, and those of his friends and adherents, were in an instant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at Chrysopolis, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to Hebdomon, where he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch Polyeuclus. Being thus Nicephorus acknowledged both by the people and senate, he began his reign by banishing Phocas crown-foseph into Paphlagonia, and confining him to a monastery in that province, where ed emperor. he died two years after. In the second year of his reign he married the empress Theophano, tho' he was therein opposed with great warmth by the patriarch, because he had been married before, and was faid to have stood godfather to one of the e empress's children; nay, Polyeuctus proceeded so far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the two above-mentioned impediments. But the matter being examined in a fynod held for that purpose at Constantinople, Nicepborus was by the assembled bishops restored to the communion of the church . In the third year of his reign he raifed a powerful army, with a defign to drive out of Sicily the Saracens, who had fettled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coasts of Italy. With the command of this army he intrusted Manuel, the natural son of his uncle Leo, who being an an intire stranger to the art of war, suffered himself to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the island, where he was cut off with all his men. John The Roman f Zimises, who commanded in Cilicia, was attended with better success; for the Sara- army cut off by cens, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with such slaughter, the Saracens that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called in Sicily. the bloody bill. The same year the Saracens in Cyprus were overthrown in several successive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the island, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. The following year the emperor marched in person against the Saracens in Cilicia, took three of their strongest cities; and having win-Nicephorus pered in Cappadocia, invested early in the spring the cities of Mopfitesta and Tarsus gains great at the same time, which, after an obstinate desence, were obliged to surrender at advantages over the Sara-

to the relief of Tarfus; but the city having submitted three days before their arrival, they failed back, when they were overtaken by a violent florm, which destroyed most of their ships, and drove the rest on the coasts of the empire, where they were seized, with the soldiers on board, by the Romans. Nicephorus, encouraged with the fuccess that attended his arms, broke into Syria the following year; and having easily reduced such cities and forts as resused voluntarily to submit, he marched for-

ward, the Saracens flying every-where before him, and laid flege to Antioch itself.

But as that metropolis was defended by a numerous garison, and well stored with provisions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged,

Cedrenus, writes, that he might have reduced the place, but was deterred from it by an old prediction, that the prince who took Antioch would not long enjoy that conquest c. Upon his return to Constantinople, Burtzas, a patrician, whom he had left in Syria with a large body of troops, to secure the places he had conquered in those parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched

strait to Antioch, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, struck the garison with such terror, that they immediately submitted. Thus was the metropolis of Syria once more reunited to the empire. But Nicephorus, mindful, says Cedrenus, of the above-mentioned prophecy, instead of rewarding Burizas for such an eminent piece of fervice, discharged him, and forbad him the court. John Zimisces, who had ferved him with the utmost fidelity, and uncommon success, was likewise dismissed soon after upon some groundless suspicion, and banished the court, which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. For Zimises, highly provoked at

the undeserved treatment he met with, conspired with Burtzas, and several others, and found means to draw the empreis herfelf into the conspiracy, incensed against

her husband, according to the most probable opinion, on account of his deligning, as the apprehended, to make her two fons Basilius and Constantine eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother Leo. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the empress was not only privy to the conspiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by

her means Zimifes, and the other conspirators, were privately let into the palace in d

the night-time, and conducted to the emperor's room, where they dispatched him

with many wounds, before the guards could come to his relief. When they received the alarm, Leo Abalantius, cutting off the emperor's head, shewed it out of the window; which unexpected fight struck the guards with such terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince's death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther defigns the conspirators had in view J. Such was the end of Nicephorus Phocas, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and leventh of his reign. He was without all doubt a prince of great valour and experience in war, gained several signal victories over the Saracens, drove them out of the illand of Cyprus, recovered Cilicia and the greater part of Syria and Ajia Minor, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived e longer, restored the empire to its antient splendor. But his abominable covetousness, and the exorbitant taxes with which he loaded his subjects, estranged from him the minds of the people; so that he was, notwithstanding the glory he had acquired in arms, univerfally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were fo far from revenging his death, that they received the news of it with the greatest

by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprize, and return to Constantinople b. b

A fleet, with a great number of troops on board; was fent from Egypt a

Antioch besieged.

The siege raifed.

Antioch sur-

A conspiracy against Nicephorus.

dered.

Who is mour-

demonstrations of joy imaginable. Nicephorus being thus murdered, John Zimisces was proclaimed by the conspirators, and by all acknowledged emperor. His first care was to remove from their employments, both in the state and army, all the friends of the deceased emperor, and among the rest Leo, the brother of Nicephorus, whom he confined to the island of Lesbos, f All those who had been banished by his predecessor he recalled, and restored them to their former honours. When he thought himself by this means thoroughly settled on the throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch. But Polyenclus, meeting him at the door, opposed his entrance, telling him, that he could not fuffer the church to be profaned by one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his fovereign, till he had atoned by a publice penance for so enormous a crime. Zimisces heard the patriarch with great submission; and being

unwilling to quarrel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered himfelf

John Zimifces proclaimed emperor.

> b Idem Ibid. CEDREN. in Niceph.

4 CUROPALAT. CEPRE'S ZONAS. ibid.

ready

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a ready to give what satisfaction should be thought proper, alledging at the same time in his own defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by Ablantius, at the instigation of the empress. Hereupon the patriarch commanded him to banish them both, and to revoke all the edicts published by his predecessor to the prejudice of the church and the ecclefiattics; which he readily complying with, and at the same time promising to settle his paternal estate on the poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he was crowned with great folemnity on He is crowned Christmas-day. As for the empress Theophano, she was banished into Armenia, and by the patrithere thut up in a monastery. Some writers are of opinion, that the opposition made by the patriarch was not real, but feigned, and concerted beforehand between him b and Zimisces, who only wanted a plausible pretence to remove her. However that be, the new emperor took her two sons Basilius and Constantine for his collegues, and caused them to be acknowledged as such by the senate and people of Constantinople. In the mean time the Saracens, hearing of the death of Nicephorus, raised without loss of time one of the most numerous armies that had been seen for some ages in those parts; and giving the command of it to one Zochares, a person well skilled in the art of war, fat down before Antioch, not doubting but they should be able to reduce the place, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But in spite of their utmost efforts, the besieged held out, till Nicolas, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raifed what forces he could in Mesopotamia, and the neighc bouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and The Saracens obliged them to raise the siege, and return with shame and disgrace to their own defeated before territories. The following year ozo the Rass having driven out the Pollowing year ozo the Rass having driven out the Pollowing. territories. The following year 970, the Rossi having driven out the Bulgarians, and feized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thousand men into the dominions of the empire; and having wasted all Thrace, fat down before Adrianople. Zimisces having first endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement with them, ordered Bardas Sclerus, or the bold, his wife's brother, to make head against them with what troops he could draw together. Bardas, pursuant to his orders, marched strait to Adrianople; but not daring to venture an engagement, as he had with him but thirteen thousand men, he had recourse to stratagems; and having d drawn a strong party of the enemy into an ambuscade, he first cut them all off to The Rossi a man; and then falling, when least expected, upon the main body of their army, defeated by he gave them a total overthrow, put most of them to the sword, took an incredible Bardas Scierus. number of prisoners, and would not have suffered one to escape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the pursuit. The Romans are said to have lost but twenty-five men in both engagements. The fuccess which attended the emperor's arms abroad, did not deter feveral of the nobility from conspiring against him at home, with a defign to raise to the empire Bardas Phocas, the late prince's nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends at Constantinople, withdrew on a sudden out of Amasia, the place of his banishment; and being joined Bardas Phocas e by several persons of distinction, made himself master of Cafarea in Cappadocia, revolts. and there took upon him the imperial title and enfigns. At the same time Leo, the father of Phocas, who had been confined to the island of Lesbos, attempted to make his escape from thence with his other fon Nicephorus, in order to join Bardas; but being apprehended by the emperor's officers, both he and Nicephorus were fentenced to death, but foon after pardoned by the good-natured emperor. In the mean time Bardas Sclerus, who had been dispatched by the emperor at the head of a confiderable army against Phocas, arriving at Dorylaus, the capital of Phrygia, endeavoured first by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been strictly injoined by the emperor to abstain as much as possible from f shedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and promises, he left Dorylaus, and advanced to Cafarea, in order to lay siege to the place. Upon his approach, those who had appeared the most fanguine in the revolt, agreed among themselves to abandon Phocas, and consult their own safety. Accordingly they Is abandoned by withdrew with their attendants, before Bardas invested the place; so that Phocas, his followers. who had with him but a small number of troops, thought it adviseable to retire from Cæsarea, and shut himself up in a strong castle called Cyropaum, which at first he refolved to defend to the utmost extremity. But when Bardas invested the place,

The rebellion suppressed. the same time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he submitted; and a depending upon the promises of Bardas, delivered himself up into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but to prevent his raising new disturbances, confined him to the island of Chios. The rebellion being thus suppressed, the emperor married with great solemnity Theodora, according to some, the sister, according to others, the daughter, of the late emperor Romanus. The following year 971. the emperor, being informed that the Rossi, notwithstanding their late deseat, were preparing to invade the empire anew, resolved to be beforehand with them. Accordingly having raised a powerful army, and committed the administration of affairs at home to such as he thought he had the greatest reason to conside in, he set out from Constantinople early in the spring; and marching with great expedition over mount b Hæmus, invested Perstbalba, the principal city of Bulgaria, before the enemy received the least intelligence of his approach. A party of the Rossi, consisting of eight thousand men, attempted to throw themselves into the city, but were all to a man either cut

The emperor invades the country of the Ross.

Takes their metropolis by as[ault.

The citadel taken.

The Rossi aeseated with great slaugh-

Dorosterum besieged. The Rossi over come in a second battle.

off, or taken prisoners, by the Romans: among the latter was Sphagellus, a person of great authority among the Bulgarians. The Romans, animated with this success, attacked the city with great refolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, by the approach of night, to retire to their camp, before they could master it. Early next morning Zimisces, having drawn out his men, offered the besieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the fignal for a general attack. Rossi made a most vigorous resistance; but the Romans prevailing in the end, the c city was taken, and great numbers of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, put to the sword by the incensed soldiery. Eight thousand Scythians, part of the garison, finding the Romans masters of the city, retired to the citadel, with a design to defend themselves there to the last extremity. As the castle stood on a steep rock, and the Romans were already greatly fatigued, they seemed inclined to put off the affault to the next day. But Zimisces advancing in person against the enemy at the head of a small band of chosen men, the whole army followed him, every one striving who should first thrust himself between his prince, and the danger that threatened him. The Scythians fought like men in despair; but the Romans, after a terrible flaughter on both fides, made themselves in the end masters of the d place. All the Scylbians were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the sword. In the city, when the first fury of the soldiery was over, the women and children were spared, and, together with such men as were found without arms, made prisoners. Among the captives was Borifes, king of the Bulgarians, who being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received by him in a manner fuitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and released with his wife and children, and all the Bulgarians, Zimisces declaring he was at war with none but the Ross. The city of Perstbalba was utterly destroyed; but the emperor, having caused it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name Joannopolis. From thence he marched to Dorosterum, a city of great strength on the Danube, where he was met by the e army of the Rolli, three hundred and thirty thousand strong. However, he resolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the most bloody battles enfued we find mentioned in history. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining fometimes to one fide, and fometimes to another. As night approached, the left wing of the Rossi began to give ground, which the emperor observing, he charged them at the head of a chosen body with such resolution, that they betook themselves in the end to a precipitous and disorderly slight. Upon their retreat, the Romans, animated by the example of their prince, fell with fresh vigour upon the main body of the enemy, and bearing all down before them, carried the day. The Rossi fled in the utmost consusion to Dorosterum, whither the emperor pursued f them, and laid close siege to the place, which brought on a second battle, wherein the Rossi were defeated anew with great slaughter. However, they still held out, and in their daily fallies made a dreadful havock of the Romans, till their provisions failing them, they unanimously agreed to quit the city, and open themselves a way, fword in hand, through the midst of the Roman army. This they attempted with great boldness and resolution, and succeeded in the attempt, tho' great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitous flight. Their general, by name Sphendosthalbus, finding himself no longer in a condition to make head against the Romans, sent embassadors to the emperor, offering to relinquish Bulgaria, and conclude a peace upon the following terms; viz. That g

a he should be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen should be suffered to return home unmolested; and that a free commerce should be settled between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, readily agreeing to these articles, the treaty was concluded, and A peace befigned by both parties. After this Sphendoft balbus went to wait on the emperor, who tween the two received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him with great magnificence, nations. and dismissed him loaded with rich presents. The Rossi being obliged, on their way home, to pass through the territories of the Patzinaca, that herce and savage people fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut off the general, and most of his men. The war with the Rossi being thus ended, to the great reputation of Zimisces, and b the fafety of the empire, the emperor caused all the towns on the Danube to be fortified, and then returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He was met at some distance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the senate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses, richly caparisoned; but he, placing the image of the virgin Mary in the chariot, followed it in a folemn procession mounted on a white horse, and thus entered the city amidst the joyful acclamations of the people s. During the war with the Ross, several cities in the east, which had been reduced by his predecessor, revolted, which obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore Constantinople, he marched into the eastern provinces; and having reduced Zimisces recoe several cities, partly by force, partly by fair promises, he advanced as far as Damascus, vers several conditions and there resided some since applying him felt with great case to the office of some cities in the and there resided some time, applying himself with great care to the affairs of state. east. During his stay in the east, he was informed, that Basilius the eunuch had engrossed almost the whole wealth of those provinces to himself; that most of the fine palaces, and fruitful territories, which he observed on the road, belonged to him; that in the late reign he had oppressed the people in a most cruel manner, &c. Upon which he broke out with a figh into this expression; How unhappy is the present condition of the Roman empire, which is thus pillaged by an avaricious and aspiring eunuch! Basilius had ferved with great reputation under feveral emperors in their wars with the Saracens; and as he was a man of great authority, had not a little contributed to d the promotion of Nicephorus, who out of gratitude raised him to the post of prime minister, in which he was continued by Zimisces, on account of his great knowledge and experience in affairs of state. As he had many friends at court, he was soon informed of the emperor's reflection; and apprehending he might be called to an account, he refolved to prevent, by some means or other, the evil consequences, which he had reason to fear would attend it. Accordingly, by large presents, and greater promises, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to administer him poison; which brought him to his end, before he reached Constantinople. Tho' he mistrusted He is poisoned his prime minister, yet he would not suffer any inquiries to be made about the ly Basilius the treason, but spent the short time he lived in exercises of christian piety. He died ennuch. e in 976, after having reigned fix years and as many months, and was univerfally lamented, especially by the inhabitants of Constantinople, whom he had eased of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessors. He is deserv- His character. edly reckoned amongst the best and greatest emperors on account of his equity, moderation, courage and piety, in which he excelled most of his predecessors. He was the first who caused the image of our Saviour to be engraved on the coins, with this legend, Jejus Christ, the King of kings. The writers of those times tell us, that in the last battle with the Rossi, a champion on a white horse was observed by the whole army fighting before the first ranks; that to his single valour was owing the victory gained on that occasion; and that as he had never been seen before, and f disappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be St. Theodore, the martyr, on whose anniversary the victory was obtained. The emperor himself seemed to be of this opinion; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the

name of Euchaneia, the city in which it stood, to that of Theodoropolis h. Zimisces dying without children, appointed Basilius and Constantine, the sons of Basilius and the late emperor Romanus, by Theophano, for his successors. But as both princes Constanting. were under age, the eldest being but nineteen, and the other seventeen, Basilius, the eunuch, took upon him the administration; and the better to establish his authority, recalled Theophano, the young princes mother, who had been banished by Zimisces.

CUROPALAT. ibid. CEDREN. & LEO GRAMM. in Zimisc. h CUROPALAT. ibid. His next care was to remove Bardas Sclerus, of whom we have spoken above. He a

usurps the

sovereignty;

had been rewarded for his eminent services by Zimisces with the chief command of all the forces in the east, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This gave no small jealousy to the prime minister, who thereupon deprived him of his command, and sent him into Mesopotamia, to restrain the incursions of the Saracens into that province. Sclerus broke out into bitter invectives against Bafilius; but the prime minister threatening to deprive him of all his employments, and confine him to his house, he thought it adviseable to obey the orders he had received, and to depart into the province which had been affigued him. He carried with him a firm refolution of being revenged on his rival; and accordingly, foon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers b of the army with his delign, who all to a man promifing to stand by him, and Bardas Sclerus encouraging him to fet up for himfelf, he caused himfelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was faluted as fuch with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having spent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the Saracens, who fent him large supplies of money and horses, he set forward in the beginning of the spring towards Constantinople, Basilius, struck with terror and dismay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending storm. He dispatched orders to Peter, who had been appointed, in the room of Sclerus, commander of the forces in the east, to draw together all his troops, and encamp with his whole army in the neighbourhood of Cafarea. At the same time Syncellus, c bishop of Nicomedia, a man famed for his eloquence, and the holiness of his life, was fent to try whether he could prevail upon Sclerus to quit his unjust pretensions, and disband his army. The usurper received the prelate with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection; and having heard him in appearance with great submission, returned him this short answer; That having once appeared in the purple, he was firmly resolved never to quit it but with his life. Upon the return of the bishop to court, Peter was ordered to secure all the passes, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in case he was attacked, but by no means to begin hostilities. Peter, purfuant to his orders, posted strong parties in all the passes; but Sclerus having, in spite of all opposition, opened himself a way into Cappadocia, encamped at a small d distance from the imperial army. Hereupon several skirmishes ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But at length Sclerus, falling unexpectedly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of desence; and having forced the rest to save themselves by flight, made himself master of their camp, in which he found great sums of money, and an immense quantity of arms and provisions. The same of this victory induced most of the eastern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for Sclerus, who, elated with this success, would not so much as admit to his presence the embassadors, who were sent to him with very honourable and advantageous proposals. In the mean time Leo, who had been appointed e to fucceed Peter in the command of the army, arriving in Phrygia, marched from thence at the head of a strong detachment into the eastern provinces, which had fubmitted to the usurper, but had been left quite destitute of troops. This obliged Sclerus to divide his army, and fend a body of men to cover those countries. But Leo falling in with them on their march, a battle enfued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of Sclerus's men being slain, and many taken prisoners. The usurper, alarmed at the news of this defeat, lest Cappadocia, and hastening after Leo, came up with him in a few days march, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Most of the chief officers in the emperor's army were flain, and Leo himself taken prisoner, with several other persons of great distinction. f Such of them as had abandoned Sclerus to fide with Leo, had their eyes pulled out by the usurper's orders at the head of the army. As for Leo himself, he was treated with great civility, but kept under close confinement. Bardas, animated with this fuccess, marched strait to Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, not doubting but he should carry the place at the first affault. But Manuel Eroticus, whom Basilius had fent with a confiderable body of troops to defend it, repulfed the usurper in several succeffive attempts with fuch vigour, that, despairing of being able to take a place so well garisoned by force, he resolved to reduce it by famine. Manuel, apprised of his design, and sensible of the great streights to which the numerous garison would be foon reduced, filled the empty granaries with fand, which he strewed over with g

And defeats the emperor's army.

He gains another victory.

He lays siege to Nice.

a corn, and shewed them to some prisoners he had taken; who, being dismissed, represented to Sclerus, that he attempted in vain to reduce a place by famine, that was so plentifully supplied with corn. Soon after, Manuel fent deputies to acquaint Sclerus, that, confidering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to furrender upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the garifon should be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to pass unmolested to Constantinopte. To these conditions the usurper readily consented; but was highly provoked, when, The place sur entering the city, he discovered the deceit, and found the place quite destitute of pro-renders. vilions. Sclerus, after the reduction of Nice, was preparing to march to Constantinople, where he had many friends, who were ready to declare for him as foon as he b appeared. But in the mean time Bardas Phocas, whom Bafilius had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief against Sclerus, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could draw together, at Amorium, the usurper thought it advisable to march in the first place against him. Accordingly he hastened with all his forces to Amorium; and coming there to an engagement, put Phocas's army to the rout. Tho' Phocas himself discharged all the Bardas Phocas offices of a valiant foldier, and experienced officer, yet his foldiers were so dispirited defeated by by former defeats, that he could neither with words nor his example inspire them Scierus. with courage. Phocas, no longer able to keep the field, retired to Phrygia, and having there received large supplies out of Iberia, and the other provinces, which e continued stedfast in their allegiance, he resolved to venture a second engagement. Accordingly, leaving Phrygia, he advanced into Cappadocia, where he found Sclerus encamped on a large plain named Pancalea, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but Phocas's men beginning, after an oblinate dilpute, to give ground, the brave general, determined to conquer or perish, opened himself a way, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and there engaging Sclerus himself, dangerously wounded him. Some of the enemy's officers, apprifed of the danger their general was in, hastened to his rescue; and finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring fountain, there to wash his wound, and refresh him, as he was fainting with drought. d In the mean time his horse running in with his bloody main among the ranks, his foldiers concluded from thence, that their general was flain; which occasioned such consternation in the army, that, instead of pursuing the emperor's troops, who had, in spite of Phocas's utmost endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themselves in the greatest Bardas gains a confusion, some throwing themselves headlong down vast precipices, others taking to complete victory over Scientific Halys, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the rus, day turned, and the victory, by a lucky mistake, snatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were pursued with great slaughter by Phocas. Sclerus escaped with a small body of horse to Martyropolis, and from thence to Babylon, to implore the Who slies to protection and affiltance of Chofrhoes, fultan of the place; which the emperor Bafilius Babyion. e no sooner understood, than he dispatched embassadors to Chosrhoes, representing to him the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting fuch as had, by an open revolt, taken arms against another. The embassadors were at the same time injoined to affure Sclerus in the emperor's name, that he should not only be pardoned, but received into favour, and restored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretensions, and returned home. Chosrboes, finding the embassadors were privately treating with Sclerus, ordered both him and them to be thrown into prison, whence we shall see him in a short time released, to raise new disturbances in the empire.

THE rebellion of Sclerus being thus suppressed, the emperor Basilius, who had taken the administration into his own hands, resolved to be revenged on the Bulgarif ans, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the east. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, and, without imparting his design either to Phocas, or any other of his generals in the east, he entered Bulgaria; and leaving Leo Melissenus to secure the narrow passes behind Basilius enters him, he marched strait to Sardica. But while he was preparing to lay siege to that Bulgaria. important place, Stephen, commander in chief of the western forces, and an avowed and irreconcilable enemy to Leo Melissenus, coming in the dead of the night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aside all other designs whatsoever, and to return with all possible expedition to Constantinople, whither Leo had already marched, with

But returns with disgrace.

Birdas Phocas proclaimed

emperor.

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They agree to divide the em-

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Phocas.

a delign to feize on the fovereignty in his absence. The emperor, alarmed at this a unexpected news, and apprehending the enemy might, by feizing on the posts which Leo was said to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in a great fright his army to march the same night; which being observed by Samuel, prince of the Bulgarians, he fell upon them in their retreat, and put great numbers of them to the fword. The emperor with great difficulty reached Philippopolis, where he found Leo carefully attending his duty on the station which had been assigned him. Hereupon, highly provoked against Stephen, who had thus imposed upon him, he immediately discharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. Stephen however maintained to the last, that Leo really intended to usurp the empire; which incensed the emperor to fuch a degree, that he could not forbear striking him, and dragging b him in a violent passion on the ground by his hair and long beard k. The emperor had undertaken the Bulgarian expedition, as we have observed above, without imparting his design to Bardas Phocas, commander in chief of all the eastern forces. This that general highly resented; and apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counsels, he began to entertain thoughts of usurping the supreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted the motive of his discontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promised to support him to the last; so that after several private conferences, they all met at the house of one Eustathius Melenius, and there investing Phocas with the imperial ornaments, unanimously proclaimed him emperor. At the same time Bardas Sclerus, of c whom we have spoken above, being set at liberty by Chosrboes sultan of Babylon, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thousand Roman captives, the fultan having granted them their liberty, in regard of their eminent services against the rebellious Persians. With these Sclerus thought himself once more in a condition to renew his former pretentions; and accordingly entering Mejopotamia, caused himself to be there acknowledged emperor. But being in the mean time informed of the revolt of Phocas, after having been some time in suspense whether he Scierus, set at should join him or Basilius, he offered in the end to assist Phocas, and share the empire with him; but at the same time he advised his son Romanus privately to abandon him, and fly to Basilius at Constantinople. By this means, if Phocas prevailed, he d thought he should be able to obtain of him his son's pardon; and if Basilius got the better, he did not doubt but his fon would have interest enough to obtain his of the emperor. Romanus, upon his arrival at Constantinople, was received by Basilius with all possible demonstrations of kindness, and raised to the first employments in the state. But Sclerus met with a far different treatment from Phocas: they agreed at first to divide the empire between them; Sclerus was to have for his share Antioch, Phanicia, Palestine, Calosyria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt; Constantinople, with the rest of the provinces, was allotted to Phocas. This agreement being ratified and sworn to by both parties, Sclerus and Bardas joined their forces; which was no sooner done, Phocas betrays than Phocas caused Sclerus to be privately seized; and having stripped him of his e imperial ornaments, committed him to close prison. His men at first mutinied; but being overpowered with numbers, they were forced to submit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promises to serve under Phocas; who, being thus reinforced, fent Calocyrus Delphinus with part of his army to Chrysopolis, while he removed with the rest to Abydus, in order to besiege that important place, and after reducing it, to block up Constantinople itself. But in the mean time the emperor Basilius, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having passed the streights in the night, fell unexpectedly upon Delphinus; and having put his army to flight at the first onset, took him, and fome other officers of great note, prisoners, who were all immediately nailed to He lays siege to several trees on the highway, to strike terror into the rest. Phocas met with a vigor- f ous refistance at Abydus, the inhabitants and garifon being encouraged by the arrival of the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor Bafilius, and he foon after by his brother Constantine. Upon the arrival of the two princes, Phocas refolved to give them battle; and accordingly leaving part of his forces before Abydus to pursue the siege, he drew up the rest in a neighbouring plain. Some of the young princes generals advised them to throw themselves into Abydus, and there wait the arrival of fresh supplies; but the greater part thinking it adviseable to engage the enemy without loss of time, they marched at the head of their forces in battle-array

Abydus.

a into the plain where the usurper had drawn up his. But while both armies were ready to engage, or, as some write, when the battle was begun, Phocas was taken off. Phocas dies. The manner of his death is differently related: fome write, that his horse threw him, and that he died of the fall; others, that he was killed in the first onser. The emperor Constantine bragged, that he had killed him with his own hand; but the most received opinion is, that one of his domestics, by name Symeon, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, at the instigation of Basilius, administered him poison before the battle, of which he died foon after. Be that as it will, the report of his death was no fooner spread abroad in the army, than his men betook themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight. The emperor's forces pursued them close, cut great b numbers of them in pieces, and having taken most of the leading men of the party prisoners, conveyed them to Constantinople, where they were punished according to their deferts, some being publicly executed, and others stripped of their estates, and fent into banishment. However, the death of Phocas, and the defeat of his army, did not put an end to the civil wars; for such of the party as had the good luck to make their escape, having set Sclerus at liberty, encouraged him to pursue his former Sclerusset at pretensions; and he, tho' now in a very advanced age, hearkening to their sugge-liberty. ttions, put himself at their head, and marching into Cappadocia, reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering him his favour and protection, and his fon Romanus earnestly intreating him at the c same time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the small remainder of his life in peace and tranquillity among his friends and relations, he was prevailed He submits. upon to quit his pretentions, and return to Constantinople, where he was received by Basilius with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great steward of the houshold. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the same employments, or preferred to others equally advantageous and honourable. We are told, that when he first appeared before Basilius, supported, on account of his age and corpulency, by two of his domeftics, the emperor, in reflecting how much he had dreaded him, could hardly forbear

THE civil war being thus happily ended, Basilius took a progress into Thrace and Basilius. wishes Macedon; and having left a sufficient number of troops at Thessalonica to a we the Bul- the eastern green garians, he passed over into Asia with the rest, to settle the affairs of the eastern pro-vinces. vinces. On his march through Cappadocia, he was entertained with his whole army by Eustathius Melenius, commander of the troops in that province. The wealth which Melenius displayed on that occasion, gave the emperor such umbrage, that, pretending a particular esteem for him, he took him with him to Constantinople, whence he never after suffered him to depart, lest he should raise disturbances in the empire; and, after his death, feized on his vast estate. The emperor, upon his return to Constantinople, was informed, that Samuel, king of the Bulgarians, had furprised the city of Thessalonica, and having crossed the Peneus, was laying waste Thesfaly, Baotia, Attica; nay, that some of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of Peloponnesus. Hereupon Nicephorus Uranus, commander in chief of the western His war with forces, was dispatched against him, at the head of a powerful army. Uranus, leav- the Bulgarians. ing his baggage at Larisa, reached by long marches the Sperchius, and encamped with his whole army over-against the enemy, who lay on the opposite bank. As the river was greatly swelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, Samuel, not imagining the Romans would attempt to pais it, suffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in quest of booty. But Uranus, having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, passed it in the dead of the night; and falling unexpectf edly on the Bulgarians who were left in the camp, and lay for the most part asseep, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took their baggage, with many prisoners, and Samuel, king of made themselves masters of their camp. Samuel and his son were dangerously the Bulgarians. wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed defeated. themselves among the dead. The next night they stole away to the mountains of Etolia, and from thence made their escape into Bulgaria. The following year 1001. the emperor Basilius entered Bulgaria at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; and having defeated Samuel in a pitched battle on the banks of the Axius, took Vidina, Scopi, and several other strong cities. However, the emperor narrowly

Comuel dies.

emperor.

Ibatzes alone bolds out.

A desperate a tempt of Daphnomelus.

Bulgaria in-

escaped being cut off with his whole army in the streights of Cimba, where he was a unexpectedly attacked by Samuel; but refcued from the danger he was in by the feasonable arrival of Nicephorus Xiphias, governor of Philippopolis, who falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. Basilius pursued them close, and having taken an incredible number of prisoners, caused their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to Samuel; who, not able to stand the shock of so terrible and affecting a spectacle, fell into a deep swoon, and died two days after. Samuel was succeeded by his son Gabriel, who was soon after murdered by John Bladist blabus, a person nearly related to him. Bladist blabus, having caused himself to be acknowledged prince of the Bulgarians, sent embassadors to Basilius, offering to submit to any terms, and to own himself, and behave on all b occasions, as a subject and vasfal of the empire. The emperor received the embasfadors in a very obliging manner, but the new prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, Bafilius returned the following year into Bulgaria, firmly refolved not to sheath his sword, till he had intirely reduced it. Accordingly, having in the space of two years made himself master of most of the enemy's strong-holds, and gained several victories over Bladistblabus, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length flain in a battle fought near Achridus, the Bulgarians fent deputies to the Roman camp, with offers The Bulgarians of a total and unfeigned submission. Basilius received them with his usual civility; and having raised to the rank of patricians such of the Bulgarian nobility as seemed c most forward in surrendering their castles and strong-holds, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of Achridus, where he found the vast treasures of the Bulgarian princes, which he distributed, by way of donative, amongst his soldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her fix daughters, and three of her fons, delivered herself up to the emperor, who received her with the greatest kindness and respect, and entertained her fuitable to her rank. This obliging behaviour in the emperor encouraged her three other fons, with most of the princes of the blood, who had taken shelter among the mountains, to submit, and throw themselves upon the emperor's mercy. However, Ibatzes, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner during the whole course of the war, d refusing to submit, fled to a steep and craggy mountain, with a design to desend himself there to the last extremity. Basilius endeavoured by fair means to induce him to submit to necessity, and comply with the present posture of affairs; but he equally despising the emperor's threats and promises, Eustathius Daphnomelus, whom Basilius had lately appointed governor of Achridus, without imparting to any one his delign, repaired, with two perfons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where Ibatzes had fortified himself. He hoped to pass undiscovered among the many strangers, who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feast of the assumption of the virgin Mary, for whom Ibatzes had a particular veneration; but being known to the guards, he was feized, and carried before Ibatzes, to whom he pretended to have matters of e the greatest importance to communicate. Ibatzes received him in a very obliging manner; and having, at his request, followed him into a remote place, Daphnomelus threw himself all on a sudden upon him; and his two men, who attended at some distance, and with whom the whole scheme had been concerted before-hand, coming up, and thrusting their cloaths violently into his mouth, pulled out both his eyes, and got fafe to an abandoned castle on the top of the hill; which Ibatzes's men invested on all sides, as soon as they heard of the missortune which had befallen their leader. But Daphnomelus exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were destitute of a leader, to submit to the emperor, by whom, he affured them, they should be well received, and amply rewarded, instead of f attacking the castle, they congratulated Daphnomelus on his success, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the Romans. Hereupon Dathnomelus, quitting the castle, carried Ibatzes, without the least opposition, to Basilius, who no less surprised at the boldness than the success of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of Dyrrachium, and all the rich moveables of his prisoner. Basilius, having thus at length accomplished the intire reduction of Bulgaria, returned with an incredible number of prisoners and hostages to Constantinople, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by the senate and people. After the conclusion of this war, which began in 995. and ended in 1019. the emperor undertook an expedition into Iberia; but with what success, we are no where told. During his absence, g Xiphius,

rather the Constantinopolitan princes.

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a Xiphius, and Nicephorus the son of Bardas Phocas, revolted; but Xiphius, being gained over by Basilius, put a stop to the rebellion, by dispatching his fellow-conspirator. Basilius proceeded with great severity against all who had been, or were only suspected of having been, privy to the conspiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occasion either put to death, or sent into exile; which occasioned some commotions at Constantinople: but the ringleaders being seized, and publicly executed, the city was restored to its former tranquillity. In 1025, the emperor, tho' then in the Basilius reseventieth year of his age, resolved to engage in a new war against the Saracens, who solves to make had settled in Sicily, and committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Naples and Saracens; Calabria; which countries were still subject to the empire. Accordingly, having b affembled a powerful army, and equipped a mighty fleet, he fent before a strong body of forces, under the conduct of Orestes, his favourite eunuch, with a design to follow in person soon after with the rest of the army; but was prevented by death, But is preventwhich overtook him in the month of December of the year 1025. after he had lived ed by death. feventy years, and reigned fifty. He was highly esteemed by his subjects, on account of his application to public affairs, and his success in the long and bloody war, which he undertook against the Bulgarians. But as his jealousy increased with his years, towards the close of his reign he grew inexorably severe; on which account he was rather feared than beloved by his subjects. The absolute conquest of Bulgaria, which had been in vain attempted by so many of his predecessors, but was happily accome plished by him, has rendered the name of Basilius II. famous among the Roman, or

## CHAP. XXXV.

## The Roman history, from the death of Basilius II. to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

BY the death of Basilius, Constantine, who had borne the name of emperor in con-Constantine, junction with his brother, remained sole master of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious and indolent prince, he intirely neglected all public affairs, to His wicked follow his private diversions, suffering his ministers, most of them persons no less reign. infamous than himself, to oppress the provinces without controul, and lay on the people what burdens they thought sit. By this means the empire, which had begun to revive under Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basilius, was, in the short reign of Constantine, brought to as low an ebb as it had ever been at. Such persons as had, either by Several persons their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from of diffinition their employments, to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries. put to death, or e Nicephorus Comnenus, a person no less esteemed for his virtue, than his experience in war, was at the same time deprived of his command and his sight, under pretence of conspiring against the emperor, tho, in reality, his eminent virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. Bardas, the son of the celebrated Phocas, who had ferved Bafilius with the utmost fidelity, and distinguished himself on many occasions in a most eminent manner, was treated with the like severity, for no other reason, but because his extraordinary merit gave umbrage to the emperor's favourites. Many other persons of great distinction, who seemed to dislike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or fent into exile. Such proceedings raifed a general discontent at home, and at the same f time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were restrained by the care and vigilance of those who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the state, that Constantine's reign was short; for he had scarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerously ill, and was given vol. VI. No 8. 7 M ceffor,

ceffor, some proposing Constantine Delassenus, commander of the forces in Armenia, 2 and others using all their interest in favour of Romanus Argyrus, a person of an antient family, and nearly related to the emperor. As Constantine had three daughters, it was agreed, that whoever succeeded him should marry one of them. Romanus was already married, and therefore feemed by this agreement to be excluded from the empire; but his friends, who were the most powerful at court, and the emperor's chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and fending for him, to put it to his choice either to be deprived of his fight, or to divorce his wife, and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, be raised to the dignity of Casar. Romanus seemed at first inclined rather to lose his eyes, and the imperial dignity, than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but she, informed of what passed, b retired immediately to a monaftery, and by embracing there a monaftic life, made room for Zoe, the emperor's fecond daughter, to whom Romanus was married, and at the same time created Casar. Three days after the nuptials, Constantine died, in the year 1028. the seventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a collegue.

Romanus, thus raised to the empire, began his reign by easing the people of the

Confrantine dies.

Romanus II.

person against

the Saracens.

many taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessor; which gained him the hearts of his subjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no less remarkable; for they were all ranfomed at his private expence, supplied with money to defray the charges of their journey, and fent back to their respective countries m. c In his fecond year, the Saracens, who had continued quiet in the reign of Basilius, but had begun to prepare for war in that of Constantine, broke into that part of Syria which belonged to the Romans, and, with their daily incursions, greatly harassed the territory of Antioch. Spondyles, who commanded the troops quartered in Antioch and that neighbourhood, endeavoured to restrain them; but being in several encounters worsted, and put to slight, the emperor resolved to march in person into Syria, and retrieve, if possible, the reputation of the Roman arms there. Pursuant to this resolution, he fet out from Constantinople, at the head of a very numerous and formidable army. But before he had advanced far on his way, he was met by embassadors from the Saracens of Berwa, who, alarmed at his vast preparations, were come to sue d for peace, promising at the same time to pay their usual tribute for the suture, and never more to infelt the territories of the empire. Most of the officers in the army advised Romanus to accept of their submission, and not to engage rashly in a war, which, in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expensive. But he, promifing himself great glory and advantages from that expedition, dismissed the embassadors with disdain, and entering Syria, detached a strong party to observe the enemy's motions. The party, falling unhappily into an ambulcade, were all cut off to a man; and the Saracens, elated with this success, attacked unexpectedly Constantine Delassenus, who had been fent out with a strong body of troops to cover the Roman foragers, put him to flight at the first onset, and pursued him to the very gates of the camp, e which they invested on all sides. The emperor's army being soon reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, and above all of water, it was agreed in a council of war, that they should decamp in the night, and march to Antioch. But the Saracens, who carefully watched their motions, falling upon them with great vio-His army is cut lence in their retreat, put most of them to the sword, the emperor himself escaping with the utmost difficulty to Antioch. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage; The baggage of which however was recovered by George Maniaces, at that time governor of a small town in those parts, in the following manner: Eight hundred Saracens, loaded with covered by Ma- the rich plunder of the emperor's camp, appeared before the place, and affirming that the emperor himself was taken, and his army totally defeated, summoned Maniaces f to furrender. Maniaces, already informed of the emperor's escape, but pretending to give credit to what they said, fent them out a great quantity of provisions to refresh themselves that night, and promised to deliver up the town to them as soon as it was light. Hereupon the enemy, without the least distrust, passed the greater part of the night in mirth and jollity; but when, after having eaten and drank to a great excess, they were all asleep, Maniaces, fallying out, cut them all off to a man, without the least opposition; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded with the spoils of the Roman army, he sent them to the emperor, who rewarded him

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a for this seasonable piece of service with the government of Media a. In the mean time Romanus, having with much-ado reached Cappadocia, returned from thence, with the remains of his shattered army, to Constantinople; and there laying aside all thoughts of any warlike attempts for the future, made it his whole study to fill the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predecessor. In order to this, he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have Romanus opbeen utterly forgotten, and proceeded with fuch rigour in the recovery of them, that preffes the peomany persons of distinction were driven from their estates, and reduced with their ple. families to beggary. These severe exactions raised a general discontent in the people, which gave rife to feveral plots and conspiracies, for the most part carried on by b Theodora, the late emperor's youngest daughter, who was on that account confined to a monastery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we shall see her hereaster exchange for the imperial purple. In 1033. the fourth of Romanus's reign, a dread-several public ful plague broke out in Cappadocia, and raged with fuch violence in that province, calamities. as well as in Paphlagonia and Armenia, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings, and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which destroyed several cities, and overturned many stately edifices at Constantinople, where it was felt for the space of forty days. At the same time a comet appeared, which passed with a terrible noise from the north to the fouth, the whole horizon feeming to be in a flame. Romanus, The emperor alarmed at these, and several other public calamities and prodigies, with which the applies himself histories of those times are filled, applied himself wholly to works of piety, hoping wholly to works by that means to avert the wrath of Heaven, which seemed to threaten the empire. of piery. He erected several hospitals for the relief of the poor, repaired those which had been destroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, supplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monasteries, bestowing on the monks whole cities, and the most fruitful lands in the provinces, purchased by him at the public expence. In the mean time the empress Zoe, a most lewd and incontinent woman, despising her husband, now in the fixty-fixth year of his age, cast her eyes on Michael, the brother of John The empress d an eunuch, in great authority with the emperor. As Michael, tho' meanly born, falls in love was a man of a most comely aspect, of a graceful person, and great address, the with Michael. empress began to entertain a violent passion for him; which, as she abandoned herself to it, grew in a short time so powerful, that she resolved to dispatch her husband, and marry him. Accordingly, having imparted her design to such of her creatures as the could confide in, poifon was administred by them to the unhappy prince, which, in a short time, reduced him to a most deplorable condition. However, the empress, thinking it too flow in its operation, hired an affaffin to dispatch him, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreshing himself, held his head under water till he Romanus expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or, as others write, on the fifteenth murdered. e of April of the year 1034. after he had reigned five years, and fix months.

Romanus being dead, the empress Zoe sent for the patriarch Alexius in great haste, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for Good-friday; for on that day the emperor was murdered. As Alexius had been fent for in Romanus's name, he was greatly furprifed, when he heard he was dead; and much more, when the empress, upon his being introduced to her, ordered him to marry her to Michael. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for fome time; but was in the end, with a present of an hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to Michael the comply. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor acquainted the people Paphlagonian with the death of Romanus, and his own marriage with Zoe, who, he faid, had taken marries Zoe, him for her partner in the empire, to which the had an undoubted right. I extens to f him for her partner in the empire, to which she had an undoubted right. Letters to the empire. the fame purpose were dispatched into the provinces, where none of the great men feemed displeased at the promotion of Michael, except Constantine Delassenus, who had been named by some to succeed Basilius II. and being, on account of his rank and family, the first man in the empire, was highly offended, that a person of Michael's obscure birth should be preferred to him. But John the eunuch, Michael's brother, having, with repeated oaths, promifes and affeverations, prevailed upon him to come to court, banished him, as soon as he had him in his power, to the island

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finement, till he was fent for to court by the empress Zoe, as we shall relate hereafter. a At the same time John took care to remove, and, under various pretences, to send into exile, such as gave him the least umbrage, or seemed to be ill-affected to his tion banished by family: Constantius Monomachus, afterwards emperor, was confined to a castle; Maniaces, who was highly effeemed and beloved by the people, was fent into Upper Media, under pretence of restraining the incursions of the Saracens; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their estates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to John, having thus established his brother's interest in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate of Romanus; and distrusting the fickle temper of Zoe, removed from her all the women, in whom she reposed any confidence; and b discharging her eunuchs, appointed others, in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch her; so that she could not stir out of the palace without his know-The empress, highly provoked at the restraint put upon her, ledge and consent. and looking upon John as no other than her gaoler, endeavoured to get rid of him by poison; but the design being discovered, before it could be put in execution, the minister stood thenceforth on his guard, and watched her more narrowly. As for Michael the emperor, he fuffered John to govern with an absolute sway, applying himself wholly to his devotions. Being conscious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his fovereign, he hoped to atone for it by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hospitals, oratories, c &c. As he began to grow distempered in his body, and disordered in his mind, John, concluding that, if he died, the empress would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if the succeeded therein, to gratify her revenge with the utter ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer Michael, surnamed Calaphates, his fifter's fon, to the dignity of Cafar, and to banish all the friends and relaphates created tions of the empress Zoe°. In the third year of Michael's reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the Saracens of Egypt, whose kalif being dead, his widow is faid to have embraced the christian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her subjects and the Romans. The following year 1036, was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which overturned several cities in different parts d of the empire, and for an attempt of the Saracens on the city of Edessa, which nar-An attempt of rowly escaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, presenting themselves before the gates, with five hundred horses, and as many camels, loaded with large chefts, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying prefents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve embassadors, as they flyled themselves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horses and camels: which diffidence preserved the place; for the chests were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of the night, were to be let out, and, killing the centinels, to seize on the city. The design was discovered by an Armenian to the governor; who, fuddenly withdrawing from the banquet, e and taking a sufficient force with him, surprised and put to the sword all the Saracens without the town; then returning to his guests, treated them in the like manner, sparing but one, whose hands, ears and nose he cut off, and sent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened P. The Bulgarians ing year the Bulgarians revolted, and, shaking off the yoke, chose one Deleanus, or, as some call him, Dolianus, for their king. He was servant to a citizen of Constantinople; but escaping from his master, fled into Bulgaria, his native country; and there gave out, that he was the son of Gabriel, and grandson of Samuel. The Bulgarians, weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately submitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the Romans, who had the f misfortune to fall into their hands. At the same time the inhabitants of Dyrrachium, bitants of Dyr- no longer able to bear the cruel exactions of their governor Michael Dermocaitas, rose up against him, drove him out of the town, and despairing of pardon, openly revolted, and chose one Teichomerus, a soldier of great reputation amongst them, for their king. Deleanus, the new king of Bulgaria, no fooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to Teichomerus, offering to take him for his partner in the

And the inhatachium.

kingdom of Bulgaria, provided he joined him with all his followers. Teichomerus, not suspecting the least treachery, readily received him into Dyrrachium; but

a Deleanus, instead of performing his promise, caused the credulous and unhappy Teichemerus to be put to death; and then marching without loss of time to Thessalonica, where the emperor lay encamped, struck with his unexpected approach such terror into the Roman army, that they fled with Michael in the utmost confusion to Constant The emperor is tinople, leaving all their baggage behind them to the care of Manuel Ibatza, who, put to flight. betraying his trust, delivered it up to the enemy. In the mean time Alusianus, the brother of John the last king of Bulgaria, who, when that country submitted to Basilius, had been raised to the dignity of a patrician, having made his escape from Conflantinople, and got undiscovered into Bulgaria, was there received by his countrymen with great demonstrations of joy. As he was a real descendant of the royal b family, his arrival gave no small umbrage to Deleanus, who nevertheless, to ingratiate himself with the people, took him for his collegue in the empire, and sent him, at the head of forty thousand men, to lay siege to Thessalonica. Alusianus distinguished Thessalonica himself on that occasion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous opposition he besieged. met with from Constantine the patrician, obliged him to raise the siege and retire, after he had lost fifteen thousand men in the undertaking. Deleanus laid hold of this opportunity to leffen the credit of his collegue, giving out, that he maintained a private correspondence with the Romans. But Alusianus, apprised of his evil designs, refolved to be before-hand with him; and accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he caused his eyes to be plucked out; and then, distrusting the fickle c humour of the Bulgarians, returned to Constantinople, after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. Upon his return, Michael, tho' grievously afflicted with The emperor a dropfy, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and falling enters Bulgaupon the Bulgarians, now destitute of a head to advise and command them, put them it; intresposs to flight, and obliged them to submit anew to the yoke. After this, the emperor the empire. returned in triumph to Constantinople; but finding his distemper daily increased, he foon after diverted himself of the imperial purple, and entering into a monastery, which he himself had built, spent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of December 1041. after he had reigned seven years, and eight months. Upon his death, Michael Calaphates, his sister's son, who Michael Calad had been created Casar, and at the same time adopted by Zoe, as some authors write, phates. was proclaimed emperor. He, upon his accession to the empire, probably out of complaifance to Zoe, who appeared very zealous in his interest, banished his uncle John the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural feverity against his other relations, causing most of them, without any regard to their age or circumstances, to be made eunuchs. Over-jealous of his authority, he caused in the end the empress Zoe to be confined to a monastery, under pretence, that she had, by witchcrast and forcery, attempted to take away his life. His monstrous ingratitude to one, who had been chiefly instrumental in his promotion, and was still held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to fuch a degree, that breaking out into a general fedition, with an unanimous confent they fent for Theodora, the emperor Constantine's youngest daughter, who had been shut up in a monastery, as we have observed above, and saluted her empress, with her sister Zoe. Michael, Zoe and Theofinding the people universally bent against him, retired of his own accord, with his dora raised to uncle Constantine, to a monastery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping the sovereignty. by that means to appeale the inraged multitude. But Theodora, who was more

relations and adherents, Michael having enjoyed the fovereignty scarce four months q. Zoe, seeing herself once more invested with the sovereignty, banished all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile such as had served her sather and uncle, preferring them to the first employments in the state and army. Among the rest Maniaces, of whom we have spoken above, was sent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the western forces. Zoe had scarce reigned three months, when the people pressing her to marry, and by that means prevent the disturbances

9 CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

that might arise among competitors for the empire, she recalled from banishment Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, a person of a noble extraction, and comely aspect;

incensed against them than Zoe herself, moving that their eyes should be plucked out, the populace, breaking into the church of St. John the baptist, where they had taken

refuge, dragged them from the altar to the forum, and there, in a most cruel man-Michael dener, deprived them of their sight. After this, they were banished, with all their posed and ba-

and having married him, caused him to be crowned by the patriarch with the usual a Zoe marries Constantine Monomachus,

Maniaces revoies; but is msardered.

folemnity. He had been banished, during the reign of Michael, to the island of who is declared Lesbos, and from thence removed, at the instigation of John the eunuch, to Mitylene, where he was when sent for to court, and raised to the empire. He no sooner saw himself invested with the imperial dignity, than he banished the eunuch to the island of Lesbos; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's orders, he died soon after. In the very beginning of Constantine's reign, Maniaces, not able to brook the ill treatment he met with from Sclerus, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and affuming the imperial ornaments, paffed with his army into Bulgaria, where he was joined by the malecontents of that country. Constantine dispatched Stephen Sebastophorus against him, at the head of a very nume- b rous army; which however was defeated and put to flight by Maniaces at the first onset. Maniaces did not live to reap the fruit of his victory, being slain a few days after it, by a person unknown, who had the good luck to make his escape. Upon his death, those who had been most forward in the rebellion, were the first who threw down their arms, and submitted to Stephen, the emperor's general, who, notwithstanding his defeat, was, on his return to Constantinople, honoured with a triumph. The same year 1043. the Rossi, who had continued long quiet, appeared unexpectedly before Constantinople with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's navy in the streights, they were glad to renew their antient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in person into the east, and there recovered c feveral cities, which the Saracens had feized in the two late reigns. But while he Leo Tornicius was pursuing the war with great success, Leo Tornicius, escaping out of a monastery,

The Rossi defrated.

revolts, and be to which he had been confined, affumed the purple, and caused himself to be protinople.

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fieges Constan- claimed emperor. Leo was a person of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealoufy, removed from his government of Iberia, and shut up in a monastery; but having found means to make his escape from thence, he fled to Adrianople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who had been lately disobliged by Monomachus. Being joined there by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to Constantinople, and laid fiege to that metropolis; but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigor- d ous opposition from the inhabitants, and several of his accomplices falling off from him, he raised the siege, and retired to Arcadiopolis, where he defended himself for fiege, is taken, some time against the forces the emperor had sent to reduce him; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and fent in chains to Monomachus, who first caused his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote island. The rebellion being thus happily suppressed almost in its birth, and the Saracens in the east awed by the emperor's presence, a prosound tranquillity reigned the two following years throughout the provinces. But in 1048, the Roman dominions were invaded by a new enemy, scarce mentioned before in history; but reserved by providence for the utter destruction of the empire, which we shall see them accomplish four hundred years hence, and put a period to the very name of a Roman empire. These were the Turks, who, quitting their antient habitations in the neighbourhood of mount Caucasus, and passing the Caspian streights, had settled in Armenia Major, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and despicable people, till the wars of the Saracens among themselves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing The Saracens, having, with amazing fuccess and rapidity, subdued Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Africa, and a considerable part of Europe itself, divided their vast spreading dominions into several governments or principalities, which were ruled by their respective sultans or commanders, who, in process of time quarrelling with one another, hastened the ruin of the empire, which they had so successfully f About the year 1030. Mohammed, the fon of Sambrael, sultan of Persia, established. not finding himself a match for Pifaris, sultan of Babylon, with whom he was at war, had recourse to the Turks, who sent him from Armenia Major, where they settled, as we have observed above, three thousand of their nation, under the conduct of one Tangrolipix, ? reading man amongst them. Mohammed, strengthened with this supply, gained & complete victory over the sultan of Babylon; but when the Turks, to whom it was chiefly owing, defired leave to return home, he refused to comply with their just demand, being unwilling to part with them, till he had ended the war, in which he was engaged with the Indians. Hereupon the Turks, withdrawing without his consent to the defart of Carbonitis, and being there joined by several discona tented Persians, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the Saracens. Mohammed immediately dispatched an army of twenty thousand men against them, who were surprised in the night by Tangrolipix, and utterly deseated. The fame of The Turks this victory, and the immense booty which the Turks acquired by it, drew multitudes conquer Persta to them from all parts, of criminals, fugitive slaves, robbers, &c. insomuch that Tan-duct of Tan-grolipix saw himself in a short time at the head of sifty thousand men. Mohammed, grolipix. enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals, who had commanded them, to be deprived of their fight, and at the same time a new army to be raised, which he headed in person; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement to animate his men, he fell from his horse, and soon after died of the fall. His death b was no sooner known, than his men threw down their arms, and submitting to Tan-Tangrolipix

grolipix, proclaimed him king of Persia. This battle, which gave rise to the Turkish proclaimed sulpower, was fought about the year 1024 in the neighbourhood of Assacra and Fersia. power, was fought about the year 1034. in the neighbourhood of Aspacan, now Ispahan, the metropolis of Persia. Tangrolipix, now master of Persia, having first opened a passage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the Araxes parting it from Armenia, made war upon Pisaris or Pisasiris, kalif of Babylon, whom he at length flew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then fent his nephew, Cutlu-Moses Reduces Babyor Cuthimuses, against the Arabians; but he was overthrown by them in a pitched lon. battle, and obliged to take shelter in Media, through which Stephen, the Roman

governor, denying him a paffage, he put his troops to flight, took the governor e himself prisoner, and, without any further opposition, reached Briscium, on the confines of Persia, where he fold Stephen for a slave. Returning from thence to Tangro-lipix, he excused, in the best manner he could, the bad success of his expedition, acquainting him at the fame time with his victory over the Romans in Media, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which, he faid, might be eafily fubdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the Romans. Tangrolipix did not then hearken to his advice, being wholly bent on revenging the late defeat on the Arabians, against whom he marched in person, at the head of a numerous army; but being himself defeated and put to flight by that warlike nation, he gave over all Is defeated by

thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what Cutu-Moses had told him, he the Arabians.

d sent Asan, his brother's son, surnamed the Deas, with an army of twenty thousand men, to reduce Media; which Asan entered, committing every-where dreadful rava-Invades Media. ges. But being in the end drawn into an ambush by the Roman generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. Tangrolipix, no-ways discouraged at this misfortune, fent a new army into Media, near an hundred thousand strong; who, after having laid waste the country without opposition, the Romans shutting themselves up in their strong-holds, laid siege to Artza, a place of great trade, and on that account esteemed the most wealthy in those parts; but not being able by any other means to master it, they set fire to it, which in a short time reduced it to ashes. Of the inhabitants an hundred fifty thousand, and upwards, are said to have perished, either by the sword, e or in the flames. After this, Abraham Halim, half-brother to Tangrolipix, who com-

manded the Turks, hearing that the Romans, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of Liparites, governor of Iberia, had taken the field, marched against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed. The victory continued long doubtful; but at Is defeated by length inclined to the Romans, who nevertheless did not think it adviseable, as their the Romans. general Liparites was taken prisoner, to pursue the sugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of Liparites, dispatched embassadors, with rich presents, and a large sum, to redeem him, and at the same time to conclude an alliance with Tangrolipix. The sultan received the presents; but generously returned them, with f the money, to Liparites, whom he fet at liberty without ranfom, only requiring him,

at his departure, never more to bear arms against the Turks. Not long after, Tangrolipix fent a person of great authority among the Turks, with the character of embasfador, to Constantinople, who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was by Monomachus dismissed with scorn, and driven out of the city. On his return, he acquainted Tangrolipix with the reception he had met with; who thereupon resolved to renew the war. Monomachus, on the other hand, did not neglect the necessary preparations to oppose to powerful an enemy; but was diverted from it by a war, which fuddenly broke out

The Patzinack between him and the Patzinack, a Scythian nation, whose king, by name Tyrach, a highly provoked at the kind reception Kegenes, after revolting from him, had met with from the Romans, passed the Danube on the ice, and entering, if the authors of those times are to be credited, with eight hundred thousand men the Roman provinces, destroyed all with fire and sword. Constantine Arianites was sent against them with all the troops quartered in Macedon and Bulgaria; but he, not thinking it advisable to venture an engagement, suffered them to ravage the country without controul, till great multitudes of them being swept off by the distempers which raged in their army, he was advised by Kegenes, who joined him with twenty thousand men, to fall upon them fuddenly; which he did with so much resolution, that the barbarians, weakened But are utterly with fickness, and terrified at so sudden an onset, threw down their arms, and submitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to fettle at Sardica, Naissus, Eutzapolis, and in other cities of Bulgaria; some returned to their own country; but Tyrach, and

an hundred and forty of the most noble among them, were sent to Constantinople, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and upon their embracing the chriftian religion, as Kegenes had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner fuitable to their rank, and even raifed to confiderable employments. However, the emperor having fent fifteen thousand of those who had settled

routed.

Iberia laid maste by the Turks; Who beliege Mintzichierta:

But are forced

to raise the

siege.

The empress Zoe dies.

in Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catalunes, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in Iberia, they revolted on their march; and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the Danube, making from thence c frequent incursions into the Roman territories. The emperor fent some of his best generals against them; but was not able to suppress them, his forces being, in three successive engagements, put to the rout. Having at length resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them, they were so terrified at the noise of the preparations the emperor was making, that they fent deputies to fue for peace; which was readily granted them for thirty years. During this war, Tangrolipix, affronted at the reception of his embassador, as we have related above, entered Iberia, and having laid the country waste far and near, returned from thence into Media, and laid siege to Mantzichierta, a place defended by a numerous garison, and fortified with a triple wall, and deep ditches. However, as it was fituated in a plain and open d country, he hoped to be master of it in a short time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days together, that the befieged were refolved to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, despairing of success, he resolved to raise the siege, when Alcan, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit to him the conduct and management of the attacks. This being granted, Alcan the next day disposed his men with such skill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with fo much bravery and resolution, that, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not Alcan been flain, while, in spite of the incessant showers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. he was mounting the wall. The besieged, knowing him e by the richness of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongst the enemy, who, disheartened at that fight, gave over the affault, and retired, Tangrolipix pretending some urgent affairs had called him home. However, he returned the spring following, and ravaging Iberia, spared neither sex nor age. But upon the approach of Michael Acoluthus, who was fent against him at the head of a considerable army, he retired to Tauris, leaving thirty thousand men behind him, to infest the frontiers of the empire; which they did with great fuccess, the borders being, through the avarice of Monomachus, left unguarded; for, till his time, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians, had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on f that account exempted from paying tribute. But Monomachus exacting of them the fame fums that were paid by the other provinces, they were no longer in a condition to restrain the incursions of the enemy. About this time died the empress Zoe, and soon after the emperor himself. Tho' he had always expressed a great esteem and regard for Theodora, the fifter of Zoe, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name for his fuccessor Nicephorus, who commanded the forces in Bulgaria, and was privately fent for, when the emperor's recovery was despaired of. But Theodora, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately with-

1 NICEPH BRYENN. CUROPAL. CEDREN. ZONAR. in Monomach. \* NICEPHL BRYENN. C. 4. CUROP. ibid.

drew

a drew from the monastery of St. George, whither she had attended him; and returning to Constantinople, attended by her most faithful friends, caused herself to be proclaimed, and faluted empress; which gave Monomachus so much concern, that he fell into a swoon, and died soon after, having reigned twelve years, and eight And Monomamonths. Some authors write, that both he and Zoe died of the plague, which chus. indeed raged at that time with great fury in Gonstantinople; but most authors ascribe his death to the gout, which he increased by his intemperance, lewdness and debauch-

Theodora no sooner received the news of his death, than she caused all those to Theodora. be secured, who had proposed the promotion of Nicephorus; and depriving them of b their employments, named others in their room, in whom she thought she could confide. Theodorus, the eunuch, was sent at the head of a considerable army into the east to awe the Turks, who hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented with his care and vigilance the enemy from making inroads into the Roman territories; fo that the eastern provinces enjoyed, during Theodora's short reign, a profound tranquillity, to which they had been long strangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and ministers of state, her impartial admi- Her excellent nistration of justice, (for she heard all causes herself) and her great moderation in government. the use of the authority with which she was invested, gained her the affections of her people, and the respect and esteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did c not long enjoy the many valuable bleffings that attended her administration; for in the second year of her reign she was seized with a violent pain in her bowels, which in a few days put an end to her life. Before she died, she was persuaded by Leo Strabospondylus, her prime minister, and her favourite eunuch, to bequeath the empire to Michael Stratioticus, a person stricken in years, and altogether ignorant of state-affairs, which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with an absolute sway. Theodora died, soon after she had named Her death. him, in the month of August 1056. having reigned one year and nine months. The death of Theodora, and promotion of Michael, which had been managed with the Michael utmost secrecy, being known at the same time, Theodorus, cousin-german to the Stratioticus. d deceased emperor, laying claim to the empire, as of right belonging to him, protested against what had been done in favour of Michael; and summoning all his friends, servants, and dependents, moved in the evening with a great train through the most frequented streets to the palace; but finding the gates shut, and well guarded, he went from thence to the great church, not doubting but he should be well received there by the patriarch and the clergy. But they refusing, contrary to his expectation, to admit him, he had recourse to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promises, continued firm in the resolution they had taken a few hours

before to support Michael. Theodorus, now well apprifed he could not succeed in his attempt, and dreading the refentment of the new emperor, renounced all claim A rebellion e to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his fon in the church; but he was foon suppressed. dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, and banished to Pergamus, where he died some years after. The rebellion being thus suppressed, Michael enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but soon shewed himself altogether unequal to so eminent a post. As he was an intire stranger to state-affairs, having been brought up from his youth in the camp, he suffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without controul. At their instigation he disobliged most of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded Michael disas his chief support, and among the rest Isaac Comnenus, and Ambustus Catacale, obliges the offmen renowned for their eminent services and experience in war. The former he cers of the f deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the govern-

ment of Antioch, recalling Bryennius, a man of a turbulent and restless spirit, who had been banished by Theodora, and appointing him commander in chief of the eastern forces. Bryennius, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his ettate, which had been confiscated in the late reign, but met with a furly denial; which provoked him to fuch a degree, that he refolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command against the person who had entrusted him with them. Having imparted his design to Ambustus, Comnenus, and several others, who had several of been disabliged by Michael, they all met, in order to proceed to the election of a them confine new emperor, when, by the unanimous consent of the whole party, Ambustus was against him. g chosen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, Isaac Comnenus was

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proposed next, as a person in every respect well qualified for so great a trust. As a the proposal was received by all with great applause, Comnenus did not oppose it, but suffered the conspirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promising at the fame time to govern with justice and moderation. After this, they all departed from Constantinople, where they had met, according to custom, at Easter, and repaired to their several posts, where each of them was, in his respective station, to promote the general defign. Bryennius hastened to the army in the east; but falling out there with John Opfaras, a patrician, whom the emperor had appointed to distribute a largess among the soldiers, the quarrel was carried to such a height, that Bryennius, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed Opfaras to custody, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods. Hereupon Lycanthes, who commanded b in that neighbourhood a strong body of Lycaonians and Pisidians, concluding that Byrennius designed to revolt, sell upon him unexpectedly in his camp; and having taken him prisoner, delivered him to Opsaras, by whose orders his eyes were pulled out. The officers of the east, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their designs, (for he was sent in chains to the emperor) refolved openly to declare themselves; and accordingly having drawn together in a spacious plain, all the forces under their command, they sent for Comnenus, who was then at his house in Paphlagonia, and presented him in the imperial Ifaac Comne- robes to the foldiery, by whom he was, with universal consent, saluted emperor on the eighth of June 1057.

nus faluted emperor.

Which is defeated by

Comnenus.

Comnenus, thus raised to the imperial dignity, took upon him the command of An army fent the army, which he immediately marched over the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major, against him; bending his rout towards Nice, which he surprised, most of the soldiers, who garifoned it, being retired to their own homes. In the mean time Stratioticus, receiving news of the revolt, affembled all the forces quartered in the west; and having mustered his army, chose for his generals Theodorus the eunuch, and Aaron Ducas, an officer of great experience in war, and brother to the wife of Comnenus. The two generals marched at the head of their army to Nicomedia, and from thence to Nice, in the neighbourhood of which city they found Comnenus encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army, Ambustus having the command of the left wing, Ro- d manus Sclerus of the right, and Comnenus himself of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity. At first Aaron, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the opposite wing of the enemy, took Romanus himself prisoner, and pursued the fugitives to their camp. But Ambustus, on the other hand, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with fresh vigour the emperor's left wing, obliged them to give over the pursuit, and retire in some confusion. In their retreat they were attacked by Comnenus, and eafily put to flight; which fo discouraged the rest of the emperor's troops, that, throwing away their arms, they fled in great diforder. Comnenus, having e thus gained a complete victory, began his march to Constantinople, not doubting but the citizens would open their gates to him, as foon as he appeared before them. In the mean time Stratioticus, informed of the overthrow of his forces, fent some of the chief men in the senate to Comnenus, with proposals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms: That Comnenus should be declared Casar; that a full pardon should be granted to all his followers; and that such of them as enjoyed employments, should be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himself soon after he had ratified it: for, at the inftigation of some about him, he obliged, partly by promises, partly by menaces, the fenate and people to bind themselves by a most solemn oath never f to give Comnenus the title of emperor, nor own him for their fovereign. This oath was exacted, when Comnenus was still in Afia; but news was no sooner brought, that he was within a day's march of Constantinople, than he was, by a decree of the fenate, and the unanimous confent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all those, The decree being who should oppose him, adjudged enemies to their country. passed in the senate without opposition, the patriarch dispatched messengers to Comnenus, inviting him to the city, and at the same time some bishops to Stratioforced to resign ticus, commanding him in the name of the senate and people to resign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace. We are told, that when the bishops delivered their message, Stratioticus asked them, What they intended to give him in exchange for the g

Stratioticus

empire?

a empire? and that they answering, The kingdom of heaven, he immediately divested himself of the purple; and quitting the palace, retired to his own house, and from thence to a monastery, after he had reigned one year. Comnenus arrived the same Isasc Comneevening, and was the next day, the first of September 1057. crowned in the great nus crowned church by the patriarch Michael Cerularius. The new emperor's first care was to reward those, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whose nephews and relations he preferred to the first employments in the state. As he was well skilled in military affairs, and had given signal proofs of his courage and refolution, the neighbouring barbarians continued quiet, during his short reign. At home he was more feared on account of his severity, than b beloved. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monasteries, depriving them of the immense wealth, with which they had been enriched by his predeceffors. This the patriarch highly refented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had raifed him, unless he restored to the monasteries the estates which he had unjustly seized. But the emperor, instead of yielding to his threats, immediately banished him, and raised Constantine Lichudes to the patriarchal see in He banishes his room. Isaac had not reigned above two years, when he was seized with a vio-the patriarch. lent distemper, occasioned, as some authors write, by a slash of lightning. Being fensible that his end approached, and at the same time touched with remorfe in e reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily refigned it, and retiring to a monastery, there spent the remainder of his days in exercises of piety, having reigned but two years and three months. Being advised, before he refigned, to chuse a successor, tho' he had several children and near relations of his own, yet preferring the public good to his private interest, he named Constantine He resigns the Ducas, a person generally esteemed the best qualified in the whole empire for so empire to Con-eminent a station. Ducas, thus chosen by Comnenus, and received by the senate and station. people, was crowned with the usual solemnity by the patriarch. He applied himself with great diligence to the affairs of state, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, reformed feveral abuses, which had prevailed under his predecessors, d and behaved on all occasions with such moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongst the best princes, had not his insatiable avarice drowned in a manner all his good qualities. He chose rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the necessary garisons; which encouraged the Turks to extend their conquests on all sides, and the Uzians, a Scythian nation, to pass the Danube to the The Uzians number of five hundred thousand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. invade the em-Nicephorus Botoniates, asterwards emperor, and Basilius Apocapes, were sent against pire; them. But the barbarians having put the emperor's forces to flight at the first onset, and taken both the generals in the pursuit, laid waste all Thrace and Macedon; and penetrating without opposition into Greece, destroyed all with fire and sword. The e emperor, affected with the calamities of his subjects, but yet unwilling to be at the charge of raising the necessary forces to deliver them from the oppression under which they groaned, endeavoured at first to purchase a peace with rich presents, and even with promising to pay them an annual tribute. To such meanness was the emperor brought by his fordid temper. But the barbarians resusing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general fast to be observed throughout his dominions, and then marched out against them with a handful of men. But in the mean time the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that began to reign among them, the Hungari or Hungarians, whose country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon But are cut off them, and cut them off almost to a man. Nothing else happened, during this by the Hungaf unactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned several stately edifices at Constantinople; and the appearing of a comer, which was feen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. And indeed Constantine was soon after seized with a violent distemper, which in a sew days put an end to his life. He lest the empire to his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empress Eudocia, their mother, regent during the minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which

was lodged with great folemnity in the hands of the patriarch. He likewise obliged

The Turks
invade the empire.

Romanus

Diogenes.

the fenators folemnly to swear, that they would acknowledge none for their sove- a reign but his three fons. Having thus secured, as he thought, the imperial crown to his family, he died in 1067. after having reigned five years and fix months. He was no fooner dead, than the Turks, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, destroying all with fire and fword. The empress was no-ways in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's life time, and the troops, that were still on foot, being undisciplined, and altogether unsit for service. This gave the empress great concern, which was aggravated by the seditious speeches of a discontented party at home, repeating in all assemblies, that the present state of the empire required a man of courage and address at the helm, instead of a weak b and helpless woman. As they imagined the empress would never think of marrying, in regard of the oath she had taken, they hoped by these speeches to induce the people to revolt, and chuse a new emperor. This Eudocia was aware of; and therefore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, she resolved to marry fome person of merit, capable of deseating the designs of her enemies both at home and abroad. At this time Romanus Diogenes, a person of a most beautiful aspect, extraordinary parts, and an illustrious birth, for he was descended from the emperor Romanus Argyrus, being accused of aspiring at the empire, tried and convicted, was brought forth to receive the fentence of death, which his ambition had deserved. But the empress, touched with compassion at the appearance of the unhappy pri- c foner, who, she thought, deserved a better sate, put a stop to the sentence; and having gently upbraided him with his ill-timed ambition, fet him at liberty, and foon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which station he acquitted himself so well, that the empress resolved to marry him, if she could but recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patriarch. In order to this, she applied herself to a favourite eunuch, who going to the patriarch, told John Xighiline, that the empress was so taken with his nephew, by name Bardas, that she was determined to marry him, and raise him to the empire, provided he absolved her from the oath she had lately taken, and convinced the senate of the lawfulness of such a marriage. The patriarch, tho' a man of great d probity and learning, yet dazzled with the prospect of his nephew's promotion, readily undertook to perform both; and accordingly, having first obtained the confent of the senate, by representing to them the dangerous condition of the empire, and exclaiming against the rash oath, which the jealousy of the late emperor had extorted from the empress, he publicly discharged her from the observance of it, restored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry some deserving person, who, being entrusted with an absolute authority, might protect her and her children, and defend the empire against the many enemies, who threatened it, and were not to be repressed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children. The empress, thus discharged from her oath, married a few days after, to the great & disappointment of the patriarch, Romanus Diogenes, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no sooner faw himself invested with the sovereign power, than, taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into Asia with the few forces he could assemble, recruiting and inuring them on his march to the military discipline, which had been utterly neglected in the preceding reigns. Upon his arrival in Asia, he was informed, that the Turks, having surprised and plundered the city of Neocasarea, were retiring with a rich booty. Hereupon, hastening after them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, he came up with them the third day; and falling upon them, while they were marching in disorder, without the least apprehension of an enemy, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then pursued his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hierapolis, where he built a strong castle. As he was returning to join the forces he had lest behind him, he was met by a numerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through sear to decline an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigour, that he put them to flight at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it adviseable to pursue them. After this, several towns submitted to him,

The empress marries him.

He passes over into Atia.

His success against the Turks.

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Chap. 35.

a the Turks abandoning them upon the first news of his approach. But the autumn being already far spent, he retired to Cilicia, and from thence to Constantinople. The following year he passed over into Asia early in the spring; and being informed, that the Turks, having defeated Philaretus, who had been left to guard the banks of the Euphrates, were advanced into Cilicia, and had there surprised and sacked Iconium, the most rich and populous city of that province, he marched in person against them. But the Turks, not thinking it adviseable to wait his arrival, retired in great haste. However, the Armenians, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of Tarsus, put them to flight, and stripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken. The enemy being b retired, the emperor spent the remaining part of the summer in settling the affairs of the provinces; and upon the approach of winter, returned once more to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The spring following the emperor marched anew into Asia, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during the winter. As the Turks had already taken the field, feveral skirmishes happened between the parties detached from the two armies, in one of which Nicephorus Basilacius, one of the emperor's chief officers, was taken prisoner, and carried to Axan, the Turkish fultan, and son of the celebrated Tangrolipix, who received and entertained him with great civility. When the two armies drew near, the fultan, observc ing the disposition and number of the emperor's forces, and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and fagacity, the uncertain issues of war, fent embassadors to Romanus, with proposals for a lasting and honourable peace, which being rejected He rejects the by the emperor with disdain, both armies prepared for an engagement. Tho' the P opojals of the emperor's troops were not near fo numerous as those of the enemy, Ruselius, one of ultan. his best commanders, having been detached a little before with a considerable body; yet Romanus, presuming upon the courage of his men, and the success that had hitherto attended his arms, caused the fignal to be given; and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into some disorder. However, they soon rallied, and charged with fresh vigour, so that the dispute continued with various success, d till the emperor, fearing the sultan should send part of his army to attack his camp, which he had left weakly guarded, caused, as the day was already far spent, a retreat to be founded, and retired in good order with that part of the army, which he commanded in person. But Andronicus, the son of John Ducas, brother to the late emperor Constantine, and in his heart an enemy to Romanus, whose good fortune he envied, cried out, that the emperor was put to flight; and at the same time turning his horse about, fled with great precipitation to the camp. The rest of the army followed his example, and were pursued by the Turks, who in that confusion put great numbers of them to the sword. The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally, and face the enemy; but, in spite of his utmost e efforts, they continued their flight, every one shifting for himself in the best manner He is defeated, The emperor, tho' thus for saken by his army, yet stood his ground, and taken prihe could. till he himself being wounded, and his horse killed under him, he was at length soverpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. When news was first brought to the fultan of his captivity, he could hardly give credit to it. But being affured of the truth, both by the embassadors, whom he had sent to him before the battle, and by Basilacius, his captive, he ordered the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly embracing him, Grieve not, noble emperor, said he, at your missortune; for But kindly enfuch is the chance of war, sometimes overwhelming one, and sometimes another; you shall tertained, and bave no occasion to complain of your captivity; for I will not use you as my prisoner, by the sultan. f but as an emperor: which he did accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion, assigning him attendants, with an equipage suitable to his quality, and discharging fuch prisoners as he desired. After he had entertained for some days his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor difinissed with the greatest marks of honour imaginable. Being thus let at liberty, he proceeded, attended by the fultan's embassadors, for Constantinople, where the peace was to be ratified. He stopped at Theodosiopolis, and continued some days there to have his wounds dressed, with a design to pursue his journey to the imperial city, as foon as he was able to travel. But in the mean time he was informed, that John, the brother of Constantine Ducas, with Psellus, a leading man in the senate,

g and several others, having, upon the news of his captivity, driven Eudocia from the

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Michael Ducas throne, and thut her up in a monastery, had proclaimed her eldest son Michael a proclaimed em- Ducas emperor. Upon this intelligence he left Theodofiopolis, and repairing to a strong castle called Docia, he fortified himself there, not doubting but he should be soon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and foldiers, who had ferved under him. But in the mean time John, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an absolute sway, dispatched his eldest son Andronicus against him with a strong body of troops, who having defeated the small army the unfortunate prince had with him, pursued him to Adana, a city in Cilicia, where he was closely belieged, and in the end forced to furrender. Andronicus carried his prisoner into Phrygia, where he fell dangerously ill, being, as was suspected, secretly poisoned. But the poison being too slow in its operation, John b

Romanus dies. ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with fuch cruelty, that he died foon after in the island Prota, to which he had been confined, having reigned three years and eight months w. Romanus Diogenes being thus removed, Michael Ducas was univertally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and unactive prince, the whole power was lodged in John, his uncle, who preferred such only as had been instrumental in the late revolution, and, under various pretences, banished those who gave him the least umbrage.

wade the em-

Defeat the emperor's army.

Gain a second victory.

the Turks.

Rufelius revolts.

In the mean time Axan, the Turkish fultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, resolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally; and accordingly, The Turks in- having raised a powerful army, he broke into the territories of the empire, not c with a defign only to spoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer, and hold what he had once conquered. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the Turks, dispatched Isaac Comnenus, fon to the late emperor of that name, against them, who gained at first some advantages over them; but having soon after ventured a general engagement, his army was, after a long and obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himfelf taken prifoner. Another army was foon dispatched against them, under the command of John Ducas, the emperor's uncle, who gained several advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have put a stop to their farther conquests, had he not been diverted by Ruselius, or Urselius, a native of Gaul, who revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced feveral cities in Pbry- d gia and Cappadocia, causing himself to be every-where proclaimed emperor. Against him John marched with all his forces, suffering the Turks in the mean time to pursue their conquests; but coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the Sangarius, he received a total overthrow, and was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding this victory, Ruselius, to stop the progress of the Turks, who threatened the empire with utter destruction, not only released his prisoner, but joined him against the common enemy, by whom they were both overcome, and taken prisoners. However, Axan was for some time diverted from pursuing his conquests, and reaping the fruit of his victory, by Cutlu-Moses, cousin to the late sultan Tangrolipix, from whom he had revolted; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, he had taken e refuge in Arabia, whence he now returned, at the head of a confiderable army; and laying claim to the fovereignty, was preparing to decide the controverfy by dint of fword. But while the two armies were ready to engage, the kaliff of Babylon, who had been deprived of his temporal jurisdiction by Tangrolipix, as we have related above, but still continued to exercise his authority in matters of religion, being looked upon as the fuccessor of their great prophet, interposed; and by representing to them the dangers, to which their intestine diffentions exposed them, brought them to this agreement; that Axan should enjoy undisturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father Tangrolipix, and that Cutlu-Moles, and his family, should quietly possess fuch provinces of the empire as he or his fons should, in process of time, conquer, f The progress of This agreement being made, Cutlu-Moses turned all his forces against the empire; and being affisted by Axan, made himself, in this and the following reign, master of all Media, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, fixing the feat of his new empire at Nice, in the latter province. While the Turks were busied in reducing the above-mentioned provinces, Ruselius, who had been ransomed by his wife, and, notwithstanding his late revolt, restored to favour, and entrusted with a considerable command in Asia Minor, revolted anew; and depending upon the affiftance of the Turks, with whom he had privately entered into an alliance, caused himself to be proclaimed

W NICEPH. Bryenn. c. 2-10. CUROPALAT. in Rom. Diog.

emperor.

a emperor. Michael sent the best commanders in the empire against him; but they were all fuccessively overcome in the feveral battles that were fought, Rufelius being powerfully supported by the Turks, whose interest it was to sow and maintain divisions in the empire. At length the emperor was advised to fend Alexius Comnenus against him, he being esteemed, tho' then very young, a man of uncommon address, and well skilled in the art of war. Alexius, by intercepting the enemy's provisions, and constantly harassing them on their marches, without ever coming to an engagement, reduced them in a short time to such streights, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the fultan, where they were kindly entertained, and fupplied with necessaries at the public expence. But Alexius applying to Tutach, the Turkish b commander in those parts, he prevailed upon him with a large sum to seize on Ruse- The rebellion lius, and fend him in chains to Amafia, whence he was conveyed to Constantinople. Suppressed by The rebels, destitute of a leader, readily submitted, and surrendered the cities and Alexius Com-throng-holds, which they had reduced. The civil war being thus ended, Alexius returned to the imperial city, which he found highly diffatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievously afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, instead of relieving the distressed inhabitants, had lessened the measure of the corn, which defervedly procured him the nick-name of Parapanaces. The aversion which people of all ranks had for the emperor on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged Nicephorus Botoniates, who commanded the forces in Asia, to revolt, and enter into Nicephorus c an alliance with the Turks, upon whom he had been fent to make war. Cutlu-Moses Botoniates and promifed to affift him to the utmost of his power; upon which he assumed the purple, and was faluted emperor by the army under his command. At the fame time Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in Dyrrhachium, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there; and depending upon the affection of his foldiers, whom he had obliged with his liberality, was preparing to march strait to Constantinople. Michael, well apprifed that he was not in a condition to oppose either of the two competitors, resolved to relign the empire, and leave the throne empty for which of them should prevail. Accordingly, divesting himself of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monastery, Michael where he took holy orders, and was foon after raifed to the fee of Ephefus x. He had refigns. d reigned fix years, and as many months, and refigned in the year 1078. Upon his refignation, Botoniates entered Constantinople without opposition; and being crowned Nicephorus by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of March 1078. he immediately dispatched Botoniates Alexius Comnenus with the flower of his army against Bryennius, who was advancing crowned empewith long marches to the imperial city at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he passed, he being universally beloved by the people, and looked upon as a person in every respect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at Calaura in Thrace; and an engagement enfuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the Seythians, who ferved under Bryennius, pursuing the advantage they had gained over e the forces of Alexius, fell upon his baggage, and began to plunder; which occasioned great confusion in the army of Bryennius, the rest of his troops following the example of those barbarians. Of this Alexius took advantage; and charging them with fresh vigour, put them to flight. However, they rallied, and, encouraged by Bryennius, recurned to the charge; but Alexius having, in the mean time, taken the horse of Bryennius, adorned, as he was, according to the custom of those times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, giving out, that the general was slain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and those of the enemy equally despirited, the victory continued no longer doubtful. Bryennius Bryennius, by shewing himself at the head of his army, convinced them of their taken prisoner. f mistake; but as they were already put into disorder, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to stop their slight, he was himself obliged to sly with the rest. As he was pursued close by the emperor's forces, he had the mis-

\* Nickph. Bryenn. hist. Michael. c. 2-8. Ann. Comnen. l.i. c. 2.

fortune to fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of his perfonal valour. Alexius received him in a most obliging manner, entertained him at his own table, and soon after, having put his troops into winter-quarters, set out with his unfortunate prisoner for Constantinople; but was met on the road by Borilus,

with orders from court to deliver up Bryennius to him, and march back against Basi-Basilacius lacius, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Dyrrhachium; and being revolts;

Supported

Supported by all the men of interest in the west, had surprised Thessalonica, and was a

preparing to march to the imperial city at the head of a confiderable army. Alexius, having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched against the enemy; and encamping at a small distance from Basilacius, began to ravage and lay waste the neighbouring country. Hereupon Basilacius, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, refolved to fall upon his camp in the night, which he did But is defeated accordingly; but Alexius, informed beforehand of his delign, received him, while he expected to meet with no opposition, so briskly, that his forces were soon put to flight, and he himself obliged to throw himself, with part of his army, into Thessalonica, which was immediately invested by the conqueror. Basilacius, who was a man of great resolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantageous conditions b offered by Alexius, prepared to hold out to the last extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's refentment, opened their gates, allowing Basilacius just time enough to retire into the castle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to Alexius, who fent him to Constantinople, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and he confined to a monastery v. As the emperor was stricken in years, and had no issue male, Borilus and Germanus, two brothers, natives of Scythia, and the chief favourites of Betoniates, perfuaded him to name in his will one Synademus for his fucceffor, a youth of uncommon parts, and nearly related to the emperor. Tho' this was managed with great fecrecy, yet Mary, the empress, had some intimation of it. She was c first married to the emperor Michael Ducas, and afterwards to his succe sfor Nices borus Botoniates. By her former husband she had Constantine Ducas, who, by marrying the daughter of Botoniates, had acquired an indisputed right to succeed him. The empress therefore, highly provoked both against the emperor and his favourites, for thus excluding, with the utmost injustice, her son from the empire, disclosed the whole to the two brothers Alexius and Isaac Comneni, who promised her all imaginable affiftance. But in the mean time the two favourites, taking umbrage at the intimacy that appeared between the empress and the Comneni, resolved to remove, Alexius Com- by some means or other, the two brothers out of the way. Of this Alexius being depose the em- seasonably informed, he applied to Pacurianus, an officer of great experience in war, d and equally versed in state-affairs, acquainted him with the design they had formed of deposing the emperor, and begged him to assist them with his advice. Pacurianus, having heard him with great attention, answered without the least hesitation, That if they withdrew to the army early next morning, he would attend them in their flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would discover to the emperor their treasonable designs. Alexius, charmed with this resolute and generous answer, fled early in the morning, with his brother Isaac, Pacurianus, and the rest of their friends, towards the army, which then lay encamped on the borders of Upon their arrival, they acquainted the chief officers of the army with their defign of creating a new emperor; which being universally approved of, a e council was summoned; and after some deliberation, whether Isaac or Alexius should Alexius faluted be raifed to the empire, the latter was unanimously chosen, and saluted emperor by emperor by the the whole army, which, without loss of time, he led to Constantino le, being received with joyful acclamations in all the cities, through which he passed. The inhabitants of Constantinople, awed by the troops of Botoniates, shut their gates against him; but an officer, to whose charge one of the quarters of the city was committed, having He takes Con-privately admitted part of Alexius's forces, the gates were by them opened in the night to the rest, who, rushing in, made themselves masters of the city, before Botoniates knew it was affaulted. As Alexius's army was composed of barbarians as well as christians, the unhappy city was plundered in a most cruel manner, without f any regard to the churches themselves, which, together with the monasteries, were stripped of all their wealth and ornaments. George Palacologus, a person of great authority in the empire, and a zealous champion for the Comneni, easily prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of Constantinople,

Isic and

peror.

to declare for the new emperor. Botoniates, thus forfaken by all, fent some senators to Alexius, offering the whole power to him, provided he were suffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. Alexius was inclined to comply with his request; but John Ducas, brother to the late a emperor Constantine Ducas, and an irreconcileable enemy to Botoniates, would not fusfer him to hearken to an accommodation upon any terms whatsoever. Hereupon Barilus, the reigning favourite, observing with how much security the troops of Alexius ranged through the city in quest of plunder, drew together a considerable body of resolute men; and having encouraged them with large sums, and greater promises, was preparing to fall upon the unwary enemy. But Cosmas, the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, adviling Botoniates rather to submit to providence, and refign the empire, than suffer the city to be polluted with the effusion of christian blood, he readily embraced his counsel; and leaving the imperial palace, withdrew Botoniates to the great church, and from thence to a monastery, where he took the religious resigns.

b habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months ". Botoniates having thus refigned the fovereign power, Alexius was, by the unanimous consent of the senate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patri- Alexius Comarch in the month of April 1081. His first care was to reward those who had been nenus crowned instrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the emperor. state, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. Constantine Ducas, the fon of the late emperor Michael, was suffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other enfigns of fovereignty, pursuant to a promise, which he is faid to have made to the empress Mary, before he took arms against Botoniates. As the barbarous behaviour of his foldiers, upon their first entering the city, had

- e given great offence both to the clergy and people, Alexius, either being really, or pretending to be touched with remorfe for the disorders they had committed, resolved to make an open confession, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch, and several other ecclesiastics, in the attire of a penitent; and acknowledging himself guilty of the many disorders that had been committed by his foldiers, begged the patriarch to impose upon him a penance answerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch injoined him, and all his relations and adherents, to fast, to lie upon the ground, and to practise several other austerities, for the space of forty days, which no one performed with more chearfulness than the emperor himself. Having thus atoned for his crimes, or at least gained the affections
- d and esteem of the clergy, he began to make the necessary preparations for putting He puts a stop a stop to the conquests of the Turks, who had seized on several provinces during the to the conquests late distractions, and threatened the empire with utter destruction. But Solyman, of the Turks. the fon and fuccessor of Cutlu-Moses, alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, dispatched embassiadors to Alexius, with overtures for a lasting peace, which he at first rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, tho he had gained several advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that Robert Guischard, duke of Puglia and Calabria, was making great pre-Robert Guisparations against him in the west. Robert was by birth a Norman, the son of Tan-chard's expedia cred, lord of Hauteville, who having a numerous family, and but a small estate, tion against
- e fent his two eldest sons to try their fortune in the wars against the Saracens in Italy, where they distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner; and having driven out the Saracens, seized on the places they had held, establishing by that means a new principality in Italy. Robert, the third son, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himself with the principality of Puglia, which they had held, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of Naples, taking upon him the title of duke of Puglia and Calabria. Towards the end of the reign of Botoniates, Michael, who had been forced to refign the empire, having made his escape into the west, prevailed upon Robert, whose daughter had been some years before betrothed to Constantine, Michael's son, to espouse his cause, f and attempt his restoration. With this view Robert made great preparations both by sea and land, which were continued even after the resignation of Botoniates, Robert being determined to drive Alexius from the throne, if possible, and restore Michael, or, as some authors insinuate, to seize on the empire for himself. Be that as it will, over into Robert, having left his fon Roger as his lieutenant in Italy, failed with all his forces Epirus. from Brundusium; and landing at Buthrotum in Epirus, made himself master of that Takes Buthroplace, while his fon Bohemond, with part of the army, reduced Aulon, a celebrated tum and port and city in the country now called Albania. From thence they advanced to Auon. Dyrrhachium, which they invested both by sea and land, but met with a most vigorous Besseges Dyrrhachium.

His fleet defeated by the Venetians.

relief of the

Dyrrhachium Surrenders.

opposition from George Palæologus, whom the emperor had entrusted with the defence a of that important place, and who, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, held out, till the Venetians, with whom the emperor entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed navy, fell upon the enemy's fleet commanded by Bohemond, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himself, whose ship was sunk with several others, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. After this victory, the Venetians landing without loss of time, and being joined by Palæologus from the town, fell with great fury upon Robert's men, who were employed in the siege, destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them back to their camp, returned to their ships loaded with booty. As the Venetians were masters at sea, the besieged were supplied with plenty of provisions, while a b great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as usual, by a pestilential distemper, which is faid to have destroyed ten thousand men in the space of three months, among whom were some of the chief officers, and many other persons of great distinction. However, Robert, who was a prince of great intrepidity, address, and resolution, pursued the siege; and having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his sleet, found means to supply his famished troops with provisions, brought in great plenty from Italy. Palæologus, finding the courage of the garison and citizens began to fail them, fent repeated advices to the emperor of the streights, to which they would, in all likelihood, be reduced. Hereupon Alexius resolved to march in person to the relief of the place; and accordingly, leaving his brother Isaac at Con-c marches to the stantinople, to prevent any disturbances there during his absence, he set out for Thesfalonica; and being joined there by Pacurianus, and the troops under his command, he pursued his march with incredible expedition to Dyrrhachium; and encamping at some distance from the town, on a rising ground with the sea on the lest, and an inacceffible mountain on the right, he fummoned a council of war, in which, after a warm debate, it was refolved by a great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the most experienced officers in the army, that the whole should be put to the issue of an engagement; which Robert was so far from declining, that, observing the emperor's preparations, he ordered all his ships to be sunk, which was giving his men to understand, that they had no hopes of safety, but in victory. However, d the emperor's forces had at first the advantage, and drove a body of Robert's troops quite to the fea, which occasioned no small disorder in the army; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by Gaita, Robert's wife, a woman of a masculine courage and behaviour, the fight was renewed with fresh vigour, and the victory long disputed. At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly pressed by the enemy, the whole right wing betook themselves to a But is defeated precipitous and disorderly flight, most of them escaping to a neighbouring church dedicated to St. Michael, as to a place of safety. But the victorious enemy, purfuing them close, set fire to the church, which was soon consumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, Robert having put to flight the main body of the e emperor's army, Alexius himself was forced to retire, tho' he was the last, if we may give credit to his daughter Ann Comnena, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off either in the flight, or in the pursuit, with an incredible number of officers, and persons of distinction, among whom were Constantius, the son of Constantine Ducas, Nicephorus Synademus, Nicephorus Palaologus, the father of George, Zacharias, Aspetes, &c. The emperor with much ado made his escape, and reached Achris, leaving the enemy master of his camp, and the whole baggage of the army. Robert, elated with this victory, returned before Dyrrhachium, which immediately submitted, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far spent, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a design to pursue his f conquests early in the spring. In the mean time, Alexius, who had lost the flower of his troops in the battle, ordered new forces to be raifed in all the provinces of the empire, feizing for that purpose, as the exchequer was quite exhausted, on the wealth of the churches and monasteries, which gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occasioned dreadful disturbances in the imperial city. At the same time Alexius, entering into an alliance with Henry, emperor of Germany, persuaded him to invade the territories of Robert in Italy, which he did accordingly early in the spring, entering Calabria at the head of a numerous army. Robert was no sooner informed of the emperor's motions, than, summoning a council of war, he appointed his fon Bohemond his lieutenant in the east; and having recommended him to the g

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a officers of the army, he set out without delay for Italy, where he relieved the pope, Robert obliges besieged by the emperor's forces in the castle of St. Angelo, retook Rome, and drove the emperor Henry to quit the emperor out of Italy, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. In Italy, the mean time Bobemond reduced several places in Illyricum; and having defeated several places Alexius in two pitched battles, entered Thessaly, and sat down before Larissa; which in Illyricum being defended by an officer of great experience in war, held out till the emperor, reduced by having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Sooon after his arrival, he found Bohemond. means to draw a strong party of Bohemond's men into an ambuscade, who were almost all cut off. However, in the battle, which was fought a few days after, Bohemond had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refusing to continue the war, till **b** they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father in *Italy*. Alexius, taking advantage of his absence, recovered several cities; and being informed, that Robert was making great preparations against him, he had recourse once more to the Venetians, who having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged Robert, and overthrew him in two fuccessive battles, but were foon after furprised by him, and defeated with the loss of almost their whole navy. We are told, that Robert used his victory with the greatest barbarity, putting several of his prisoners to unheard of torments. The Venetians equipped a fecond fleet; and joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon Robert's navy, while they were riding with-Robert de-

out the least apprehension of an enemy near Buthrotum, sunk most of his ships, and fested by the e took a great number of prisoners, his wife and younger sons having narrowly escaped fealing into their hands. But Robert, not in the least disheartened with this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ships to be built, and levies to be made throughout his Italian dominions, with a defign to pursue the war with more vigour than ever. But being in the mean time feized with a violent fever, he died in the He dies. island of Cephalenia, being then in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death, Roger, his fon and successor, not thinking it adviseable to pursue so dangerous and expensive a war, recalled his troops; so that Dyrrhachium, and the other places, which they had feized in *Illyricum*, fubmitted anew to the emperor 2.

This war was scarce ended, when another broke out with the Scythians, who, The Scythian d passing the Danube, laid waste great part of Thrace, committing every-where unheard-war. of cruelties. Against them the emperor dispatched Pacurianus and Branas, who, engaging the enemy, tho' far superior to them in numbers, were both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the unspeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular esteem for Pacurianus, on account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This overthrow was owing to the rashness of Branas, who in a manner forced his collegue to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. Talicius, who had fignalized himfelf on feveral occasions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis, cut great numbers of them in e pieces, and obliged the rest to retire in the utmost confusion. However, they returned the fpring following in such numbers, that the emperor resolved to march against them in person. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he set out for Adrianople, and from thence to a place called Lardea, where, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; but, after a warm dispute, which lasted The emperor's almost from morning to night, was put to flight, and utterly defeated. Incredible army defeated numbers of his men were put to the fword, or taken prisoners, he himself escaping by the Scythiwith the utmost difficulty to Beroe. About the same time, the Turks, finding the main strength of the empire was employed against the Scythians, broke with great violence into the Roman territories, and made themselves masters of several places f of great importance in Asia, and among the rest of Clazomene, Phocaea, Mitylene, Methymna, and foon after of the island of Chios. This sudden irruption obliged the emperor to fend part of his forces into the east, under the conduct of John Ducas, brother to the empress, while he himself led the rest, reinforced with new levies, against the Scythians, by whom he was again overthrown with great loss, being betrayed by one Neantzes, a Scytbian, who had deferted to him in the begin-

ning of the war; but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, fo disheartened the

Romans with his sudden slight, that they began to give ground; and being pressed by the enemy, and overpowered with numbers, they retired in great disorder, leaving the Scytbians mafters of their camp and baggage. However, not long after, Alexius 2

gained a considerable advantage over them; and the year following, 1084. having

defeated them in a pitched battle, and put them to flight, made such a dreadful

havock of the fugitives, that few of them are faid to have escaped the general slaughter b. An end being put to the Scytbian war by this victory, the emperor resolved

Alexius gains a complete victory over them.

Alexius's wars with the Turks.

Mitylene retaken by the Romans.

to march in person against the Turks, with whom John Ducas, his brother-in-law, had often sought with various success. Tzachas, a leading man among the Turks, having made himself master of Smyrna, erected there a new principality, independent of the fultan, haraffing with frequent incursions the neighbouring countries. He had, besides several other places, reduced Mitylene, which John Ducas, pursuant to his instructions, closely besieged by land, while Constantine Delassenus, who commanded by the fleet, invested it by sea. But Tzachas, having committed the desence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a chosen body of troops, watching the motions of the Romans, intercepting their provisions, and haraffing them with frequent and fudden onfets, which diverted them from pursuing the siege with due vigour. But John Ducas, having at length drawn Tzachas to an engagement, gave him a total overthrow; after which he fent deputies to Ducas, with proposals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: That Tzachas should be allowed to retire unmolested to Smyrna; that Mitylene should be delivered up to the Romans; and that none of the inhabitants should be injured in their persons or estates, or be forced to attend Tzachas at his departure. These articles were mutually agreed to, and c hostages delivered on both sides; but Izachas having, with a manifest breach of the treaty, obliged several of the inhabitants to quit their habitations, and follow him, Delassenus failed after him; and soon coming up with him, sunk most of his ships, put great numbers of his men to the fword, and releated the captives, Tzachas himfelf having narrowly escaped falling into his hands by embarquing on a light vessel, which carried him fafe to Smyrna, where he ordered a new fleet to be equipped, and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raile to Abydos, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But the fultan, looking upon him as an enemy no less dangerous to himself than to the empire, marched against him in person at the head of a powerful army, while Delassenus, the Roman d

admiral, cut off his retreat by sea. Tzachas, finding himself thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, chose to submit to the sultan, whose daughter he had married. The fultan received him in a very obliging manner, and invited him to

an entertainment; but, in the height of his mirth, caused him to be murdered, and to death by the foon after concluded a peace with the emperor c. fultan. The Scythians

In the year 1093, the Scythian war broke out anew, the barbarians being encourenew the war, raged to invade the empire by an impostor, who, pretending to be Leo, the eldest son of the late emperor Romanus Diogenes, slain some years before in an engagement with the Turks, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the Scythians, who wanted only a pretence to renew the war. Alexius, having received timely advice of the delign they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, visited the borders in person; and having supplied the frontier towns with whatever was necessary for their defence, repaired to the city of Anchialus on the Euxine sea. There he was informed, that the barbarians, having passed the Danube, and caused the impostor to be proclaimed emperor in several towns, which had submitted to them, were advancing with long marches to Anchialus, in order to beliege the place, and, by taking the emperor, put an end to the war at once. Upon this intelligence, Alexius, having left a sufficient garison in the place, encamped with the rest of his forces on a rising ground at a small distance from the city, and there fortified himself in such manner, that the barbarians, after having viewed f his camp and works for three days together, thought it adviseable to draw off; and leaving Anchialus, which they could not invest without driving the emperor from his post, marched to Adrianople, the impostor persuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up to them by Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in it, and had, he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father Romanus Diogenes, when emperor. The credulous barbarians, believing all he faid, marched chearfully to Adrianople, but, contrary to their expectation, met there with so vigorous a relistance, that, after they had continued leven weeks before it, they had some thoughts

And besiege Adrianopic; a of abandoning the enterprize. But being encouraged by the pretended Leo to pursue the fiege, the place was in the end reduced to the utmost extremity, and must have submitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army, by name Alacaseus, pre-Which is preferved it with the following stratagem: In imitation of the celebrated Zofyrus, he dif-ferved by a figured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that con-firatagem. dition to the impostor, told him, that he was the son of one, who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by Alexius, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The usurper, giving credit to what he said, and reposing an intire considence in him, b followed him, attended by a chosen body of Scytbians, to a strong-hold in that neighbourhood, which, Alacaseus pretended, the governor designed to betray to him. He was accordingly received, as had been agreed before-hand, into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince, and his Scythians, who, without the least apprehension of treachery, had drunk to excess, were seized, and loaded with chains. Hereupon Alexius, informed of what had happened, marched with all possible expedition against the Scytbians, now destitute of a leader; and falling upon them before they had the least intelligence of his approach, flew seven The Scythians thousand of them upon the spot, took three thousand prisoners, and obliged the defeated. rest to save themselves by a precipitous slight. However, they returned the solc lowing year with a very numerous army; but being overthrown in two fucceffive engagements, they fent at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded A peace conupon the emperor's own terms 4. After this Alexius returned to Constantinople, loaded cluded with with booty; which he generously divided among those, who had distinguished them. felves most in the war.

During his stay at Constantinople, he was informed, that the western christians The holy war. were making great preparations for the recovery of the holy land, at that time poffeffed by the Turks and Saracens. As the fortunes of those adventurers are inseparably interwoven with the remaining part of this history, it might be justly deemed an unpardonable omission, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that prompted d them to engage in that mighty undertaking, commonly known by the name of the boly war, or the crusade. About the year 1093. an hermit, by name Peter, a native Peter the herof Amiens in Picardy, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places mit his pilthere; and observing the miserable condition of the christians in Asia, Syria and Pa-grimage, and lessine, at that time mostly possessed by the Turks, and the cruel usage they met with from those infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate, first with himself, and afterwards with Simon, then patriarch of Jerusalem, about the means of rescuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the eastern empire was in too weak a condition to give any hopes of redress, he resolved to apply to the western princes, and endeavour, by all possible means, to unite them in a e league against the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy christians, and the recovery of the holy land. Accordingly, having received pressing letters from the patriarch, and the grand mafter of the hospitalers, to that purpose, for the pope, and all the christian princes in the west, he took upon him to be messenger; and embarquing on the first ship he met, he arrived at Bari in Puglia, and proceeding from thence to Rome, he delivered the letters to pope Urban II. giving him at the same time a pathetic account of the unexpressible miseries the christians suffered under the Turkish yoke, of which he himself had been an eye-witness. Having received all the encouragement he could wish for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inspired both princes and people with the f pious and commendable defire of relieving the oppressed christians, and rescuing the holy land out of the hands of the insidels. The pope, informed of this general disposition, summoned a council at Clermont in France, where three hundred and ten The council of bishops met, and likewise the embassadors of most christian princes; to whom Peter Clermont. the hermit made an eloquent speech, representing the sufferings of the oppressed christians, the desolation of the holy places, the cruelty of the Turks, &c. in so lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimously resolved on, all declaring, as if filled with one spirit, their consent, by often repeating aloud, Deus vult, Deus vult, God will have it so, God will have it so. Upon the dissolution of the council,

The crusade published.

The principal commanders.

Peter the hermit begins the expedition.

His unhappy conduct.

Godfrey
marches in a
hostile manner
so Constantinople.

An agreement between the emperor and the princes of the srufade.

the crusade was published by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the west, a multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red croffes on their breafts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the christians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are supposed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thousand men, of whom the chief commanders were, Hugh brother to Philip I. king of France, Robert duke of Normandy, Robert earl of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillion, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, Stephen de Valois earl of Chartres, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, and Peter the hermit. To the latter was given the command of forty thousand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himself, and committing the other to the conduct of Gautier, a native of France, furnamed, from b his being a foldier of fortune, the Moneyless. Gautier began his march on the eighteenth of March 1096, and passing through Germany, entered Hungary, where the inhabitants refusing to supply him and his army with the necessary provisions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the Hungarians, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest to save themselves among the woods and marshes, where they lay concealed, and suffered unexpressible miseries, till the prince of Bulgaria, touched with compassion, furnished them with guides, who conducted them to Constantinople, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of Peter, who did not join them till the first of August, being strangely harassed on his march by the Hungarians, who slew above two thoufund of his men, took all their baggage, and two thousand waggons, with the money defigned to pay the army. To these hostilities Peter himself gave occasion, by suffering his men to commit all forts of diforders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under Gautier had met with from the natives. Peter, having with much-ado reached Constantinople with the remains of his shattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendship and kindness by the emperor Alexius, who nevertheless was in his heart greatly alarmed at the expedition; for tho' he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not persuade himself, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in fo hazardous an undertaking, upon the same motives. However, he d supplied Peter's army with all manner of provisions; who thereupon passed the streights, and marching into Bithynia, encamped not far from the city of Nice. Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of Godfrey's arrival at Philippopolis, with ten thousand horse, and seventy thousand soot; which gave him no small jealoufy, the more, as Godfrey immediately dispatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty of Hugh, brother to the king of France, who, in his passage from Bari to Dyrrachium, being separated by a storm from the rest of the sleet, had been seized by the governor of the above-mentioned city, and fent to Constantinople, where he was detained prisoner. As the emperor refused, under various pretences, to set his prisoner at liberty, Godfrey, who was already advanced as far as Adrianople, began to act against him as an open enemy, laying waste the country, and marching directly to Constantinople. Hereupon Alexius, not finding himself in a condition to oppose fo powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promifing at the fame time to supply his army with provisions; which however he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked Godfrey to fuch a degree, that he laid waste the whole neighbouring country to the very gates of Constantinople. Alexius, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itself, tent embassadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own fon as an hostage, and promising the provoked prince all possible satisfaction: Godfrey having received the embassadors in a most obliging manner, and put a stop to all hostilities, the emperor invited him, and the other princes and chief officers of his f army into the city, where they were received with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner. After feveral conferences, and warm disputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and Alexius; that, during the expedition, the emperor should assist them with all his forces, supply them with arms, provisions, and other necessaries, and treat them on all occasions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to restore to the empire such provinces and cities as they should recover out of the hands of the Turks and Saracens. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greatest marks of esteem and affection. After a short stay at Constantinople, the forces passed the Bosporus, and encamped g

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a near Chalcedon, with a defign to advance from thence to Nice, and lay fiege to that

important city.

WHILE Godfrey and the other princes were yet on their march, the army com- The army commanded by Peter the hermit, which had entered Bitbynia, as we have observed above, manded by and encamped in the neighbourhood of Nice, began to mutiny; and deposing Gautier, advanced Raymond, a German commander of great prowess, in his room. After this, the Germans and Italians, separating from the French, encamped apart. A strong party of the *Italians*, having made themselves masters of a town called *Xeri-gordus*, were there surprised by the *Turks*, and put to the sword. The *French*, who lay encamped near Helenopolis and Cibolus, two villages on the gulf of Nicomedia, b were, by the Turkish commander in those parts, drawn into an ambuscade, and mostly either cut off, or taken prisoners; so that of the forty thousand men commanded by Peter, scarce three thousand were left, who with him took refuge in Cinite; which place they defended till the arrival of Godfrey, and the other princes of the crusade, with whom they marched to Nice; which city was invested by the chri- Nice besieged stlan princes in the month of May 1097. As the place had been strongly fortified by the chri by Solyman, then fultan of the Turks, who had chosen it for the seat of his empire, stians, and was defended by a numerous garifon, the fiege lasted several weeks; during which time, both the christians and Turks gave many signal instances of their intrepidity and resolution. Solyman, who had posted himself with a numerous army c among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raife the siege; but was as often repulsed with much slaughter. However, the besieged continued to defend the place with great courage and resolution, till the emperor Alexius, who assisted in person at the enterprize, having caused a great number of small vessels to be sitted out, cut off the communication, which, by means of the lake Ascanius, the city maintained with the neighbouring country. The garison being thus deprived of the

privately folicited by the emperor with mighty promifes to furrender the place, not to the western princes, but to him, they submitted at length, and, on the fifth of And taken: July, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name Butumites. Among the many d captives taken on this occasion, were Solyman's wife, and two of his children, who were immediately fent to Constantinople. After the reduction of Nice, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great distrust, bent their march towards Syria, having first divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and subsistence. Bohemond, who marched the first, was fuddenly attacked by Solyman, at the head of fixty thousand Turks, and would in all likelihood have been put to flight, had not Hugh come feafonably to his relief with thirty thousand men; who falling upon the enemy, cut forty thousand of them in The Turks depieces, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. This feated. victory was attended with the furrender of Antioch in Pisidia, of Iconium in Cilicia, è Heraclea, and several other places. The christian princes, animated with this suc-

constant supplies they received both of men and provisions, and at the same time

cefs, bound themselves by an oath not to return, till they had rescued the holy city of Jerusalem out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having passed mount Taurus, they made themselves masters of the cities of Maresia and Artasia; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles distant from Antioch, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-first of Ollober 1097. As the place was Antioch bestrongly fortified, and garifoned with seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand sieged, and foot, the siege lasted to the third of June, when one Pyrrbus, who had in appearance embraced the Mohammedan superstition to save his estate, and was entrusted with the defence of a tower called the Two sisters, betrayed the city to Bohemond, whose men f entering it in the night, opened the gates to the rest of the army; who salling upon the Turks before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut them off almost to a man. Coffianus the governor, with some others, found means to make his escape out of the place; but fell soon after into the hands of the Armenian christians, by whom he was stain. While the christians were engaged in the siege of Antioch, Corbenus, one of the fultan of Persia's generals, attacked Edessa with a mighty army; but Baldwin, to whom the place had submitted some months before, gave him such a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprize, and marched to the relief of Antioch. Being informed on his march, that the city was taken, he resolved nevertheless to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, The Turks de-

g having lost, as we are told, an hundred thousand, partly killed, and partly taken feated with prisoners; great flaughter

began

prisoners; whereas of the christians only four thousand two hundred were slain. This a memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh of June 1098, and the next day the Turks, who still kept the castle of Antioch, despairing of relief, submitted, and were made prisoners. The christians, thus become masters of Antioch, chose with one confent Bohemond prince of that metropolis, not thinking themselves bound by the late treaty, fince Alexius had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the least affistance. However, they sent Hugh, brother to Philip king of France, and Baldwin earl of Heynault, to give the emperor an account of their success, and press him to join them with all his forces, pursuant to the treaty; but the earl of Heynault was never afterwards seen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been taken prisoner, and murdered by the emperor's orders. b As for the other, he got fafe to Constantinople; but instead of returning to the princes with an account of his embaffy, he departed from thence into France; whence some writers speak of him much to his disadvantage, as if he had been bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterprize. The emperor had indeed at this time a just excuse for not joining the western princes; for Tangripermes, a Turkish pirate, having seized on the cities of Smyrna and Ephesus, and reduced the islands of Rhodes and Chios, infested the coasts of the empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against him the emperor fent a confiderable fleet and army; which arriving fafe at Smyrna, befieged that city by fea and land, and having in the end reduced it, marched to Exhejus; which was likewise forced to submit, Tangripermes having been deseated c with great slaughter in that neighbourhood. The victory gained by the emperor's forces was followed by the furrender of Philadelphia, Laodicea, and other maritime A war between cities of great importance. Alexius, elated with this success, laid claim to Antioch, and fent embassadors to Bobemond, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. Bohemond was so offended at this demand, that, instead of complying with it, he, in his turn, claimed, as prince of Antioch, the city of Laodicea, and dispatched a considerable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew Tancred, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the same time several other strongholds in Cilicia, belonging to the emperor. Hereupon Alexius, having caused a mighty fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, resolved to stop the passage d of the supplies, which the western princes, especially the bishop of Pisa, were preparing for the support of the christians in the east, till such time as they had restored to the empire the cities they had taken from the Turks. Of this fleet Taticius was appointed admiral, who, meeting that of the western princes near Rhodes, attacked them, and gave them a total overthrow; but was himself overtaken, in his return to Constantinople, by a violent storm, which destroyed the greater part of his sleet. After this, the emperor ordered Catacuzenus, one of his generals, to lay fiege to Laodices taken Laodicea; which, notwithstanding the supplies Bohemond with much difficulty threw into it, was in the end obliged to fubmit. Hereupon the prince of Antioch, finding he had not fufficient strength at present to contend with the emperor either by sea or c land, left a strong garison in Antioch, and passed undiscovered into Italy, with a defign to levy new forces there, and return early in the spring into the east. Alexius, acquainted with his defign, ordered his admiral, by name Contostephanus, to cruize on the coasts of Italy, and prevent, by all means, Bobemond's fleet from passing into the east; but Contostephanus, departing from his instructions, made a descent, and laid siege to Brundusium; which however he was obliged to raise, his men being with great slaughter put to flight by the inhabitants. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion were fix Scythians, whom Bohemond carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the affistance of such infidels and barbarians, Alexius endeavoured to stop the progress of the christian princes in the east; which inflamed both the pope and the people against him to such a degree, that multitudes crowded daily to Bohemond, defiring to be employed against a prince, whom they looked upon as an avowed enemy to the christian name. Bohemond, having by this means soon raised a powerful army, passed over into Illyricum; and landing without opposition in the neighbourhood of Dyrrhachium, sat down before that important place, after having caused his sleet to Dyrrhachium. be burnt in the fight of the whole army, that, feeing there was no means of making their escape, they might fight the more courageously, and place their safety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous garifon, and supplied with great plenty of provisions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out, till Bohemond's army being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries, that haughty prince g

Alexius and Bohemond. prince of Antioch.

by Alexius.

Bohemond tays siege to a began to give ear to the proposals that were made him for putting an end to the war. After several conferences between him and the emperor's ministers, a peace was in the A peaceconend concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The war being thus cluded. ended, Bohemond returned to Italy, according to Anna Comnena; but, according to others, to Antioch, where, we are told, he died fix months after o. Alexius, being disengaged from this war, marched in person against the Turks, who, renewing their incursions, had laid the country waste to the very walls of Nice; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, gave them a total overthrow. However, the Turks returned the following year; but were, in feveral successive battles, overcome and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, Alexius himself being prevented, b by the gout, and other distempers, that usually attend old age, from heading his army in person. The Turks, disheartened with the great losses they had sustained, sent to fue for peace; which was readily granted them by the emperor; who thenceforth Alexius connever appeared more in the field, but spent the remaining part of his life in striving cludes a peace to heal the divisions, which at that time rent the Greek church. Being seized with a with the Turks violent cold, he died in the year 1118. the thirty-feventh of his reign, and twenty- His death and fecond after the expedition of the western princes for the recovery of the holy land f. character. There is a great disagreement among authors touching the character of this prince, the Greek historians, especially his daughter Anna Comnena, painting him as the best of princes, and those who have written the history of the holy war, representing c him as the worst. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great address and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the best statesman of his time. He was grateful, generous and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother, and the rest of his friends, who had been instrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped fuch wealth, as quite drained the exchequer; whence, to carry on the war with the Turks, he was forced to feize on the riches of the churches and monasteries; which has prompted some ecclesiastic writers to paint him in the blackest colours. He seems to have been a stranger to all manner of cruelty; for tho' many conspiracies were formed against him during the long course of his reign, yet we read of no other punishment inflicted even on the chief authors d of them, besides banishment, or the confiscation of their estates. His behaviour to the western princes, tho' altogether unbecoming one who professed the same religion, may in some degree be excused, in regard of the jealousy he entertained of them, especially of Bohemond, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppose and weaken, than affift them in an undertaking, he apprehended, might at last end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enciny. During his fickness, he was earnestly solicited by the empress, and his daughter Ann, to exclude his own son fobnfrom the succession, and bequeath the empire to Bryennius, the husband of Ann; but the emperor, deaf to their folicitations, declared John his fuccessor, who was there- Johannes upon saluted emperor by the people, as soon as the death of Alexius was known, and, Comnenus, e a few days after, crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had scarce taken possession of the imperial throne, when some of his nearest relations, at the instigation of Ann, conspired against him, with a design to depose him, and place Bryennius in his room; but the conspiracy being seasonably discovered, the conspirators were immediately seized, tried and convicted. However, the good-natured An instance of emperor did not suffer them to be otherwise punished, than by confiscating their his good nature. estates, which he foon after restored to them, receiving anew into favour all those, who, with his fifter Ann, had given life to the conspiracy. After this, he removed from court fuch as he had reason to suspect, appointing none to succeed them but perfons of known probity, and distinguished characters s. In the second year of his His wars with f reign, the Turks, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with his father, broke the Turks; into Phrygia; but the emperor, marching against them in person, overthrew them in feveral engagements; and having recovered fuch cities as they had taken in Cilicia, and among the rest Laodicea, he laid siege to Sozopolis, a strong town in Pamphylia, which he took by a stratagem, having enticed the Turks out by a pretended flight, and cut off their retreat into the city. The Turks, alarmed at the success that attended his arms, renewed the peace, which they had concluded with his father Alexius. Hereupon the emperor returned in triumph to Constantinople, where he had

\* Ann. Comnen. I. ii. c. 6. & I. xi. c. 1, 2, 3. Glyc. annal. I. iii. Zonar. in Alex. f Ann. Comn. l. xv. c. 10, 11, 12. 8 Nicet. I. i. c. 1.

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thians, the Ser-Vii, and the Hunns.

He recovers Armenia.

ing Antioch from the Latins.

The emberor

He dies.

not been long, when news was brought him, that the Scythians, having passed the a Danube, and broken into Thrace, were destroying all before them with fire and fword. Against them the emperor led the flower of his army, and falling upon the barbarians before they could put themselves in a posture of desence, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, took many prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves beyond the Danube. He then turned his victorious arms, first against the Servii, whom he eafily overcame, and afterwards against the Hunns, who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the Danube with great flaughter. The emperor, croffing that river after them, carried the war into their country; and having taken feveral of their strong holds, and forced them to conclude a peace upon his own terms, he returned the second time in triumph to Constantinople's. While the emperor was thus b employed against the barbarians, the Turks, without any regard to the late treaty, entered unexpectedly Galatia and Cilicia, and made themselves masters of several cities in those two provinces. The emperor therefore, having allowed his men a few days to refresh themselves at Constantinople, led them afterwards into the east, where he foon made himself master of all Armenia, driving every-where the Turks before The castle of Baca, and the cities of Castamona, Anazarba, Serep, Capharda, Istria, and Sezer, made a vigorous refistance; but were in the end obliged to submit. However, having laid fiege to Berwa in Syria, he was forced by the numerous garifon to raife it, and drop that enterprize. On his return homewards, he was reconciled to his brother Isaac, who in the beginning of his reign, having taken some c difgust, had sled to the Turks, and assisted them with his advice in all their undertakings against the christians. Soon after, John, Isaac's son, deserted to the enemy, and renouncing the christian religion, embraced the superstition of Mohammed. The emperor, having spent three years in the east, and recovered from the Turks the feveral cities and strong-holds which they had lately taken, returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. Having fettled his domestic affairs, he resolved to return once more into the east; and accordingly began his march early in the spring of the year 1140, attended by his three fons, Alexius, Andronicus, and Manuel, giving out, that he had nothing else in view but to secure his conquests in Armenia, and confirm the cities, that had lately sub-d He forms a de- mitted to him, in their obedience; but his real design was to recover, if possible, the city of Antioch, held by the Latins, and reunite that flately metropolis to the empire. Heaven feemed to be offended at this undertaking; for foon after he had left Constantinople, his two eldest sons, Alexius and Andronicus, died in the prime of their years, to the unexpressible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to fink under the weight of so unexpected a calamity. However, he pursued his march, and entering Syria, acquaint d the inhabitants of Antioch with his arrival; who thereupon fent some of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he drew near, they refused to admit him within the gates, till he had solemnly sworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a short stay in the city. He had e entertained hopes of gaining over the citizens, and by that means making himself master of the city; but finding them inviolably attached to the Latins, he retired in a great rage, ordering his foldiers, at their departure, to plunder the suburbs. From Antioch he bent his march to Cilicia, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poisoned arrow, which he carried in his mounded with a quiver. Tho' the wound was flight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in poijoned arrow. due time, it caused such a swelling in his arm, that the physicians were for cutting it off; but he peremptorily refusing to submit to the operation, the strength of the poison prevailed to such a degree, that he was in a short time brought to the point of death; when, summoning the chief of the nobility to his chamber, he named in their f presence his youngest son Manuel to succeed him, as better qualified in every respect for that eminent station, than his other fon Isaac. Hereupon Manuel was immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility, and the chief officers of the army, who bound themselves by a solemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died soon after, on the eighth of April 1143. having reigned twenty-four years, and eight months. It is observable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign; whence he was no less beloved by his subjects for his humanity

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a and good nature, than feared by the enemies of the empire, on account of his courage, experience in war, and the success that attended him in all his expeditions.

THE emperor no sooner expired, than Manuel dispatched Axuchus, who had been Manuel Comprime minister to his father, to Constantinople, with orders to secure Ijaac; who was nenus. accordingly feized, before he had time to affert his right to the empire, and confined to a monastery. Soon after, the new emperor arrived; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated Isaac, he was crowned with great folemnity by the patriarch. Having fettled his domestic affairs, and fet his brother Ilaac His war with at liberty, upon his promifing to attempt no innovations during his abience, he passed the Turks. over into Asia, at the head of a mighty army; and having recovered several cities in

b Phrygia, lately taken by the Turks, he fat down before Icon um; but not being able to master that important place, he returned to Constantinople, leaving sufficient garifons in the frontier-towns to restrain the incursions of the Turks. During his stay in the imperial city, he married Gertrude, fifter-in-law to Conrade, the German emperor; but flighting her, tho' endowed with every periection b. coming a perion of her fex and quality, he maintained a criminal conventation with his own nicce Theedora; which greatly estranged from him the minds of his people. But nothing has rendered his His treachername more odious to posterity, than his treacherous behaviour to the western princes; our behaviour for having promised to supply the army of Conrade, who in the year 1146, undertook princes, an expedition into the holy land, with forage and provisions, instead of that he an expedition into the holy land, with forage and provisions, instead of that, he c caused the countries, through which they were to pass, to be laid waste, and the gates

of the towns to be shut; nay, we are told, that the Greeks, inspired by the emperor with an irreconcilable hatred to those adventurers, mixed the flour they fold them with quick-lime; which occasioned a dreadful mortality in the christian army. Besides, the emperor privately acquainted Mamut, sultan of Iconium in Asia Minor, with the designs of Conrade, and the other princes. Whereupon the sultan alarming all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raised in defence of their common interest, and fent to protect their territories, before the christian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this means the defigns of the western princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwise might have easily triumphed over all the east, in a great measure d destroyed k. Roger, king of Sicily, highly provoked at Manuel's treachery, took His wars with

advantage of some disturbances raised by the inhabitants of Corcyra, who thought Roger kings themselves oppressed by too heavy exactions, and made himself master of that island. themselves oppressed by too heavy exactions, and made himself master of that island. From thence he failed to Corintb, which he likewife took and plundered, with Thebes, and most of the principal cities of Baotia. Hereupon Manuel, having assembled all the forces of the empire, and equipped a mighty fleet, proclaimed war against Roger and the Sicilians; which he began with the fiege of Corcyra, now Corfu. The befieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being in the end quite tired out with repeated attacks, they furrendered upon honourable terms. In this siege the emperor, who commanded his troops in person, lost an incredible number of men, and among e the rest Stephen, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his success, he resolved to carry the war into Sicily itself; but was overtaken by a violent storm, in which several of his ships were lost, and he himself driven, with most of the transports,

to Aulon. Being informed, during his stay there, that the Servians had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched against them in person, committing the management of the Sicilian war to Michael Palæologus. Manuel gained great advantages over the Servians, tho' affilted by the Hungarians, whom he likewise overcame in feveral battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed fome of their chief towns, and then returned to Constantinople, loaded with booty. As for Palwologus, he marched into Calabria, where he frequently defeated Roger's forces,

f and continued laying waste the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace A peace conwas concluded between the two princes. The emperor, now difengaged from this cluded between war, took a progress into the east, being every-where received in a friendly manner, and entertained with shews and festivals, by the western princes, notwithstanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked unexpectedly by the Turks, who killed several of his men, and took part of To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a short stay at Constantinople, passed over into Asia, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which struck the fultan with such terror, that he sent embassadors to sue for peace, offering

Areights by the Turks.

A beace concluded with the luitan.

vade the emtire anew; but 24000 of them are cut ojj.

Manuel dies.

Alexius Comnenus.

Andronicus revolts,

And marci towards Co .stantinople.

to conclude it upon such terms, as the emperor himself should judge proper. But a Manuel adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, pushed on with a false courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the sultan were rejected, and his embassadors dismissed with this haughty answer, That the emperor would come and let him know his pleasure at Iconium, which was the metropolis of the Turkish empire in Asia Minor. Hereupon the sultan, finding a war unavoidable, feized on the narrow passes of Zibrica, through which the emperor's army was to pass, and falling upon them as foon as they entered the streights, made a dreadful havock of them with showers of arrows from the mountains and broken cliffs. The Romans attempted to retire; but their retreat being cut off by a strong detachment of Turks. posted at the entrance of the streights, they were forced to pursue their march, being b galled the whole time by the enemy's arrows showering down upon them from the eminences. In the mean time night coming on, the Turks, who were well acquainted with the country, possessed themselves of all the outlets; so that the Romans found themselves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every fide, without being able either to retire or advance. In this condition, while they looked upon themselves as lost, the fultan, to the great furprize of the emperor and the whole army, fent to Manuel one of his chief officers, by name Gabras, with proposals for a peace; which he immediately figned, to the inexpressible joy of the whole army, who pursued their march unmolested to Chonas, where the emperor distributed what money he had with him among the foldiers, and then proceeded to Philadelphia, in which city he continued, till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of Dorylaum and Subleum in Asia Minor should be razed. This the emperor, now out of danger, refused to perform, alledging, that what had been extorted from him by force, was not binding. The fultan, highly provoked at this answer, The Turks in- fent a body of twenty-four thousand chosen men, under the conduct of Atapacus, to lay waste all Phrygia; which they did with the utmost barbarity, sparing neither sex nor age. But the emperor's forces, falling upon them as they were croffing the Meander on their way home, cut them all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty k. The Turks were so disheartened with this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of Manuel's reign, who, having no wars to employ his thoughts, d turned them to religious matters, and by endeavouring to introduce and establish heterodox opinions, raised great disturbances and divisions in the church, some of the prelates being prompted by their interest to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was Eustathius archbishop of Thessalonica, famous for his learned comments on Homer. But the death of the emperor put an end to these disputes. He was taken ill in March 1180. and died in the following September, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries, to which he abandoned himself in times of peace 1.

HE was succeeded by his son Alexius Comnenus; but he being only twelve years old, his mother took upon her the administration, and governing with an absolute sway, suffered the young prince to indulge himself in his pleasures and diversions, in order to indispose him for applying to the affairs of state. The ministers, whom the empress employed, made it their chief study to enrich themselves at the expence of the public, the empress herself having nothing else in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus intirely neglected, while every one studied his private interest, the Turks, who let slip no opportunity of inlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, made themselves masters of Sozopolis, and several other important places in Phrygia. This raised in the people a general dislike to the present admini- f stration; which being observed by Andronicus, who was cousin-german to the late emperor, and had long aspired at the empire, he thought this the most proper time to attempt the obtaining of what he so ardently wished for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his infinuating and popular behaviour, he left Oeneum, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and moving with his friends and dependents towards Constantinople, gave out, that he had nothing else in view but to reform the abuses of the state, to affert the imperial dignity, to redress the grievances of the people, and rescue the young prince out of the hands of those,

a who, in a most shameful manner, abused his authority, to the oppression of those, whom they were bound to protect. He was every-where received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and fuch multitudes flocked to him from all parts, that none dared to oppose him, till he came into Bithynia, where the governors of Nice and Nicomedia shut their gates against him, as a public enemy. ever, he purfued his march to a caftle called Charace, where he was met by a body of the imperial troops commanded by Andronicus Angelus, whom he put to flight; and advancing with long marches towards Constantinople, encamped at a small distance from Chalcedon, in fight of the imperial city. The empress had committed the whole management of affairs to Alexius, then prefident of the council, with whom she was b thought to be more familiar than was confiftent with her honour. As Alexius hoped by her means to be advanced one day to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the designs of Andronicus; but being universally detested by the people, on account of his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raised fled over to Andronicus, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of The army and Contostephanus, followed their example. Hereupon the people, assembling in a tu-fleet revolt so multuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared deduced deduced from him. multuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared Andronicus guardian of the young prince, fet at liberty his two fons, John and Manuel, whom Alexius had thrown into prison, and seizing on Alexius himself, carried him in a mock triumph to the fea-fide, attended with the fcoffs and curfes of the enraged multitude, and thence conc veyed him in a small boat to Andronicus, who, after having exposed him to the insults of the whole army, caused his eyes to be pulled out. Soon after, Andronicus, passing the fireights, went to wait on the emperor, who was then, with the empress his mother, at a royal feat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his presence, sell on the ground, out of a pretended respect to his prince, repeating several texts of scripture, adapted to the present purpose. As for the empress, he saluted her with a coldness, which sufficiently betrayed the aversion he bore her. Having staid some days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, attended with the shouts He is received and acclamations of the people, and was by all, with one voice, declared and acknow- at Constantiledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young Alexius. But, not-clared protection of the tyrangical conduct of Alexius the procedure of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of Alexius the procedure of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of Alexius the procedure of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the protection of the tyrangical conduct of the tyrangical cond d withstanding the tyrannical conduct of Alexius the president, the citizens of Constant tor of the emtinople had foon occasion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty, pire. which the protector did not practife upon the unhappy people, without distinction of fex or condition. Some were deprived of their fight, others banished, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of some private grudge, or because they seemed attached to the young prince. Among the rest Mary, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very instrumental in the late revolution, and her husband Manuel, Andronicus's own fon, were poisoned by the tyrant's orders. As for the empress, he caused her to be accused of treason, as if she had by letters invited Bela, king of the Hungarians, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this charge, altogee ther groundless, she was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppose the tyrant's pleasure, and shortly after strangled by Pterigionites the cunuch. Soon after her death, the tyrant, pretending a great tenderness, and unshaken fidelity, for the young prince, caused him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the same time to inlarge in an eloquent speech on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he faid, a person of wisdom and experience to avert them. He had no fooner done speaking, than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on before-hand, Long live Alexius and Andronicus Roman emperors, the whole multi- Made collegue tude faluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the confent and to Alexius, approbation of Alexius, on the imperial throne, the tyrant affecting the whole time f an utter aversion to what he had so long coveted; nay, upon receiving, as was cultomary, the holy eucharist at his coronation, lifting his eyes up to heaven, he folemnly swore by that venerable mystery, that he took upon him the sovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor, and support his authority; but notwithstanding this oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he resolved a few days after to dispatch his collegue, and take the whole authority into his own hands. Pursuant to this wicked resolution, one Stephanus Hagiochristophorites, with some others, entering, by the tyrant's orders, the unhappy prince's chamber in the night, strangled him with a bow-string. Such was the miserable Whom he cause

fes to be mura

end of Alexius II. in the third year of his reign, and fifteenth of his life ...

Andronicus, now fole master of the empire, made it his chief study to establish the a

Andronicus.

of Sicily. minions.

takes refuge in the church

Is proclaimed emperor.

Andronicus ellytormented

Is murdered.

power he had usurped, raging without distinction against persons of all ranks, whom he imagined in the least affected to Manuel's family, or capable of revenging his Histeruel and death. No day passed without some cruel execution; insomuch that in a short time ty-annical con- the flower of the nobility was utterly cut off, the merciless tyrant complaining all the while of the feverity of the law, which did not allow him to shew pity to so many deferving men. Some however found means to make their escape, and among the rest Isaac Comnenus, Manuel's near kinsman; who, taking refuge in Cyrrus, made himself master of that island, and is said to have exceeded even Andronicus himself in all manner of barbarities. Alexius Comnenus, brother to the late emperor Manuel, William, king fled to Sicily; and having persuaded William, king of that island, to make war upon b invades his do- Andronicus, he attended him to Dyrrhachium, which city the king soon reduced: and marching from thence into Macedon, laid waste that province without opposition, and fat down before The stall alonica, where his fleet had been ordered to attend him. The city was taken by storm, after a few days siege, through the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the utmost cruelty plundered by the Sicilians, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword, not sparing even those who had taken refuge in the churches. Andronicus, having assembled his troops, ordered them to march, under the conduct of the best generals in whom he could confide, against the enemy. But they were defeated and put to flight at the first onset; which inspired the Sicilians with such courage, that they began to look upon c themselves as already masters of the imperial city itself. In the mean time the tyrant, finding the number of the malecontents increased at home, in proportion to the succels of the enemy abroad, began to rage with more cruelty than ever, not sparing even his own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of his tyranny against others. Among the many who were destined to slaughter, was Isaac Angelus, a perfon of great distinction, being descended from one of the most antient samilies in Constantinople. Hagiochristophorites, Andronicus's prime minister, was ordered to seize him; but Isaac, having killed the affassin with his own hand, made his escape to a Isaac Angelus neighbouring church, whither he was followed by his uncle John Ducas, by his son Isaac, and by several other persons of the first quality. As Isaac was generally beloved, d on account of his popular and engaging behaviour, multitudes of people flocked from all parts of the city to see him in his asylum. As Andronicus was then absent from the city, Isaac laid hold of that opportunity to stir up the populace against him; which he did fo effectually, that, on a day appointed, they flocked in crowds to the church of St. Sofbia, and there, with one voice, faluted Isaac emperor, declaring at the same time Andronicus a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of what had happened in the city, and despairing of being able to appeale the enraged multitude, or make head against them, fled to Meludium, a royal palace on the east side of the Propontis, and from thence attempted to escape into Scythia; but being several times driven back by contrary winds, and pursued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was in the end apprehended, and presented in chains to Isaac; who, having caused taken, and crue his right-hand to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him up to the enraged populace, from whom he suffered indignities answerable to the injuries by the populace. with which he had provoked them; for having led him, as it were, in triumph, through the most frequented streets of the city on a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidst the reproaches and insults of the incensed multitude, they hung him up by the feet between two pillars, stripped of his cloaths, cut off his private parts, and tormented him for three days together, he bearing the whole time with an invincible courage all the torments the incenfed and relentless mob could inflict upon him, sometimes repeating, Lord, have mercy upon me, and fometimes addressing the multitude f with these words, Why do you break a bruised reed? At length one, touched with compassion at the sight of an object, which might have drawn tears from cruelty. itself, by a mortal wound in his throat, put an end at the same time to his life and torments, after he had lived seventy three years, and reigned two ". He was the last emperor of the Comnenian family.

Isaac, thus raised to the imperial dignity, gained, in the beginning of his reign, Haac Angelus. the affections of his subjects, by his lenity and moderation, not only recalling and restoring to their estates such as had been banished by Andronicus, but relieving several

a decayed families out of his private estate. When he thought himself sufficiently established on the throne, he dispatched the flower of the army, under the conduct of Branas, an officer of great experience, against the Sicilians; who, being surprised by him as they were roving about the country in quest of plunder, were put to flight, and He defeats the cut off almost to a man, either by the emperor's troops, or the natives, whom they Sicilians. had provoked with their barbarities. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred fail, on their return home, being overtaken and dispersed by a violent storm, most of their ships were taken by the emperor's admiral, and great numbers of prisoners sent to Constantinople, where most of them perished with famine, the emperor, who was naturally addicted to cruelty, not fuffering them to be relieved even with bread and water. Having thus put an end to the Sicilian war, he refolved to drive, if possible, Isaac Comnenus, of whom we have spoken above, out of Cyprus, where he oppressed the inhabitants in a most tyrannical manner. In order to this, he equipped a mighty fleet, which he sent, under the command of John Contostephanus, and Alexius Comnenus, to make a descent upon that island; which they did accordingly, landing with-Attempts in out the least opposition. But while the forces were ashore, Margarites, a famous vainto recover pirate, who had joined Isaac Comnenus, falling upon the seet, seized or burnt all the Cyprus. ships, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were landed, and could not retreat, cut them off all to a man. This misfortune encouraged the Miefians, whom the emperor oppressed with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the protection of the Seyc thians; who, having raifed a numerous army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. Against them the emperor dispatched his uncle John Ducas, who gained several advantages over the enemy, and would in all likelihood have put an end to the war, had he not been recalled by the jealous emperor. John, surnamed Cantacuzenus, being appointed to succeed him, was, through his rashness and indiscretion, often worsted by the enemy. Whereupon Branas Alexius, the greatest commander of his age, was entrusted with the whole management of the war. Branas, seeing himself at the head of a Branas revolupowerful and well disciplined army, after having gained some advantages over the enemy, returned on a sudden to Adrianople, the place of his nativity; and having caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there, led his troops without loss of time d to the imperial city, hoping to surprise the emperor, who had scarce received intel- And lays siege ligence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themselves, upon his approach, in a to Constantiposture of desence, and haraffing his troops with frequent sallies, he resolved to encamp nople. at some distance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by samine. The emperor in the mean time, reposing all his confidence in the virgin Mary, (whose image he caused to be placed on the walls) and in the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was roused by Conrade, son to the marquis of Montferrat, who, happening to be then at Constantinople, encouraged him to draw together his troops, and march out against the enemy; which he did accordingly, being attended by Conrade, who commanded e the main body of the imperial army. Branas received him with his men in battlearray; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the dispute was maintained for a considerable time on both fides with great obstinacy; but in the end the emperor's forces, tho' a handful in comparison of the enemy's, prevailing, Branas himself was killed He is defeated on the spot, and most of his chief officers either slain in the pursuit, or taken prison- and killed. ers. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of Conrade, by whose hand Branas fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge o. The rebellion being thus happily quelled, the jealous emperor resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the celebrated emperor of Germany, Frederic The emperor's Barbarossa, who was marching, at the head of a mighty army, to the assistance of treacherons f the princes of the crusade. He had promised to grant Frederic a free passage through conduct tohis dominions, and supply his army with all manner of provisions; but being in the wards redet mean time gained over by Saladin, the Turkish sultan, who promised to restore Pale- emperor. fine to him, instead of affishing the German army, pursuant to his engagement, he no sooner heard of their arrival on the borders, than he dispatched his cousin Manuel, with a powerful army, to obstruct their passage, and intercept their provisions, having first, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into prison the bishop of Munster, the earl of Nassau, and count Walram, Frederic's embassadors. The Germans, justly provoked at the emperor's treachery and perfidiousness, passed, in spite

of the opposition they met with from the cowardly Greeks, into Thrace, and the

Frederic de-

feats the emperor's forces. Takes Jeveral places.

peror to submit to di honourable terms.

The emperor defeated by the Scythians.

lus revolts.

feized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the fortified towns, pursuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached Philippopolis, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and Frederic, taking possession of it, halted there a few days to refresh his troops. In the mean time the emperor, highly incenfed against Manuel, whom he accused of cowardice, sent him peremptory orders to engage the Germans; pursuant to which, the Greek general advanced within fix miles of Philippopolis. But his whole army being shamefully put to flight by a party of Germans, whom Frederic had sent out to fcour the country, and watch the enemy's motions, the cities of Nicopolis and Adrianople, with all the places between the A gean and Euxine seas, opened their gates of to the victorious army, without attempting to make the least opposition. Hereupon the emperor, having let Frederic's embassiadors at liberty, began to sue for peace, offering to supply the Germans with provisions, and the necessary ships to transport them into Asia, provided they delivered hostages to him for his scurity, and crossed the streights without delay. Frederic, now master of the whole country to the very gates of Constantinople, thought it became him to chastise the pride of the presumptuous, but cowardly Greeks, and therefore returned the following answer to the emperor's deputies; That he had conquered Thrace, and therefore would dispose of it at his pleasure; that he was determined to winter there, since the emperor had, by his perfidiousness, retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to pass the c streights; that he was resolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a fufficient number of ships ready against Easter to transport his troops; and since he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to fend without delay twentyfour of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred persons of inferior quality, as hostages for the performance of what he required. To these Obliger the en- shameful conditions the emperor readily submitted, sending immediately the hostages with rich presents to Frederic, who, having wintered at Adrianople, removed early in the spring to Callipolis, where he found a great number of vessels ready to transport his army into Asia v. In the year 1192, the eighth of Isaac's reign, an impostor, pretending to be the son of the emperor Manuel, laid claim to the empire; and being d encouraged by the fultan of Iconium, raifed in a short time an army of eight thousand men, made himself master of all the cities in the Meander, in spite of the opposition he met with from Alexius, the emperor's brother, who was fent against him, and would in all like lihood have in the end driven the emperor from the throne, multitudes flocking to him from all parts, had not a priest put an end to his conquests, by stabbing him with his own sword, while he lay aster having drunk to excess 4. The Scythians, encouraged by these domestic commotions, renewed their incursions, and over running the neighbouring provinces, destroyed all with fire and sword. Against them the emperor marched in person; but having passed the summer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut the greatest e part of his army in pieces, the emperor himself having with much-ado made his escape. After this, the barbarians roved about the country without controll, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity. The emperor dispatched against them first Alexius Guido, and afterwards Bataizes Basilius; but both these generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the spot, with the flower of his army, the emperor, having raifed new forces, refolved to march against them once more in person. Accordingly, he set out from Constantinople early in the spring, and arriving at Cypsella on the frontiers of the empire, he halted there, till the troops, Alexius Ange-lus revolus. In the mean time his brother Alexius Angelus, who had long aspired at the empire, observing the general discontent that f reigned among the foldiery, refolved to lay hold of the present opportunity of attaining what he had so long wished for. Accordingly, having imparted his design to some of the chief officers of the army, and sound them ready to espouse his interest, and combine against Isaac, while the emperor was one day diverting himself with the chace, the conspirators, seizing Alexius, as had been agreed on before hand, carried him to the imperial pavilion, and with repeated acclamations, saluted him emperor, being therein followed by the whole army. Isaac, judging it impossible to reclaim the revolted army to their duty, fled with great precipitation to Macra,

a where he was overtaken by those whom his brother had sent after him, and by his orders deprived of his fight, and thrown into prison, after he had reigned nine years

and eight months r.

Alexius Angelus, thus raised to the throne, abandoned himself to the same vices, Alexius Angel for which he pretended to have removed his brother, spending his time in riot and lusluxury, while the Scytbians on one hand, and the Turks on the other, made themfelves masters of several important places, and laid waste whole provinces. As he was an utter enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of His bad goaffairs to his wife Euphrosyne, and his favourites, who oppressed the people in a most vernment. tyrannical manner, felling the first employments of the state to the highest bidder, b without any regard to their birth or abilities, and using all other means, how unjust foever and dishonourable, to fill their private coffers. In the year 1202. Alexius, reflecting on the great kindness his brother had shewn him during his reign, and thinking himself now firmly established on the throne, ordered the unhappy Isaac Isaac, the late to be set at liberty, and called his fon Alexius, at that time about twelve years old, emperor. set to the court, treating him as his own child. But Isaac, still mindful of the indig-at liberty. nity that had been offered him, and the injustice done both to himself and his son, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former dignity, and afferting his undoubted right to the imperial crown. With this view he maintained a private correspondence with the Latins, and by their means with his daughter Irene, wife to c Philip emperor of Germany, earnestly pressing her to persuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. Irene giving them hopes of a speedy and powerful affiltance, young Alexius made his escape from Constanti- His son Alexius nople; and embarquing in a ship belonging to a merchant of Pi/a, riding then at the recurs to the mouth of the Hellespont, landed safe in Sicily, where he spent some days in private western princes. conserences with his sister, who was then in that island, and from thence pursued his journey to Rome, to solicit the affistance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received, and warmly recommended to Philip. That prince received young Alexius with the greatest demonstrations imaginable of kindness and esteem, and was sensibly touched, as he had an intire affection for Irene, with the misfortunes of her family;

d but being then engaged in a troublesome war with Otho, who disputed the empire with him, he could not espouse the young prince's cause. However, by means of his embassadors, he engaged the French and Venetians, who had then a powerful army in Dalmatia, ready to march against the Turks, to attempt the restoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole strength against the usurper. The treaty, A treaty conafter some warm disputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the French and Vene-cluded between tians were to establish Alexius on the imperial throne, and Alexius, upon his restora-them and Alexius tion, to pay two hundred thousand marks in filver towards the expences of the holy xius. war, maintain ten thousand men one year to be employed in the conquest of  $E_{gypt}$ , and, during his life, five hundred knights well armed for the defence of such places as they should conquer in the holy land. The treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarqued and failed for Corfu, the place of the general rendez-

As they appeared before Dyrrhachium, the inhabitants were no sooner in-Dyrrhachium formed, that the young prince was on board the fleet, than they presented him with submits to the keys of the place, and swore allegiance to him. Encouraged with this happy Alexius. presage, they pursued their course to the island of Corfu, and from thence, after a Thort stay, to the port of St. Stephen on the Propontis, where they refreshed them-Telves, and then failed to Chalcedon, opposite to the imperial city, where they landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having drawn together all his forces, Constantiencamped on the Bosporus, over-against the confederates, who nevertheless passed nople besteged.

f the streights, the emperor having but twenty galleys to oppose them, and landed in fight of the emperor's army, who, at their approach, retired in great diforder. The next day the French made themselves masters of the castle of Galata, and the Venetians being favoured by an easterly wind, failed up to the chain that locked up the mouth of the harbour; and having cut it with sheers of steel, that opened and thut by means of an engine, they took or funk all the Greek vessels in the haven. After this, the Venetians having battered the walls for ten days together by sea, and the French by land, a general affault was given on the seventeenth of July. Greeks made a more vigorous opposition than was expected; and being affilted both

The usurber makes bis escape.

nople.

betrays the young prince,

by the advantage of the place, and their numbers, often repulfed the aggreffors. a But at length the celebrated *Henry Dandalo*, duke of *Venice*, tho' then above eighty years old, putting himself at the head of his countrymen, whom he encouraged more with his example than his words, broke in, maugre all opposition; and having feized on one of the towers, planted on the top of it the great standard of St. Mark. The emperor, finding part of the enemy's troops was got into the town, fallied out with a defign to charge them in the rear, and by that means oblige them to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulsed with great slaughter, and the brave Dandalo having by this time made himself master of twenty-five towers on the fide of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people, went privately on board a small vessel, kept ready for that purpose, and escaped with his treasures, b and the imperial ornaments, to Zagora, a city of Thrace, at the foot of mount Hamus. It was no fooner known, that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crouding to the prison, where Isaac had been detained ever fince the flight of his son Alexius, faluted him anew with the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years before; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the usurper, and the re-establishment of Isaac, invited the young prince to share the empire with his father. The confederates were transported with joy at the news of so sudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the Greeks, they refused to acknowledge Isaac, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his fon; which he had no c fooner done, tho' not without fome reluctance, the articles appearing to him very Isac reflored. hard, than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was affociated with his father in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and folemnity on the first of August 1203'. As the usurper continued still in Thrace, supported there by a strong party; and Theodorus Lascaris, his fon-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other fide the Bosporus, the two emperors earnestly intreated the confederates to put off their expedition to the holy hand, till they had completed the work, which they had so happily begun. To this they readily agreed; and marching against the tyrant, who had seized on Adrianople, drove him from thence, and d obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring barbarians. Theodorus Lascaris no fooner heard, that the confederates were preparing to crofs the streights, in order to attack him, than he difbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the The confederates, having thus established the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to Constantinople, where they were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable; and from thence passed early in the A dreadful fire spring over into Asia. The same year, 1203. happened a dreadful conflagration at at Constanti- Constantinople, occasioned by some Latin soldiers, who having plundered a mosque, which the late emperor had fuffered the Mohammedans to build in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the Turks, who were much superior to them e in number, set fire to some wooden houses, the better to savour their escape. The flame, spreading in an instant from street to street, reduced in a short time great part of the city to ashes, with the capacious store-houses, that had been built at a vast expence on the key. The emperor Isaac died soon after the departure of the Latins, leaving his fon Alexius fole master of the empire. The young prince, to discharge the large sums he had promised to the French and Venetians, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, which, with the great esteem and friendship he shewed to his deliverers, raised a general discontent among the people, who were fworn enemies to the Latins. This encouraged John Ducas, furnamed Murizuphlus, Murtzuph'us from his joined and thick eye-brows, to attempt the fovereignty. As he was a person f of great address and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himself with the multitude, by exclaiming against the Latins, as the only cause of the present miseries; but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to disoblige the Latins, and even to treat them as enemies. As the hostilities were returned by the western princes, Murtzuphlus dispatched in the emperor's name one of his friends to the marquis of Montferrat, with proposals for an accommodation, offering to deliver up to him the palace and fortress of Blacherna, within the walls of Constantinople, provided he would come and deliver him from the enraged

a populace, who, he faid, had revolted, and proclaimed another emperor. The marquis, giving credit to the embassador, prepared to march to Constantinople; but in the mean time, the treacherous Murtzuphlus, having stirred up the people by giving out, that Alexius had fold the city to the Latins, who were in full march to take posfession of it, entered, in the height of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and strangled And murders him with his own hands. After this, he presented himself to the people, acquainted him. them with what he had done to fecure their liberties, and earneftly intreated them to chuse an emperor, who had courage enough to defend them against the Latins, who were ready to oppress and enslave them. He had no sooner ended his speech, than those who were privy to his wicked design, saluted him with the title of empeb ror, and were followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne, as one capable of defeating the pretended defigns of the Latins. The princes of the crusade no sooner heard of the death of Alexius, and the promotion of the treacherous affaffin, than they unanimously agreed to turn their The Latins arms against the usurper, to revenge the murder of a prince, whom they had placed refolve to reupon the throne; and fince they had been so often betrayed, and retarded in their vengo his feveral expeditions to the holy land by the Greek emperors, to make themselves masters of Constantinople, and seize on the empire for themselves. Pursuant to this resolution, having mustered all their forces in Asia, they crossed the streights, and closely belieged the imperial city both by sea and land. The tyrant, who was a They beliege c man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, Constantithe Latins, after having battered the walls for feveral days together with an incre-nople; dible number of engines, gave a general affault on the eighth of April, which lasted from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having lost some of their engines, and a great number of men. It was nevertheless refolved the same night in a council of war, that the attack should be renewed, which was done accordingly on Monday the twelfth of April, when, after a warm dispute of several hours, the French planted their standard on one of the towers; which the Venetians observing, they quickly made themselves masters of four other towers, where they likewife displayed their ensigns. In the mean time, three of the gates d being broken down with the battering rams, and those who had scaled the walls having killed the guards, and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle array within the walls. But the Greeks flying up and down in the greatest consusion, several parties were detached to scour the streets, who put all they met to the sword, without distinction of age or condition. Night put a stop to the dreadful slaughter, when the princes, founding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to stand upon their guard, and fortify themselves, not doubting but they should be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly surprised, when, instead of an armed enemy, they saw by break of day processions of suppliants advancing Which is taken e to them from every quarter of the city, with crosses, banners, images of saints, and plundered. relics, &c. to implore mercy. The princes, touched with compassion, promised them their lives, but at the same time ordering them to retire to their houses, they gave up the city to be plundered by the foldiery for that day, strictly injoining them to abstain from slaughter, to preserve the honour of the women, and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a just distribution might be made according to the rank and merit of each particular. The Greeks had, without all doubt, removed and concealed their most valuable effects during the night; the most eminent persons had made their escape, and carried with them infinite treasures; most of the soldiers had, in all likelihood, reserved several things of great value for themselves, as it comf monly happens, notwithstanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the statues, pictures and jewels, amounted to a sum almost incredible. As for Murtzupblus, he made his escape in the night, embarquing on a small vessel with Euphrosyne, the wife of the late usurper Alexius Angelus, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whose sake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204. of the christian æra, eight hundred and seventy-four years after

the removal of the imperial feat from Rome to Constantinople.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

The Roman history, from the expulsion of the Greeks, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the utter destruction of the Roman empire.

Baldwin, earl of Constantinople.

Theodorus a new empire

at Nice;

Baldwin's army defeated by the Bulgacruel death.

HE Latins, now masters of the imperial city, proceeded to the election of a new emperor; when Baldwin, earl of Flanders, a prince in every respect equal to that high trust, was, after some deliberation, chosen, and crowned with extrachosen emperor ordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of St. Sophia. To him was allotted the city of Constantinople, and the country of Thrace, with a limited sovereignty over the other provinces, which already were, or should afterwards be, taken from the Greeks. To Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, they affigned Theffaly, which was erected into a kingdom. The Venetians had for their share the islands of the Archipelago, part of Peloponnesus, and several cities on the Hellespont. But while the Latins were thus dividing their new acquisitions, Theodorus Lascaris, ion-in-law to the tyrant Lascaris erects Alexius Angelus, having, at the taking of Constantinople, made his escape into Bithynia, was there joyfully received by the inhabitants; and possessing himself not only of that country, but of Phrygia, Mysia, Ionia, and Lydia, from the Meander to the Euxine sea, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial seat in the The Comment famous city of Nice. At the fame time David and Alexius Comment, grand-children at Trapezond. to the late tyrant Andronicus, seizing on the more eastern countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, erected a new empire at Trapezus or Trapezond, where their posterity reigned, till their empire, as well as that of Constantinofle, fell into the hands of Mohammed the Great, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Thus the Greek empire was no longer one, but divided into feveral empires, Baldwin reigning at Constantinople, the marquis of Montferrat in Thessaly, Theodorus Lascaris at Nice, c the Comneni at Trapezond, and the Venetians in the islands, not to mention several other toparchies or principalities erected on the ruins of the Constantinopolitan empire. But to resume the thread of our history, Baldwin, the new emperor of Constantinople, having, with the affiltance of the other princes, reduced all Thrace, except Adrianople, whither great numbers of Greeks had fled for shelter against the prevailing power of the Latins, refolved to lay siege to that important place, and accordingly sat down before it with all his forces. The Greeks defended themselves with great resolution, and at the same time, by means of some of their nation; who had withdrawn into Bulgaria, prevailed upon John, king of that country, to espouse their cause, who marching at the head of a powerful army, consisting partly of Bulgarians, partly d of Scythians, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor, by a pretended flight, Bildwin taken, into an ambuscade, cut off most of his men, and took Baldwin himself prisoner; and put to a After this victory, the Bulgarians over-ran all Thrace, plundering the cities, laying waste the country, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. As for the unhappy emperor Baldwin, he was fent in chains to Ernoc, or Ternova, the capital of Bulgaria, where, after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a defert, and there left exposed to the wild beasts and birds of prey. In that miserable condition he lived three days, and then expired. The Greek historians themselves, who, we may well imagine, were no-ways prejudiced in his favour, allow him to have been a prince endowed with every good quality e becoming a person in his high station ".

In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, the late usurper, hearing that Theodorus Lascaris, his fon-in-law, reigned in Asia, left Greece, where he then lay concealed; and passing over into Asia, went privately to the court of Jathalines, sultan of Iconium,

a his antient friend and ally; and laying before him the miferable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his affistance for the recovery of Alexius Angehis empire, especially of that part of Asia Minor, which was, with the utmost inju- lus stirs up the stice, with-held from him by Theodorus Lascaris. Jathatines, at this time sultan of Theodorus Iconium, was the younger fon of fultan Aladin, who, at his death, divided his king-Lascaris. dom between his two children Aratines and Jathatines. But they quarrelling about the fovereignty, the latter was driven out by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to Constantinople, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to his rank by Alexius, then emperor. Jathatines therefore espousing, out of gratitude, the cause of his unfortunate friend, sent embassadors to Alexius, requirb ing him, in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjuftly possessed, to the lawful owner Alexius, his father-in-law. Before the return of the embaffadors, the fultan, attended by Alexius, advanced at the head of twenty thousand men to Antiocb on the Meander, and laid fiege to that place; which Lascaris no sooner understood, than he marched with two thousand men, the most he was able in that exigence to raife, to the relief of the befieged city, being well apprifed, that if he fuffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it flood on that river, and was the boundary of his emprie, it would open a way for them into the heart of his domi-The fultan at first could scarce give credit to those who brought him intelgence of the approach of Lascaris with so small a force. However, he drew up his c army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would allow of; which he had scarce done, when eight hundred Italians, of Lascaris's army, charging the Turks with incredible resolution, broke through the sultan's army, disordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmost confusion. As the Greeks had not courage enough to follow them, they were separated from the rest of the army, and on their return furrounded by the Turkish cavalry, and all to a man cut in pieces. The Greeks, difheartened at so great a loss, were upon the point of turning their backs, when the sultan, now, as he imagined, sure of the victory, singling out the Greek emperor, and trusting to his own strength, engaged him in person, and at the first blow struck him off his horse. But Lascaris, quickly recovering himself, unhorsed the sultan, d and, before he could put himself in a posture of defence, cut off his head; and fixing They are deit upon the point of a spear, in sight of the enemy's army, struck such terror into feated, and the them, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous and disorderly slight, sultan slain. leaving the Greeks, who before were ready to fly, masters of their camp and baggage. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to Nice, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days some years after w. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the Turks upon the Greek emperor's own terms, who being now at leifure to fecure his dominions against Henry, brother to the late emperor Baldwin, and his fuccessor in the Constantinopolitan empire, a bloody war was continued for several years between these two princes, with various war between e fuccess; but the Greeks being divided among themselves, and several princes of the the Latin and imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, Lascaris Greek empewas in the end obliged to acknowledge the authority of Henry, and conclude a peace rors. with him. After this, Henry turned his arms first against the Bulgarians, whom he drove out of Thrace, and afterwards against Michael Angelus, a Greek prince of the imperial family, who having seized on Ætolia and Epirus, during the confusion that eusued upon the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, caused himself to be acknowledged despot or lord of that country. The emperor waged war with him, and his brother Theodorus, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held. Henry, after having reigned Henry, the ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and success, died at Latin emperor, The falonica in the fortieth year of his age. He was succeeded by Peter, count of Peter. Auxerre, who had married his fifter, and fignalized himself upon several occasions. This prince, arriving at Rome on his way from France to Constantinople, was solemnly crowned there by pope Honorius III. on the ninth of April 1217. From Rome he proceeded to Venice, where he entered into an alliance with that republic against Theodorus, who had succeeded his brother Michael in the principality of Ætolia and Epirus. Leaving Venice, he entered that prince's dominions, and laid fiege to Dyrrhachium, which Theodorus had lately taken; but not being able to reduce it, he

Who is treacherously put Theodorus, prince of Epirus. Robert, Latin emperor of Constantinople.

was forced to abandon the enterprize, and foon after to come to an agreement with a Theodorus, who promised him a free passage through his dominions; but nevertheless fell upon him unexpectedly, cut most of his forces in pieces, and having taken the emperor himself prisoner, put him to death soon after x. Upon his death, the Latins named his eldest fon Philip, count of Namur, to succeed him; but he declining that burden, Robert, the deceased emperor's second son, was, with much ado, prevailed upon to submit to it. In the third year of his reign died Theodorus Lafcaris, after having governed, for the space of eighteen years, that part of the empire, which the Greeks still retained in Asia, and defended it with no less courage than fuccess against the Turks on one side, and the Latins on the other. He left behind

His troops defeated by John Ducas, peror.

Who recovers

several places

Robert dies.

Baldwin II.

him one son and three daughters; but the son being yet an infant, he bequeathed b the empire to John Ducas, surnamed Vataces, who had married his eldest daughter Irene, and was by the dying emperor not undeservedly judged more capable than his own brothers, Alexius and Isaac, of defending, and even inlarging, the empire, which he had founded. John Ducas was crowned in the year 1222. by Manuel, patriarch of the Greeks, at Nice. Alexius and Angelus, the late emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged of right to them, withdrew to Constantinople, to implore the protection of the Latins against one, whom they looked upon as no other than an usurper. Robert, the Latin emperor, readily espoused their cause; and having raised a considerable army, committed it to their conduct. But John, having assembled in the mean time all his forces, met the two brothers at a place called Poemaneum; c and having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the Latin army being cut off, and the two commanders taken prisoners. The Greek emperor, encouthe Greekem- raged with this success, built with incredible expedition a great number of galleys in the several ports of Asia; and falling unexpectedly upon the islands in the Archipelago, reduced most of them, driving every-where the Latins before him. The same of his exploits reaching Assan or Azen, king of Bulgaria, that prince, courting his friendship, proposed a match between his daughter Helena, and Theodore, the emperor's fon, which was readily embraced by Ducas, who well knew how advantageous to his affairs an alliance would prove with so powerful a prince. At the same time, the fultan of Iconium, apprehending an irruption of the Tartars, who had already d driven the Turks out of Persia, sent embassadors to Nice, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; which Ducas readily agreed to, and then employing his whole strength against the Latins, made himself master of all the places held from the Latins by them on the Bosporus, and the Hellespont. While the Latins were thus distressed on the other side the streights by John Ducas, Theodorus, prince or despot of Epirus, invading Theffaly and Thrace, made himself master of those countries; and assuming the title of emperor, caused himself to be crowned with great solemnity by Demetrius, patriarch of Bulgaria. He had lately concluded a peace with John, the son and successor of Azen, in the kingdom of Bulgaria; but elated with his success against the Latins, and desirous of inlarging his dominions with new conquests, in desirance e of the late treaty, he broke into Bulgaria. But John, whom he looked upon as noways a match for fo renowned a conqueror, having raifed a mighty army, engaged him; and having, after a long and bloody dispute, put his forces to flight, took the despot himself prisoner, and caused his eyes to be pulled out. Not long after, that is, about the year 1228. died Robert, emperor of the Latins in Constantinople, in the ninth year of his reign. He died in Achaia, as he was returning from Rome, which city he had vifited, according to fome writers, in order to be crowned there in a more folemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of Baldwin of Neville, though the had some time before been betrothed to a Burgundian lord, who, highly provoked at her forfaking him to marry the emperor, seized on her, f and her mother, during the prince's absence; and having caused the ambitious mother to be thrown into the sea, ordered the nose, ears and lips of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The sense of this barbarous outrage sunk so deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occasioned his death. He was succeeded by Baldwin II. his brother, or, as some writers will have it, his son, who being but eight John, earl of years old, John of Brienne, formerly king of Jerusalem, and one of the greatest Brienne, regent captains of his time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his of the empire. minority. Some writers reckon him among the Latin emperors of Constantinople,

a and tell us, that it was agreed among the Latin princes, that he should be honoured with the title of emperor during his life, he being then near eighty years of age; and that upon his death the empire should return to Baldwin, who was to marry Martha, or, as some style her, Mary, the daughter of John, by his second wise Bevengaria, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile. Be that as it will, it is certain, that John governed with an absolute and uncontrouled power, and was by all respected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his administration, John Azen, king of Bulgaria, and John Ducas, the Greek emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the Latins, and laid close siege to Conftantinople itself. But the regent, behaving with a courage and resolution b equal to his former reputation, fallied out with no more than two hundred horse, and a handful of foot, put the enemy's army, tho' a hundred thousand men strong, He defeats the to flight; and having obliged them to raise the siege, and pursued them with great snited forces of Azen and Vaflaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty. However, the following taces. year 1236. the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared anew before the imperial city; but were attended with no better fuccess, being a second time defeated, and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily new supplies, and the Latin army being in time greatly weakened and diminished, partly by sickness, and partly by frequent battles and skirmishes, the regent was at length obliged to thut himself up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were necesc sary to desend the walls. The enemy, well apprised of the state of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the fiege; whereupon John, knowing he could not rely Constantiupon the Greeks, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were intirely devoted to the nople besieged. families at Nice and Trapezond, sent the young emperor Baldwin to solicit succours in person from the western princes. During his absence, the Venetians, arriving with a powerful fleet at Constantinople, obliged the confederate forces of Azen and Vataces The siege raised. to raise the siege. But John of Brienne dying soon after, that is, in 1237. the ninth John of Briyear of his administration, the loss of so great a man would have proved fatal to enne dies. the Latins, but for a miliunderstanding that arose between the Greek emperor and king of Bulgaria, and was carried to such a height, that the latter having by a stradi tagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor's fon, joined the Latins against him, and with them laid fiege to the city of Chiorli. But in the mean time news being brought him of the death of his wife Ann, daughter to the king of Hungary, he dropped that enterprize, and returned home, where he foon after married the daughter of Theodorus Angelus, the late despot of Epirus, whom he had taken prisoner a sew years before, and deprived of his sight, as we have related above. This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of Theodorus; for Azen

not only set him at liberty, but assisted him in the recovery of his dominions, which The despot of had been usurped by his brother Manuel. Being thus restored to his former power, Epirus restored.

foon after, he passed over into Thrace; and entering into an alliance with the Scylbians, who had lately settled in Macedon, he entered the mock-emperor's territories, stripped Vances

him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of empe-reduces feveral tor, and content himself with that of despot. In 1239. the emperor Baldwin, return-Thrace. ing from the west, arrived at Constantinople, and was there crowned by the patriarch

being then in the fixty-second year of his age y. Vataces was fucceeded by his fon Theodorus Lascaris, who having renewed the Theodorus antient alliance with the fultan of Iconium, passed the Hellespont at the head of a pow-Lascaris. erful army, and made war upon the king of Bulgaria, and the despot of Epirus, who had invaded his dominions in Macedon and Thrace, with such success, that they were

to the very gates of Constantinople, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, Vataces dies.

he appointed his fon to govern in his room, caufing him to be acknowledged as e emperor. This gave no small umbrage to John Vataces, who pretended to be the sole emperor of the Greeks; and therefore, upon the death of Azen, which happened

in the church of St. Sophia. He concluded an alliance with the Comment reigning at Trapezond, and, with their affiftance, befieged and took the city of Chiorli, which, however, was soon after retaken by Vataces, together with the island of Rhodes, surf prised a sew years before by the Genoese. Vataces, having thus recovered such places as had been by the Latins dismembered from his empire, and not only made himfelf master of the greater part of Asia, but extended his conquests in Europe almost

BOOK III.

Turks.

forced to fue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms. While he lay a Michael Pala- at The falonica, he received letters from Nice, informing him, that Michael Palæologus. whom he had left governor of Asia during his absence, had secretly withdrawn to the Turks, under pretence, that his enemies at court, by mifreprefenting his conduct, had rendered him suspected to the emperor, whose displeasure he feared. As Michael was an officer of great courage and experience in war, the fultan of Iconium received him with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and gave him the command of a body of Greeks in the Turkish pay, at the head of which he distinguished himself soon after in a battle between the Turks and Tartars, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the fudden revolt of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the fultan, turned the fortune of the day. The Turkish army being b almost intirely cut off, the victorious Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Persia, and the more eastern provinces, ravaged without controll the countries belonging to them in Asia, and reduced the sultan to such streights, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor Theodorus, who received him in a very obliging manner, and fent him back with a body of chosen troops, under the command of Isaac Ducas, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor's chief favourite. The fultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of Laodicea. In the mean time. Theodorus, unwilling to lose a subject of such extraordinary parts as Palæologus, wrote to him a most kind and obliging letter, inviting him home, and promising to receive him anew into favour, and restore him to his former honours and employments. c With this invitation Palacologus readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinstated in the emperor's favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to Theodorus and The emperor died soon after, having scarce reigned three years complete, leaving his fon John, then about nine years old, to succeed him. Some time before John Lascaris. his death, he took the monastic habit, distributed great sums among the poor, and applied himself with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed Arsenius, the patriarch, and George Muzalo, guardians to the young prince. Muzalo was a person of a mean descent, but had, by his great sidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deserved to be raised to the highest employments in the state, which he had ever discharged with wonderful integrity, and a character d altogether unblemished. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged of right to them, began to complain of his conduct, and malign all his measures. Hereupon Muzalo, who sincerely defired to retire, and lead a private life, having affembled the nobility, offered to refign the administration to fuch as they thought the best qualified for the discharge of so great a trust. But

they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themselves under a solemn oath to obey him, and, during his minority, those whom the deceased emperor judged proper to entrust with the care of his son, and the government of the state. But, notwithstanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility, conspiring against Muzalo, on the day appointed for the obsequies of e the late emperor, repaired to the abby of Sofandra, where he was to be interred;

The emberor

bome.

Muzalo, the Michael Palæologus guar-

and mixing with the croud, in the midst of the service, fell upon Muzalo with their drawn fwords, and dispatched him at the very altar, whither he had fled for refuge, young prince's with his two brothers Andronicus and Theodorus, men of distinguished characters. governor, mur- Muzalo being thus removed, the conspirators, without any regard to the patriarch, who was a man of learning, but an utter stranger to state-assairs, declared Michael Palacologus guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He fignalized the beginning of his administration with a signal victory over Michael Angelus, dian to the young prince. despot of Epirus, who taking advantage of the distractions of the state, after the death of Vataces, had broken into Thrace and Macedon, at the head of a numerous f army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by John Palacologus, the protector's brother, after having loft, in a bloody engagement, the flower of his When news of this victory was brought to Magnesia, where Palacologus then

emperor.

binding himself, by a solemn oath, to resign the empire to the young prince, as foon as he should be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place the crown upon his head. Palæologus, thus raised to the empire, dispatched his brother Constantine with a considerable army into Peloponnesus, which was then held g

refided, he was, by the most powerful among the nobility, and the populace, saluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened at first to cut off from the church both Palacologus and his adherents; but the protector a partly by the despot of Epirus, and partly by the Latins, but soon recovered by

Constantine. After this, Michael passed in person with a numerous army into Thrace, having nothing less in view than the reduction of Constantinople itself, the dominions of the Latins being now fo difmembered, that scarce any thing was left to the inactive and flothful Baldwin befides the imperial city. However Palæologus, apprehending the difficulty and dangers of fuch an extraordinary undertaking, refolved to put it off to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himfelf master of the castle of Pera, in order to distress the Latins more effectually. But Attempts the being in feveral successive assaults repulsed with great loss, he was obliged to give reduction of over the enterprize, and retire. However, as he was master of the neighbouring Pera in vain. b country, before his departure, he disposed his troops in such manner, that the city being in some degree blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost extremity. In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, despot of Epirus, attempting, in defiance of a late treaty with Palæologus, to recover the places he had lost in Thessaly and Greece, Alexius Strategopulus, a person descended of an illustrious family, and for his eminent services distinguished with the title of Casar, was sent against him with orders to try whether he could on his march furprise Constantinople. Alexius, having passed the streights, encamped at a place called Rhegium, where he was informed by the natives, that a strong body of the Latins had been sent to the siege of Daphnusa; that the garison was in great want of provisions; and that it would be no difficult c matter to surprise the city. Hereupon the Greek general resolved at all events to attempt it; and being encouraged by some of the inhabitants, who coming privately to his camp, offered themselves to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead Alexius Strateof the night, which some of his men scaled without being observed; and killing gopulus surthe centries, whom they found asleep, opened one of the gates to the rest of the army, flantinop'e, who rushing in, put all they met to the sword; and at the same time, to create more and expels the terror, fet fire to the city in four different places. The Latins, concluding from thence Latins. the enemy's forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not fo much as attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguish the flames; but, struck with terror and amazement, suffered themselves to be cut in pieces in the streets, or their d houses, which were soon filled with blood and slaughter. In this general consusion, the emperor Baldwin, quitting the ensigns of majesty, fled with Justinian, the Latin patriarch, and some of his intimate friends, to the sea-side; and there embarquing on a small vessel, sailed first to Eubaa, and from thence to Venice, leaving the Greeks in possession of the imperial city, after it had been held sitty-eight, or, as some will have it, sixty years, by the Latins. This happened in the year 1261. of the christian zera, the second of the reign of Michael Palzologus v. When news of the surprising, and altogether unexpected, success of Alexius was first brought to Palæologus, residing then at Nymphaum, he gave no credit to it; but receiving soon after letters from Alexius himself, with a particular account of so memorable an event, trans-e ported with joy, he ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches with great solemnity, appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in their best apparel, and ordered couriers to be immediately dispatched with the agreeable tidings into all the provinces of the empire. Soon after, the emperor, having fettled his affairs at Nice, fet out for Constantinople with the empress, his fon The emperor Andronicus, the senate, and the nobility, to take possession of the imperial city, and removes his fix his residence in the place, which, at first, had been destined for the seat of the court from Nice to Conwestern empire. Having passed the streights, he advanced to the Golden gate, and stantinople. continued some days without the walls, while the citizens were busied in making the necessary preparations to receive him with a magnificence suitable to the occasion. f On the day appointed, the Golden gate, which had been long shut up, was opened, His entry, and and the emperor entering it, amidst the repeated acclamations of the multitude, public rejoic-marched on foot to the great palace, being preceded by the bishop of Cyzicus, car-ings. rying the image of the virgin Mary, supposed to have been done by St. Luke, and

followed by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citizens, in their most pompous apparel. Public thanks were again returned in the church of St. Sophia, at which the emperor affifted in person, with the clergy, the senate, and the nobility. The exercises of piety were succeeded by all sorts of diversions, which lasted several days, the nobility, and chief citizens, striving to excel each other in testi-

fying their joy by banquets, and public sports, on such an extraordinary occasion, a When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor carefully surveyed the imperial city, which allayed in great measure the sense of his present good fortune; for he observed the stately palace of Blacherna, with the other magnificent dwellings of the Roman emperors, lying in ruins; the many capacious buildings, that had been erected by his predecessors at an immense charge, destroyed by fire, and other unavoidable accidents of war; feveral streets quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbish of the ruined houses, &c. These objects gave the emperor no small concern, and kindled in him a defire of rebuilding the city, and restoring it to its former lustre. In the mean time, looking upon Alexius as the restorer of his country, he caused him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand b a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city, as it were in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name should in the public prayers be joined to his own, and, to perpetuate the memory of fo great and glorious an action, he commanded his statue to be erected on a stately pillar of marble before the church of the apostles. His next care was to repeople the city, many Greek families having withdrawn from it, while it was held by the Latins, to settle elsewhere, and the Latins now preparing to return to their respective countries. The former were recalled home; and the latter, in regard of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The Genoese were allowed to live in continue in the one of the most beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws c and magistates, and to trade without paying customs or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewise granted to the natives of Venice and Pisa, which encouraged them to lay aside all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantageous to the state. The emperor being soon after informed, that Baldwin had married his daughter to Charles, king of Sicily, and given him by way of dowry the city of Constantinople, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the Genoese, who were become very numerous, and might have done great mischief, if the city had been attacked, to remove first to Heraclea, and afterwards to Galata, where they continued. As for the Pifans and Venetians, who were not so numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to con-d tinue in the city . The emperor, having thus settled the state, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, began to think of securing to himself and his posterity the sovereignty, which he only held as it were in trust, and was to refign to the young prince as foon as he came of age. Having therefore caused himfelf to be crowned anew in the imperial city, he foon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his fight, pretending, that no one but himself had any title to the city or empire of Constantinople, which he alone had recovered from the Latins. This treason and barbarity involved him in endless troubles and dangers. For Arsenius, the patriarch, immediately excommunicated him, and all those who had been any-ways accessary to his crime, which occasioned great disturbances in the c Jole emperor.
He is involved city. At the same time, Michael, despot of Epirus, and Constantine, king of Balgaria, who had married the young emperor's fifters, breaking into Thrace, laid waste that country, destroying all with fire and sword. Palacologus marched against them in person; but as he was returning home without persorming any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked unexpectedly by the Bulgarians, and had unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not escaped by sea on board a small vessel, which conveyed him fafe to Constantinople. The troops he had with him were for the most part cut in pieces, or taken prisoners; and the Bulgarians, being reinforced with twenty thousand Tartars, roved about the country without controul, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. The Venetians, observing the distracted state of f the empire, laid hold of that opportunity to recover the islands in the Archipelago, which Palæologus had seized after the reduction of Constantinople. The Venetians were joined by the king of Sicily, and most of the western princes, who combining against Palæologus, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope Urban IV. to espouse his cause, by promising to submit himfelf and his dominions to the Latin church, and by that means diverted the storm that threatened him. The pope persuaded Charles, count of Anjou, and king of

Palxologus

puts out the

young emperor,

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and causes himself to be

The Latins encouraged to

in great troubles.

Sicily, to conclude a peace with him; and Palæologus, on his side, did all that lay in

a his power to bring about an union between the two churches, acknowledging by his embassadors, or in person, as some will have it, the supremacy of the pope in the The union of famous council of Lyons held in the year 1274. This occasioned great disturbances the Greek and at Constantineple, and throughout the empire, Joseph the patriarch, and with him Latin churches. most of the clergy, openly inveighing against these innovations; which provoked Paladogus to such a degree, that he caused such as appeared most obstinate to be imprisoned and cruelly racked, and banished the rest with the patriarch Joseph, in whose room Veccus was chosen. However, not long after, Simon of Bire, a native of France, being, by the interest of Charles, king of Sicily, chosen pope, on which eccation he took the name of Martin IV. he folemnly excommunicated Michael for b having contributed to the famous massacre of the French in Sicily, which happened on Easter-day, the thirtieth of March 1282, and is commonly known by the name of the Sicilian vespers. At length the unhappy prince, oppressed with cares, was taken ill as he was marching against the Turks, who had broken into the eastern provinces; and his distemper increasing daily, he was obliged to halt at a place called Allagium. There he received the embassadors of the Tartars, whom he had invited to his assistance, and soon after died, having lived sifty-eight years, and The emperor reigned twenty-four, wanting one month . He was succeeded by his son Androni- dies. sus Palæologus, who, thinking he could not begin his reign by a more popular act Andronicus than by restoring the ceremonies of the Greek church, and refusing to acknowledge Palzologus. the supremacy of the pope, ar mulled whatever his father had done with respect to the union of the two churches. But fuch as had received the Latin ceremonies defending them with great obstinacy, and those of the contrary saction, now countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign, the eschism was revived, and such animosities raised in the state, as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to restore the antient ceremonies disobliged such only as were addicted to the Latin church; but his conduct towards his brother Constantine estranged from him the minds of both parties. Constantine was the darling of the people; and being fent by the late emperor his father into Asia, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had there in several battles overthrown the d Turks. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him suspected to the emperor, he was by his orders seized and thrown into Jealous of his prison, with several other persons of great distinction, amongst whom was Michael brother Con-Strategopulus, son to the celebrated Alexius, who had recovered Constantinople from stantine. the Latins. Upon the removal of these two brave officers, the Turks, under the conduct of the famous Othoman, made themselves masters of several places in Pbrygia, Caria, and Bithynia, and among the rest of the city of Nice. To put a stop to their conquests, the emperor dispatched into Asia Philanthropenus and Libadarius, two officers of great reputation and experience in war, appointing the latter governor of the cities of Ionia, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers e on the Meander. Philanthropenus gained several advantages over the Turks; but, elated with his fuccess, he assumed the purple, and causing himself to be proclaimed Alexius Phiemperor, marched against Libadarius, who had declared him a public enemy, and lanthropenus set a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the Cretans, revolts; who served under Philanthropenus, and had been beforehand gained over by Libaidarius, feizing their leader, delivered him up to his adversary, who caused his eyes But is betrayed to be put out. In the mean time, the Turks, taking advantage of these intestine by his own men. A disturbances, not only extended their dominions in Asia, but conquered most of the issands in the Mediterranean; and being masters at sea, insested the coasts of the empire to the utter ruin of trade and commerce. In this distracted state of affairs, the empef ror, distrusting his own subjects, took into his pay ten thousand Massagetes or Alans, who being driven out of their own country by the Tartars, had passed the Danube. These being sent over into Asia, under the conduct of Michael, the emperor's eldest In fon, whom he had lately declared his collegue in the empire, the Turks, at their approach, retired to the mountains; whence foon after they came suddenly down, and falling upon the Massagetes, while they lay in their camp, without the least appre- The emperor's hension of danger, put them to flight in spite of all the efforts of the young empe-forces defeated ror, who, on that occasion distinguished himself in a most eminent manner, but by the Turks. was in the end obliged to fly with the rest, and take refuge in the strong castle of

The Catalans revols.

killed by the emperor's priers. They seize on Califolis.

The Tarks

Thrace ravaged by the Catalans and Turks.

The Massagetes, abandoning him, marched directly to the Hellespont, a ravaging the countries through which they passed, and thence crossed over into Europe. The Turks, pursuing them, made themselves masters of all the strong-holds to the sea-side. As for Michael, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands, he got in the end safe to Constantinople. The emperor, notwithstanding the shameful conduct of the Massagetes, reposing still greater trust in strangers than in his own subjects, of whom he was grown jealous since the rebellion of Philanthropenus, took into his service a body of Catalans, under the command of one Ronzerius or Rouzerius, who had formerly ferved in the wars between the kings of Sicily and Naples : and having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, fent him with his troops to the relief of Philadelphia, then closely besieged by the Turks, whom, upon his arrival, b he obliged to abandon the enterprize and retire. Upon their retreat, he turned his arms against those whom he was sent to protect; and roving about the country, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, subjecting all to the rage and lust of thole dissolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in Asia, he returned with his Catalans to Europe; and leaving the rest at Callipolis, went with two hundred chosen men to demand of the young emperor Michael, lying then at Orestias in Thrace, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himself and his men. Michael, justly provoked at his late conduct in Afia, and now incensed Their leader is against him on account of his insolent carriage, ordered his guards to fall upon him, who accordingly cut him, and most of his men, in pieces. Those, who escaped, c flying to Callipolis, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who thereupon, transported with rage, first put all the citizens to the sword, and then fortifying themselves in the best manner they could, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they distrusted their own strength, they sent for assistance to the Turks dwelling over-against them in Asia, who immediately conveyed over the streights five hundred chosen men to reinforce them. These were soon followed by others, who joining the Catalans, laid waste the neighbouring country; and having, with great expedition, equipped and manned eight galleys, plundered all the merchant-ships in the streights, and would have greatly distressed the imperial city itself, had not their small fleet been encountered and destroyed by the Genoese. On this occasion the Turks d first in Europe, came first into Europe; an event which we may deservedly reckon one of the most fatal that ever happened to the empire. The young emperor Michael marched against the Catalans and Turks, with a confiderable army, confisting of Greeks, Massagetes, and other auxiliaries; but the auxiliaries withdrawing as foon as the fignal for battle was given, and standing at a small distance as idle spectators, at whose instigation was never known, the Greeks were fo discouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promises stop their flight. He performed in person all that could be expected from an experienced officer, and valiant foldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either with his words or example, and his horse being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his escape to Didymothicum, where his father lay. encamped. After this victory, the Catalans and Turks over-ran all Thrace, destroying every thing with fire and fword, till finding it impossible for them to subsist longer there, the Catalans resolved to invade Thessaly; but the Turks, desirous of returning home with their booty, separated from them, being then thirteen thousand horse, and eight hundred foot; and bending their march through Macedon, acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would allow them a fafe passage through his dominions, and supply them with ships to transport them into Afia. To this the emperor, willing to get rid of fuch troublesome guests, readily condescended, and accordingly ordered the necessary vessels to be got ready with the utmost expedition. But the Greek officers, observing the immense booty with which f they were loaded, began to contrive how they should make themselves masters of it, and in the end resolved to fall upon the Turks in the night; and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the subjects of the empire, and enrich themselves with the booty. The matter was not managed with such secrecy, but the Turks had timely intimation of it. Hereupon, having surprised a strong castle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence, and at the same time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other fide the streights with the danger that threatened them, who, entited with the hopes of booty, haftened to their affiftance; and crossing the Hellespont, ravaged the adjacent country, making excursions to the very gates of Constantinople. The emperor, awaked at length by the daily g complaints

a complaints of his people, refolved to root them out; and accordingly marched against them with all his forces, the country-people flocking to him from all parts with their fpades, mattocks, and other inftruments of husbandry, in order to affift him in the reduction of the castle. The Turks were greatly alarmed at their approach, and began to look upon themselves as inevitably lost; but afterwards observing, that the Greeks, who had closely besieged the place, confiding in their strength and numbers, utterly neglected all discipline, they took courage, and fallying out with no more than eight hundred chosen horse, penetrated almost without opposition to the emperor's tent; which struck the undisciplined peasants with such terror, that they betook themselves to a disorderly slight. Their example was followed by the rest of the The emperor's army, tho' the emperor, and some of the officers, made several bold stands, hoping forces defeated thereby to stop the slight of the disheartened multitude; but the cowardly Greeks by the Turks; could not by any means be prevailed upon to stand before the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful flaughter of the fugitives, and taken some of the chief officers prisoners, made themselves masters of the emperor's camp, in which they found a large fum, defigned for the payment of the troops, feveral standards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious stones of an inestimable value, and all the baggage of the army. After this unexpected victory, the Turks roved up and down Thrace for two years together, without controul; which brought unspeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to stir out to till c their ground. At length Philes Palæologus, a person nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, defired leave to march against the enemy, with fuch officers and foldiers as the emperor should think fit to appoint for that service, not doubting, he faid, but, with the affiftance of Heaven, he should revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As Philes was an utter stranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety, and the integrity of his life, the emperor, looking upon him as one chosen by providence for the relief of his oppressed country, readily complied with his request. Philes's first care was to establith good discipline among his soldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and fobriety, encouraging them with frequent donatives, and promifing to reward each d of them at the end of the war according to his deferts. Having thus modelled his fmall army according to his defire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wishes of the emperor, and the whole people. Being informed, soon after his departure from Constantinople, that Chaleb, the Turkish commander, was ravaging the country about Bizia, with one thousand foot, and two hundred horse, he marched immediately against him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called Xerogipsum, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy with their booty were at hand. Hereupon having drawn up his men in battle-array, and, with a pathetic speech, encouraged them to exert themselves in the desence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at fun-rising. The Turks, not in the least terrified with the surprize, having formed a strong barricade with their waggons, and fecured their prisoners, advanced in good order against the imperial troops, who received them with great resolution and intrepidity. Philes, having first invoked the divine affistance, charged at the head of the right-wing the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horse being killed under him, he was obliged to withdraw; which somewhat damped the courage of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with fresh vigour upon the enemy with the most resolute of his men, put their horse to flight; Who are overand then dismounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry with such reso- thrown by Philution, that the Turks, no longer able to withstand them, betook themselves to a les Palæologus, f precipitous flight. Philes pursued them with great slaughter to the entrance into the Cherjonesus, and there encamped, with a design to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, transported with joy at the news of this victory, dispatched immediately five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more fent by the Genoese of Peræ, to guard the streights, and prevent their receiving any affistance out of Asia. At the same time Philes's army was strengthened with two hundred chosen horse, sent him by Crales king of Servia, who had married the emperor's daughter. The Turks being thus shut up both by sea and land, Philes, And are shut advancing with his forces to the castle they had seized, began to batter it with an up in the Cherincredible number of engines; which did great execution. The Turks, now despair-sonesius.

g ing of relief, and weakened by daily skirmishes, resolved to use an utmost effort, and

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attempt

attempt to break through the Greeks sword in hand; but finding them, when they a first sallied out, upon their guard, and ready to receive them, they returned to their castle; but not so discouraged as not to attempt a few days after to open themselves a way through the Servians; which attempt proving equally unfuccessful, they began utterly to despair. Having therefore cast away their arms, and taken with them their gold and filver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of the night they made towards the sea-side with a design to surrender themselves to the Genoese, who, they hoped, would shew them more mercy than the Greeks, as they had never injured nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, mistaking the Greek for the Genoese galleys, fell into the hands of their most implacable enemies, by whom They are all cut they were cut in pieces without compassion. The rest fared not much better; for b the Genoese killed such as brought the most money with them, lest in time they should discover it to the Greeks, who would have claimed it. The poorer fort they loaded with chains, fending some of them to the emperor, and keeping the rest for their own Thus was Europe delivered for the present from the Turks; but the time is drawing near, when we shall see them, through the indolence of the emperors, and cowardice of the Greeks, firmly established on this side the streights, to the utter ruin of the empire.

in fieces or taken.

Andronicus, the younger, a diffointe trince.

THE unhappy emperor was foon after involved in far greater troubles: Michael, his eldest fon, and collegue in the empire, had two sons, Andronicus and Manuel, of whom the former was greatly beloved by his grandfather Andronicus, tho' a youth of a most c untractable temper, debauched, dissolute, and abandoned to all manner of wickedness. Being greatly addicted to women, and suspecting he had some rival in the affections of his favourite mistress, he charged certain ruffians to watch her one night, and dispatch the person that should come to visit her. It unluckily happened, that Manuel came that very night, with little or no attendance, to the house, in quest of his brother. The affaffins, not knowing him in the dark, miltook him for the prince's rival, and falling upon him, gave him feveral mortal wounds, of which he died a few days after. When news of his death was brought to the emperor Michael his father, the good prince was so affected with it, that he died soon after of grief. The grandfather Andronicus, notwithstanding his deep concern for the death of Manuel, d still continued to cherish and savour Andronicus, who, answering his kindness with the utmost ingratitude, contracted an intimate friendship with Syrgiannes, John Cantacuzenus, Theodorus Synadenus, and Alexius Apocaucus, all persons disaffected to the emperor, and ready to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to raise disturbances in the empire. As they were men of uncommon parts, and great experience in affairs of state, they soon gained an ascendant over the young prince, and finding him a subject proper for their designs, they inspired him with a thirst after power, and an utter aversion to the aged emperor his grandfather. The court being thus rent into two opposite factions, that of the young prince grew daily more powerful. The emperor did all that lay in his power to reclaim him; but his endeavours proving, to e his great grief, unfuccessful, he resolved in the end publicly to reprove him before vainto reclaim the patriarch, and the chief of the nobility. The prince, receiving timely intimation of his grandfather's design, went, when sent for, to the palace, attended by a great number of his followers and partizans, with arms under their garments, ready, if any violence was offered to the young prince, to rush upon the aged emperor with their drawn swords, and, dispatching him, proclaim Andronicus emperor in his room. But the emperor, who was passionately fond of him, reproved the youth in so tender and affectionate a manner, that, bursting into tears, he fell at his grandfather's feet, and promised an intire submission for the future. The grandfather, on his side, embracing him with paternal affection, promifed to appoint him his heir, and name f him for his successor in the empire. Thus they parted, thoroughly reconciled; but this reconciliation was short-lived: for the prince, returning to his favourite counsellors and companions, foon fell from the resolution he had taken, and began to entertain the same ambitious thoughts he had done before. Hereupon the emperor, perceiving he was become irreclaimable, resolved to secure him, and by that means prevent the disturbances, in which he foresaw the state would be otherwise unavoidably involved. This resolution was communicated by the emperor to Gerasimus the patriarch, and by him scandalously betrayed to the prince, who thereupon fled with his

The emperor endeavours in

a accomplices and partizans the very night he was to have been apprehended, and The jourg escaped to Adrianople. The emperor, upon the first notice of his flight, caused him prince makes to be declared a public enemy. proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabite his escape, to be declared a public enemy, proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitants of Constantinople, whose fidelity he suspected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arriving at Adrianople, was there acknowledged for And openly emperor by Syrgiannes, Cantacuzenus, and the other officers, who commanded the revolts. troops quartered in Thrace; fo that, finding himself in a few days at the head of a confiderable army, he detached a strong body of horse and foot to attempt, under the conduct of Syrgiannes, Constantinople itself, before the citizens could put themselves in a posture of desence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, dispatched Theob leptus, bishop of Philadelphia, with other persons of distinction, to the young prince, then encamped at Orestias, with proposals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire The emperor should be divided, and the prince have Thrace, from Christopolis to Rhegium, and obliged to dithe suburbs of Constantinople, for his share; that his followers should enjoy, without vide the emmolestation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the pire with him. other hand, the emperor should retain Constantinople, with all the cities and islands in the east, and in the west the whole country lying between Christopolis and Dyrrha-chium. In the mean time the Turks, taking advantage of these intestine broils, inlarged their dominions in Asia, and reduced most places on the Meander, and among c the rest the strong and important city of Prusa in Bitbynia. Othoman had some years before attempted to take it by ftorm; but being repulsed with great loss, he had built two strong castles at a small distance from the city, and left in them numerous garifons, under the command of two of his best generals, Attemur and Balabanzuch, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced the inhabitants and the garifon to such streights, that great numbers of them dying for want of necessaries, the rest, despairing of relief, were in the end obliged to capitulate, and submit to Orchanes, the son of Othoman, who was Prusa taken by then indisposed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and garison should the Turks. be allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased, and to take with them all the di effects they could carry on their backs. These two articles were faithfully observed by Orchanes, who, entering Prusa, took possession of that important place in the year 1327. and, upon the death of his father Othoman, chose it for the seat of the Turkish empire. To return to Andronicus: the agreement between him and his grand-The emperor fon was but short-lived; for Syrgiannes, who had first advised the young prince to and his grandrevolt, not thinking his fervices sufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of submissions from the fion to the emperor, and, upon promise of impunity, withdrew privately from the army in Thrace, and repaired to Constantinople, where he incensed the emperor against his grandson to such a degree, that the war was renewed on both sides. Constantine, And come to an the emperor's fon, was fent with a confiderable army to Theffalonica, to take upon open rupture. e him there the government of Macedon, and to invade from thence the territories lately yielded to the prince, while Syrgiannes, at the head of a body of Turks, who had entered into the emperor's fervice, reduced that part of Thrace, which lay next to Constantinople. Against Syrgiannes the prince dispatched Synadenus, an officer of great reputation in war; but marched in person against his uncle Constantine, being highly provoked against him for having seized on his mother Xene, and sent her prisoner to Constantinople. Constantine gained several advantages over him; which reduced him to great streights: but the prince having caused a report to be spread abroad, that his grandfather was dead, Constantine was so alarmed at that unexpected news, to which he gave intire credit, that he retired in the utmost consternation to f Thessalonica. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and foon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, suspected of maintaining a private correspondence with the prince, and fend them in chains to Constantinople. The letters were delivered to Constantine with the utmost secrecy; but the citizens nevertheless, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, stirred up the populace;

who, seizing on Constantine, delivered him up to his nephew, by whom he was kept closely confined as long as he lived. At the same time the Turks under Syrgiannes, quitting the emperor's service, retired home; which obliged that general to return in

great haste to Constantinople. Upon his retreat, Synadenus reduced several places in a

The peace re-

They difagree again,

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Thrace, and threatened with a fiege the imperial city itself; which so alarmed the emperor, that he released Xene, and sent her to her son, then encamped at Rhegium, with propofals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promiting to take him for his collegue in the empire, and to cause him to be folemnly crowned, with his wife Ann of Savoy, whom he had lately married upon the death of Irene his first wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of St. Sopbia with the utmost magnificence; but the prince, prompted by his ambition, and impatient of a collegue, refolved foon after to remove his aged grandsather, that he might reign without controul. With this view he entered into an alliance with Michael prince of Bulgaria, his brother-in-law, who was to make a b diversion in Servia, if the prince of that country should move, as it was suspected he would do, to the affiftance of the emperor. After this, the prince, withdrawing privately from Constantinople, seized on the public revenue in Thrace; of which the emperor receiving intelligence, refused to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the fame time his lieutenants in Macedon, and the neighbouring provinces, to act against him as a public enemy. The prince in the mean time, by pretending a great readiness to comply in any thing reasonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that they could scarce be restrained in Constantinople itself, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, to estrange from him the minds of the multitude, having summoned the patriarch, c and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. To this most of them consented, and agreed that his name should be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch, and fome others, who privately favoured him, fummoning the people together, pronounced fentence of excommunication against such as should presume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; which provoked the emperor to fuch a degree, that he caused the patriarch to be deposed, and confined him to the monastery of Mangana. The prince, who was then at Rhegium, being informed of what had passed in the metropolis, approached it with thirteen hundred chosen mon, and leaving his army at some distance, rode up with Cantacuzenus, and d a guard of thirty foldiers, to one of the gates, defiring to be admitted, and allowed to confer with his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by Phocas Maroles, who commanded the guards on the walls, fent him by the same officer orders to retire forthwith, without attempting to debauch his subjects, on pain of being treated as a public enemy; nay, some reviled him from the walls with most bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having solemnly declared, that he defired nothing fo much as to be reconciled to his grandlather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to Selybria, and from thence into Macedon, where he took almost without opposition several castles and strong-holds; and then marched to Theffalonica, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his c approach, opened the gates to him, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous resistance, but was in the end obliged to submit, the prince having furprised and cut off a body of three hundred chosen men, sent by the emperor to reinforce the garison. The emperor, alarmed at the progress of his grandson's arms, applied to the king of Bulgaria for affistance, who immediately dispatched a considerable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the mean time defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the Melanes, advanced with long marches to Constantinople. However, three thousand Bulgarian horse reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheless, distrusting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already suffered unspeakable calamities, admitted f only their commander in chief, and a small number of officers, into the city, assigning to the rest quarters in the suburbs. As this gave the prince, who arrived soon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich presents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country. The Bulgarians being thus removed, the prince prepared for the fiege of Constantinople; but in the mean time two of the foldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, coming to the prince in the dead of the night, offered to betray the city into his hands; and accordingly, being encouraged by him with the promise of a reward answerable to that important fervice, they returned into the city undifcovered; and the following night, while the rest of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had supplied them in g

a great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, breaking open that which was called the Roman gate, opened an entrance for the young prince, The city of and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were so far from making Constantiants  any opposition, that, on the contrary, with loud acclamations they saluted young to him. Andronicus emperor. Gregora, tho' greatly biassed in savour of the old emperor, and not a little prejudiced against young Andronicus, tells us, that the prince, ascribing the success that had attended his arms ever since the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city, iffued orders, forbidding on pain of death any of his officers or foldiers to offer the least affront or injury to the emperor his grandfather. The same writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in His conduct tob person, and was so affected with the speech, which the unsortunate prince made him, wards the old that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and, with words full of duty and emperor, respect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greatest distress. After this, he returned folemn thanks to Heaven, for having thus put an end to the war almost without bloodshed; and then, repairing to the monastery of Mangana, he reconducted the patriarch in a kind of triumph to his church, and restored him to his former dignity 4. Young Andronicus, now master of the imperial city, and universally acknowledged and obeyed as emperor, suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the enfigns of majesty; but would not allow him the least share in the admi- Who is deprived nistration, which he took intirely into his own hands, governing with an absolute of all power. c sway, without so much as consulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thousand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himself resided in that of

the despot Demetrius. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state .

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of Bulgaria, entering Thrace at the Andronicus head of a numerous army, confifting partly of Bulgarians, and partly of Scythians, III. plundered several cities, and laid waste the whole country. Andronicus, having His wars with with incredible expedition drawn together a confiderable army, appeared unexpect-the Bu'garians. d edly at Byzium, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of Bulgaria lay encamped. His fudden arrival thruck the enemy with fuch terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled back into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. Andronicus pursued them, and carrying the war into Bulgaria, ravaged

the country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, tho' at the head of a very powerful and numerous army, fent embassadors to sue for a peace; which, after several conferences, was concluded upon terms highly honourable to Andronicus. After this, the two princes had an interview on horseback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their antient friendship, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly in such places as should be most convenient for both. The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quar-

ter, turned his arms against the Turks, who, taking advantage of the domestic quarrels among the Greek princes, had greatly inlarged their dominions in Asia. Otheman, whom we may justly style the founder of the Turkish empire, being lately dead, the emperor laid hold of that opportunity to recover several places, which that warlike He recovers prince had reduced, and among the rest the samous city of Nice, with a strong castle Nice and other on the Sangarius, which commanded the passes leading into Bithynia. This castle places from the however was soon after retaken by Urchan or Orchanes, son and successor of Othoman, who, having happily settled his affairs at home, raised a formidable army, and entering Bithynia as foon as the emperor had left that country, made himself master of several f places there, and at last sat down before Nice. The emperor, who was then at Constantinople, leaving the imperial city, hastened back into Asia; and advancing as far as Philocrene, encamped there at a small distance from the Turks; who, after having harassed his men with frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets, fell upon him at length with their whole army. Hereupon a battle enfued, in which both fides behaved with great bravery and resolution; but in the end the emperor being wounded in the soot with an arrow, and obliged to withdraw, his troops, no longer animated with his example,

retired in the utmost confusion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to Philo- By whom he is in the end de-

d Gregor. l. iv. Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 50-59. Onuph. & Grneb. in chron.

1. f Idem, l. ii. c. 2, 3.

CANTACUZEN. l. ii. feated.

killed; which so disheartened his men, that they betook themselves to a precipitous slight, leaving their camp, arms and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, seized on the rich booty which they

The Turks re-

had left, and amongst other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. Andronicus, quite despirited at this misfortune, returned to Constantinople, while the Turks,
having now no enemy to controul them, made themselves masters of all the maritime
towns in Bitbynia, and in the end of Nice itself, by the following stratagem: Andronicus, in leaving Asia, had promised to reinforce the garison of Nice with a thousand
horse. Orchanes, being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men

after the Roman manner, and marching with them in person through by-ways into be the road leading from Constantino le, dispatched three hundred more, armed like Turks, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a sudden to have discovered the enemy; and leading his men against the foragers, put them to slight, and recovered the booty. As this was done

in the fight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended Romans were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no fooner opened, than they fell fword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three

hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the garifon in pieces, and made themselves masters of the city. After this, Orchanes, leading his And take Aby- men to the sea-side, laid siege to Abydus; which was betrayed to him by the gover- c

dus and Nicomedia.

nor's daughter, while his two fons, Solyman and Amurath, reduced several other important places in Asia, and among the rest the antient city of Nicomedia. As the
emperor was at this time seized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was
despaired of, the court was in too great a consusion to think of the proper measures

for putting a stop to the conquests of the Turk, in Asia. Such as had been instrumental in the late revolution, could not resect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they must inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor should die, and his grandfather be restored to his power and authority. This consideration

prompted Cantacuzenus, and some others, if Gregoras is to be credited, to resolve on the old emperor's death; but this resolution being generally disapproved, they all d agreed at last to confine him to a monastery, and force him to take the monastic habit,

and exchange the name of Andronicus for that of Antony; which was done accordingly. Thus Gregoras 8. But Cantacuzenus tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more severe usage from his enemies, if his grandson should die, retired to a monastery of his own accord, and taking the monastic habit, continued there unmolested to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332. he being then in the seventy-

fecond year of his age. Young Andronicus intended, during his malady, to restore the crown to his grandsather; but, upon his recovery, he suffered him to continue in the monastery, retaining the whole power to himself. In the mean time the Turks pursued their conquests in Asia, and threatened Europe itself with an invasion. As e

the emperor was no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy, he was persuaded by Cantacuzenus to conclude a dishonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in Asia, and suffer the Romans peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wrested from

them. Not long after, the inhabitants of *Theffaly* revolting, the emperor marched against them in person; but while he was employed in reducing them, the *Turks*, who observed the peace no longer than it suited their interest, passed over into *Europe*; and having ravaged the sea-coast, repassed the streights with an immense booty, and

a great number of captives. Andronicus died soon after, in the forty-sisth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he deposed his grandfather, f and 1341. of the christian æra. Cantacuzenus, in the history he has lest us, endeavours to justify his conduct towards his grandfather. Tho' the old emperor designed,

as that writer pretends, to have excluded him from the succession, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deserved. Gregoras, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young Andronicus, and will not allow that the old emperor gave his grandson the least provocation. All the disorders in the state were owing, accord-

ing to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counsels of Cantacuzenus and his other favourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if

Andronicus the younger dies.

Andronicus
the elder con-

fined to a mo-

nastery, where

he dies.

a the grandfather was to blame, the grandfon was altogether inexcuseable. Andronicus the younger left two fons, John and Manuel, of whom the eldeft was, upon his father's John Palxolodeath, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, John Cantacuzenus gus. was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. Cantacuzenus governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the fecurity of the provinces; and in short, omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous and difinterested minifter. But as he had been declated guardian to the young prince against the will and The parriarch approbation of John the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and an enemy to be claimed a share in the administration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his Cantacuzenus, the same feeting him as one who had the young power to render him suspected to the empress Anne, representing him as one who had prince's guarnothing less in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit dian. with the empress, Cantacuzenus, apprehending he might in the end gain the ascendant over her to his utter ruin, was for resigning his charge, and earnestly pressed the empress for leave to retire; but she refusing to comply with his request, and assuring him, that she was fully convinced of his integrity, and consequently determined to that her ears against the unjust calumnies, and malicious informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the administration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the c princess with the dangers she was to apprehend from the protector, and misconstruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take fuch measures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for, giving intire credit to the malicious infinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own fafety, and that of her children, against the wicked designs of the protector, she began to look upon him as an enemy to herfelf and her family; and having caused some of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was absent at Didymothicum, she sent him orders to relign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refuling to do, till he had an opportunity of justifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocency, the empress, at the instigation of the patriarch, declared him a public Cantacuzenus d enemy and traitor. Cantacuzenus, now apprifed, that his enemies aimed at nothing declared a publes than his utter destruction, thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raised to oppose the Servians, who, upon the emperor's death, had broken into the empire, and having with him feveral persons of the greatest authority in the empire, who all advised him to assume the purple, as the only means of defeating the designs of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor at Didymo- He assumes the thicum in 1342. the second year of his administration. When news of his revolt was purple. brought to Constantinople, his mother, and the rest of his friends and relations in the city, were immediately apprehended, and thrown into prison, his estate was consicated, and troops levied to suppress the rebellion in its birth. Thus Cantacuzenus himself in his history; and with him most other historians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the perfecuted minister to take arms in his own defence. Having thus assumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and foldiery in a long speech with the motives that had prompted him to take that step, which, he said, the malice of his enemies had rendered necessary. He then gave leave to all those, whose friends and relations were at Constantinople, to depart, lest, by continuing with him, they should occasion the ruin of their innocent friends. The rest of the army declaring themselves ready to stand by him to the last, he advanced to Adrianople, the inhabitants of which city had f feized on all those whom they suspected to favour him, and sent them in chains to Constantinople. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of Bulgarians were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay aside the design he had formed against Adrianople, and retire to the sea-side, that he might with more ease receive supplies from the Turks in Asia, with whom he had entered into an alliance upon his first assuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large supplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all possible means of bringing about an accommodation. With this view he

wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messenger who

peace rejected.

cruelty.

His offers for a brought the letters was seized, and thrown into prison, Cantacuzenus was declared a anew a public enemy, and fuch of his relations as had not the good luck to make their escape, were treated with the utmost cruelty. His mother was delivered up to Apoused with great caucus, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmost barbarity, telling her fometimes, that her fon was taken prisoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to Constantinople. Her concern, and the cruel usage she met with, having thrown her into a violent sever, Apocaucus would fuffer no physician to attend her, till the empress, hearing the danger she was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own phylicians, who nevertheless were not admitted by the patriarch and Apocaucus to visit her, till they had folemnly sworn not to administer any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being b thus destitute of all help, and daily insulted by her enemies, she died soon after, to the great grief of the empress, who, being informed of the unspeakable miseries she had undergone, and on that account highly provoked against the patriarch and A10caucus, obliged them to fend deputies to Cantacuzenus with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empress, that Cantacuzenus would hearken to no terms; that he was obstinately bent upon war, and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accomplished the ruin of her two ions, and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore resolved on, Andronicus and Thomas Palæologi were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into Thrace, of which country most cities had declared for Cantacuze- c nus. At the same time a fleet, consisting of fixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the Turks from supplying the enemy with men or provisions. Of this fleet Apocaucus took upon himself the command; and having driven back the Turks attempting to cross the streights, and succour their ally, reduced Cantacuzenus, who was at the fame time warmly preffed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two abovementioned Palæologi, to fuch streights, that he was forced to quit Thrace, and take refuge in the dominions of Crales, prince of Majia, who received him with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection, and sent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained feveral confiderable advantages over the emperor's forces, His enemies at- and made himself master of the greater part of Thrace. Hereupon his enemies, find-d tempt to Poison ing they could not suppress him by force, had recourse to treachery, and, with mighty promifes, prevailed upon one Monomachus to try whether he could dispatch him with poison. Accordingly Monomachus, repairing to his camp at Selybria, the better to compass his wicked purpose, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorfe, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poison, which he was to have administered. Cantacuzenus received him in a most obliging manner, loaded him with presents, and taking him into his favour, reposed to great a trust in him, that the traitor would have soon found an opportunity of putting his design in execution, without incurring the least suspicion, had not Cantacuzenus been privately warned by his friends at Constantinople to be upon his guard. e

He is received into Constantinople.

In the mean time Cantacuzenus, having made himself master of all Macedon and Thrace, approached the imperial city, with a design to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when several citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long fiege, resolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having first acquainted him with their design, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themselves masters of one of the gates, admitted him and his whole army, faluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud shouts to the forum. As for the empress, she continued in the palace, which she seemed determined to desend to the f last extremity, having a considerable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earnestly intreating her not to expose both herself and him to the fury of the incenfed multitude, she was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms; viz. that Cantacuzenus should be declared collegue to the young prince, and have the sole administration of affairs for the space of ten years, Palæologus being then but sisteen; that afterwards they should both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion should pass on both sides. This agreement being signed and sworn to by Cantacuzenus, Palacologus, and the empress Ann, on the eighth of February 1347. the new emperor was received the same day into the palace, and soon after crowned with g

And crowned emiperor.

the usual solemnity by Isidore, the new patriarch of Constantinople, John his predecessor being deposed, and sent into banishment. That the union between the two princes might be better settled, and more lasting, Cantacuzenus gave his daughter Helena in marriage to young Palæologus, and caused her to be likewise crowned, and acknowledged empress by the nobility and people k. As Cantacuzenus had been powerfully assisted by Orchanes the Turkish sultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correspondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy, and some zealous christians, who, by exclaiming against so strict an alliance and intimacy between a christian and a Mohammedan prince, estranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from Cantacuzenus; which proved very preju-

b dicial to his affairs. However, he governed the empire for the space of ten years He governs with such equity and moderation, that even his most inveterate enemies could lay with great nothing to his charge. In the fixth year of his administration, the Genoese of Galata, equity and mown who were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's refusing them leave to inlarge their city, set fire to several buildings in the suburbs of Constantinople, seized on all the emperor's ships then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they gained several advantages at sea, and made themselves masters of some islands in the Archipelago, which the emperor was obliged to yield to them. When Palæologus came to govern jointly with him, Crales king of the Servians, highly provoked against Cantacuzenus, for having obliged him to restore some cities, e which he had feized during the late troubles, gained over with rich presents several persons of distinction, who, by infinuating to the young emperor, that Cantacuzenus defigned to confine him to a monastery, to usurp the whole power, and transmit the fovereignty to his posterity, raised a diffidence between the two princes, which soon after broke out into an open war, Palæologus being on one hand assisted by Crales Awar breaks king of Servia, and Alexander prince of Bulgaria; and Cantacuzenus on the other by out between the Orchanes the Turkish sultan. In a battle which was fought in Thrace, the young two princes. emperor's army was utterly defeated, and he himself obliged to take refuge in Constantinople, all the other cities in Thrace having opened their gates to the conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded between the two princes; which was d no sooner signed, than Cantacuzenus, divesting himself, by a voluntary resignation, Cantacuzenus

of all his power, retired to the monastery of Mangana, and there took the monastic resigns, and habit. But his fon Matibew, whom he had fome time before declared emperor, pur-naftic babit. fued the war, and seized on several cities in Thrace, and among the rest on Adrianople. Against him Palacologus marched in person; and having utterly deseated his army, tho' reinforced before the battle with five thousand Turks sent by Orchanes, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his strong-holds; whence while he was making his escape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was seized by one Boienas, and delivered up to Palæologus, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the

empire, restored him to his liberty 1.

During these civil commotions, the Turks, under the conduct of Solyman, the fon, or, as others will have it, the brother, of Orchanes, passed the Hellespont, and having feized on a strong castle called Coiridocustron, marched from thence against Gallipolis, which Solyman took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the garison to offer him battle. Thus the Turks, after having reduced all Asia, first settled in Europe, where they have continued ever since. This happened The Turks first in the year 1357. Orchanes dying foon after, Amurath his fon and successor pursued settled in Euthe conquests, which Solyman had begun; and having made himself master of several rope. strong-holds in Thrace, laid siege at length to Adrianople, which was forced to submit, They take the emperor not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. Adrianople. f Amurath, having in a short time mastered all Thrace, made Adrianople the seat of his empire in Europe, as the most proper place for the inlarging his dominions, and extending his conquests to Greece, and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time Andronicus, the emperor's eldest son, having conspired against his father, was by his orders deprived of his fight, and kept under close confinement. Ducas the historian tells us, that Andronicus, and Cuntuzes Amurath's youngest son, having contracted an intimate friendship, conspired the death of their fathers, binding themselves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendship, when the one should be emperor, and the other sultan. The same writer adds, that the conspiracy being discovered to

The emteror driven from the throne by his fon, and restored.

Bajazet's conquests in Europe.

gus dies. Manuel.

Bijizet besieges Constantinople.

Defeats an army of 1 30,000 christians.

Amurath, he ordered his own fon's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to a inflict the same punishment on his son, threatening him with a war, if he resuled to The emperor, dreading the power of the fultan, caused the eyes both of his fon and grandson, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the same time his fecond fon Manuel his collegue in the empire. Andronicus however, after two years confinement, made his escape, being favoured therein by the Genoese of Galata, with whose affistance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into Constantinople, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, Manuel and Theodorus, into his power, he confined them to the fame prison in which he had been detained; but they having likewise, after two years, made their escape, Andronicus, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while b the Turks were ready to fall upon the few countries that were still left to the empire, restored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him Selymbria, and feveral other places in that neighbourhood m. In the mean time Amurath the Turkish fultan being treacherously slain, his fon Bajazet succeeded him in his dominions; and pursuing the conquests which had been so successfully carried on by his predecessors in Europe, made himself master of Thessay, Macedon, Phocis, Peloponnesus, Mysia, and Bulgaria, driving out the despots, or petty princes, who held those countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the Greek emperor, to whom nothing was now left but Constantinople, and the neighbouring country, as his vassal, and accordingly fent him an arrogant and haughty meffage, requiring, or rather c commanding him to pay him a yearly tribute, and fend him his fon Manuel to attend him in his military expeditions. With this dishonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy. The unhappy prince died soon after, that is, in 1392. the thirty-John Palxolo- dable an enemy. feventh of his reign, leaving no fon behind him but Manuel, the other two, Andronicus and Theodore, being dead some time before. Manuel, who was then in Bajazet's court, hearing of his father's death, hastened to Constantinople, without taking his leave of the fultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his fudden departure; which Bajazet highly refenting, punished the officers who had suffered him to escape with the utmost severity; and passing with great expedition out of Bithynia, where d he then was, into Thrace, destroyed with fire and sword the country adjoining to Constantinople, and after having reduced the neighbouring towns, invested the imperial city itself both by sea and land. In this extremity Manuel had recourse to the western princes, who having raised an army 130,000 strong, sent it to his relief, under the conduct of Sigismund king of Hungary, and John count of Nevers. The western troops were at first attended with good success; for entering the countries lately subdued by the sultan, they recovered Widin, and several other places of great importance in Bulgaria, and invested Nicopolis. Hereupon Bajazet, raising the siege of Constantinople, marched, with all the forces he could affemble, to relieve the place. Upon his approach, Sigismund, leaving part of the army to pursue the siege, marched e with the rest to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both fides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the French cavalry having difinounted to fight on foot, the rest of the army observing the horses without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces. began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigour to the enemy, who making an utmost effort, and charging the christians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great con-The Turks pursued them to their camp, which they took, with all their baggage, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom was the count of Nevers, and three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, except the count f himself, and five more, put to death in Bajazet's presence, after having been insulted by him in a most outrageous manner. As for Sigismund, he had the good luck to make his escape, and crossing the Danube in a small boat, to get safe to his own domi-This memorable battle, in which 20,000 christians were slain, and a far greater number taken prisoners, was fought in the second year of Manuel's reign, and 1393. of the christian æra ". After this victory, Bajazet returned to the siege of Constantinople; but finding the citizens determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he applied to John the son of Andronicus, to whom, as we have observed above,

a the emperor had yielded the town of Selymbria. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which Bajazet was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a just claim, as being the ion of Manuel's elder brother. On the other hand, John was to yield the city of Constantino; le to Bajazet, and remove the imperial seat to Peloponne us, which the fultan promised to relinquish to him and his posterity. This agreement being privately figned and Iworn to by both parties, Bajazet dispatched deputies to the inhabitants of Constantinople, offering to withdraw his army, and abstain from all hostilities, provided they would drive out Manuel, and place his nephew John on the throne, to which he had an unquestionable right. This politic proposal rent the whole city into two sactions, some savouring Manuel, and others b declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being apprifed, and apprehensive of the evils attending a civil discord at so critical a conjuncture, he acquainted his nephew, then in the Turkish camp, that, to deliver his subjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to refign the fovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himself by sea to whatever place he should think fit. With this condition John readily complied, and Manuel resigns Manuel, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, his nephem embarqued on board a galley, and let fail for Venice, where he landed, and from John. thence went to the several courts of the christian princes, to solicit aid against the overgrown power of the Turks, now become formidable to all Europe. He was everye where received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem, and promised large supplies, all Christendom being alarmed at the late conquest of the infidels. In the mean time John being crowned with the usual solemnity, Bajazet took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and press him to a speedy execution of the main article, which was to yield Constantinople to him, and retire to Peloponnesus or Morea; but the citizens refusing, notwithstanding the unspeakable hardships they suffered, to comply with such a scandalous treaty, Bajazet renewed the siege, and assaulted the Constanticity with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmost extremity, news was brought him, that Tamerlane, the victorious Tartar, after having fubdued Persia, and the more easterly provinces, had turned his arms against him, d and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into Syria. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great haste raised the siege, and pussing the Hellespont, marched with the utmost expedition to Prusa, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both for his eastern and western forces. From Prusa he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, to meet Tamerlane, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of Angoria Who is over-in Galatia, on the twenty-eighth of July 1401. cut most of his men in pieces; and prisoner by Tahaving taken the fultan himself prisoner, to punish his excessive pride, cruelty, and merlane. arrogance, shut him up in an iron cage, against which he is said to have dashed out his brains the year following, tho' fome ascribe his death to poison o, as we shall e relate more at length elsewhere. Manuel was no sooner informed of the overthrow and captivity of his inveterate enemy Bajazet, than he returned to Constantinople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked against John for his servile compliance with the Turks, drove him from the throne, and restored Manuel, by whom he was banished to the island of Lesbos. This Manuel re-! great overthrow of the Turks had like to have occasioned the total dissolution of their stored. empire both in Europe and Asia; for the five sons of Bajazet, taking arms against each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. Isa-Zelebis, Bajazet's third son, upon his father's death, caused himself to be proclaimed fultan; but was foon driven from the throne by his brother Solyman, as f was Solyman by his brother Musa. At length Mohammed, Bajazet's youngest son, having overcome all his competitors, was univerfally acknowledged fultan, and the sole monarch of the Turks. The emperor Manuel in the mean time, taking advantage of these intestine divisions, and siding sometimes with one of the competitors, and sometimes with another, recovered several provinces, which Mohammed, whom he had affisted against his brother  $Mu \int a$ , suffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424. the seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his Manuel dies, reign P. Some authors write, that he refigned the empire to his fon John Palæologus five years before his death, and retiring to a monastery, took the monastic habit,

John Palacolo- with the name of Antony. Be that as it will, he was succeeded by his son John, in 2

Constantinople besieged Ly Amurath to raif. it.

and jeveral

des's success

against the Turks.

whose reign Amurath II. the son and successor of Mohammed, recovered all the provinces which had been seized after the death of Bajazet by the emperor, and the other christian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid siege to Constantinople, being provoked against the emperor for espousing the cause of an impostor, who, pretend-11. who is forced ing to be Mustapha the fon of Bajazet, was acknowledged for fultan in all the provinces of the Turkish empire in Europe. The citizens defended themselves with great bravery; but being harassed with continual assaults, must have in the end submitted. had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of Caramania to countenance another Mustapha, Amurath's younger brother, who, having revolted in Asia, was, with the

supplies fent him by his new ally, enabled to lay siege to the city of Nice, which he b This obliged Amurath to raise the siege of Constantinople, and march with all his forces against the usurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by one Ilras, in whom he reposed great confidence. Amurath, having got him into his

power, caused him to be immediately strangled with a bow-string; and then turning his arms against the prince of Caramania, obliged him to sue for peace; which the fultan granted him upon what terms he thought proper to prescribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered Macedon at the head of a powerful army,

and having ravaged the country far and near, laid siege to Thessalonica, which he took, and plundered with the utmost cruelty, as he did most of the cities of Atolia, Theffalonica,

Phocis, and Baotia. From Greece he marched into Servia, which country he foon c reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of Hungary, befieged the taken by Amustrong city of Belgrade, which made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thousand Turks being slain by the christians in one fally; which obliged Amurath to

drop the enterprize, and retire. In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated John Hunniades, who cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter John Hunniathemselves under the walls of Sinderovia. Not long after, he gained a still more signal victory over the enemy in the plains of Translvania, with the loss of no more than

three thousand of his own men, whereas twenty thousand Turks were killed on the spot, and almost an equal number in the pursuit. Amurath, who was then at Adrianople, fent another army into Transylvania, far more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better fuccess, being cut off almost to a man by the d

brave Hungarian. He gained over the Turks several other no less remarkable victories, and recovered all Bulgaria and Servia; but was in the end overcome and put to flight by Amurath, in the memorable battle of Varna, fought in the year 1444 the christians being disheartened by the death of Uladislaus king of Hungary, who, while

he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on all fides, and cut in pieces. However, Hunniades having had the good luck to make his escape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of Ladislaus, who was chosen king of Hungary in the room of Uladislaus, he raised a

confiderable army, and advancing to Coffova, engaged Amurath, who lay encamped The battle lasted three days, both armies retiring to their respective camps e when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two first

days the christians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out, and overpowered with numbers, Amurath charging them with fresh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous resistance, put to slight, and utterly routed. In this me-

morable battle, which was fought in 1448. thirty-four thousand Turks were slain, and eight thousand christians, with the flower of the Hungarian nobility. As for Hunniades, he made his escape into Servia, and from thence returned into Hungary 9. In the mean time John Palaologus, the Greek emperor, fearing the victorious fultan

should turn his arms against him, sent embassadors to Adrianople, where Amurath then refided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The fultan received f them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to Constantinople, unless the emperor yielded to him some strong-holds, which he still possessed on the Euxine

sea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand aspers. To these shameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to submit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the Roman empire, now reduced to the imperial city, and the adjoina yearly tribute to the fultan.

ing country. However, as he did not doubt but Amurath, as soon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with George Castriot, surnamed Scan-

The emperor submits to pay

He is in the end routed by

the Turks.

derbeg, prince of Epirus, would, under some pretence or other, attempt Constantinople Itself, he applied to the western princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cause, he promised to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the Greek and Latin churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at Ferrara, he went thither in person, attended by Jojeph the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the Greek nobility, who were all received at Venice, where they landed, and afterwards at Ferrara, with great pomp and magnificence. From Ferrara the council was removed foon after, by reason of a plague which broke out there, to Florence, where the union was effected between the two churches, and subscribed to Union of the by the patriarch, and the other prelates. The patriarch died soon after at Florence; Greek and b but the emperor, and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to Latin churches. Venice, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to Constantinople. Upon his return, he found the people highly diffatisfied with his conduct, and that

of the bishops, some of whom had refused to subscribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to fign them. The disturbances which this union raised in the church, the death of the empress Despina, and the insupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the fultan, gave him fuch concern, that, being already broken with age, he funk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty-feventh of his John, the emreign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of Constantinople, to his bro-feror, dies.

c ther Constantine. Amurath, the Turkish fultan, did not long survive him; but dying Constantine in the beginning of February 1450. was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who had no Palæologus. fooner taken post stion of the throne, than he caused all his brothers to be strangled, Mohammed and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is faid to have been the fon of a concu-11. bine) to marry a flave, by name Isaac. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with Constantine, the Greek emperor, who, upon the first news of his father's death, had fent embassadors to congratulate him upon his accession to the The embassadors were received very graciously, the new sultan declaring, that he had nothing fo much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor, and the other christian princes. The embassadors of the Walachians, Lesbians,

d Bulgarians, Rhodians, Servians, &c. were likewise received in a most obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings the accession of Mohammed to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the christians, the more because his mother was of that religion, being, according to the most credible writers, the despot or prince of Servia's daughter. But notwithstanding the friendship and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no fooner put an end to the war with Ibrahim, king of Caramania, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in Asia, than he began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of Constantinople, and abolishing the very name of the Roman empire. With this view he built on the Europe side of the Bosporus a strong castle, called by the Turks He builds 4

e Genichicar, and by the Greeks Neocastrum, opposite to another in Asia called Aspo-fort on the castron, which he caused to be repaired, placing in both strong garisons. These two Bosporus. castles commanded the streights, and the former, being but five miles from Constantinople, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. Mohammed had no fooner begun the work, than the emperor, and the citizens of Constantinople, alarmed at the undertaking, dispatched embassadors to the sultan, with orders Which occasions to do all that lay in their power to divert him from it. But Mohammed was fo far a miguider from granting them their request, that tho' the emperor even offered to pay him an standing beannual tribute, provided he put a ftop to the work, he threatened, with the utmost the empror. arrogance, to cause such as should be sent to him upon the like errand to be slead

f alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to Constantine, and that he had an unquestionable right to build in his own dominions what castles and forts he pleased. When the fort in the neighbourhood of Constantinople was finished, the garison left there by the sultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excursions to the very gates, returned to their strong-hold loaded with booty. This occasioned several skirmishes between the christians and Turks; in one of which a confiderable number of the latter being killed, the fultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the christians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the sword, which was done

Constanting has recourse in vain to the

christian princes.

fantinople. taken by the Turks.

Constantinople besieged. Disposition of the Turkish

ariny.

accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, a ordered all the Turks within the walls to be arrested, but set them at liberty the next day, fending at the same time embassadors to Mohammed, with proposals for concluding a lasting peace between the two crowns. As the sultan seemed averse to an accommodation, and was assembling his forces from all parts, Constantine, well apprifed of his defign, in the first place took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with great plenty of all forts of provisions; then by his embassadors to the western princes, acquainted them with the designs of the sultan, and the storm that was gathering against the imperial city, the taking of which might prove fatal to all Christendom. That they might the more readily assist him at so critical a conjuncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraor- b dinary demonstrations of esteem and respect the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the ecclesiastics zealously attached to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and occasioned a misunderstanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the least affistance from the Latins in the west, who, by a strange infatuation, suffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of Christendom, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the christian name, who, they well knew, would not stop there, but extend his conquests to the neighbouring and perhaps to the most distant kingdoms. While Constantine was foliciting aid from the western princes, Caracia, one of Mohammed's All the forts in chief commanders, reduced several places on the Euxine sea, which were still held by c the emperor, viz. Mesembria, Acheloum, Bison, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by affault a strong castle called St. Stephen's tower, and put the garifon to the Other forts in that neighbourhood submitted at the approach of the enemy; but Selybria held out for some time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and resolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated affaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, castles, and strong-holds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, Caracia was ordered to fcour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the Greeks were still masters at sea, d their galleys ravaged the coasts of Asia, and returned with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were fold for flaves in Constantinople's.

In the mean time, Mohammed, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thousand men, left Adrianople; and bending his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the fixth of April 1483. covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His Afiatic troops were posted on the right towards the Bosporus; those of Europe on the lest towards the haven; and he himself, with fifteen thousand janizaries, and other chosen troops, between both, over-against the gate named Karsias. On the other side the haven, Zoganus, one of his chief officers, encamped with a confiderable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication e between the city and country on that side. At the same time Pantologes, the Turkish admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred fail; but the emperor had taken care to fecure the haven, in which were three large ships, twenty finall ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn cross the entrance from the city to Pera. Mohammed having thus affigned to each part of his army their feveral quarters, and furrounded the city both by fea and land, he began the fiege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raifing mounts in feveral places as high as the walls themfelves; whence the belieged were incessantly galled with showers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious fize, which carried, according to Ducas, a ball of an hundred pound weight, f made of hard black stone brought from the Euxine sea. It had been cast by an Hungarian engineer, who not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to Mohammed, while he was busied in building the abovementioned forts. With this vast piece, the enemy made several breaches in the walls, which however were with great expedition repaired by the belieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and resolution, being encouraged by the example longlassiniani of the emperor, and directed by John Justiniani, a Genoese adventurer, who arriving,

commander in before the fiege, with two large ships, and a considerable number of voluntiers on chief of the emperor's forces.

a board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary skill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and besides, for his farther encouragement, promised the sovereignty of the island of Lesbos, provided he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of fo great a reward, performed exploits, fays our historian, the' no-ways biasfed in favour of the Latins, worthy of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Not satisffied with repulfing the enemy in their frequent affaults, he often fallied out against them at the head of his voluntiers, overturned their machines, destroyed their works, and made fuch a dreadful havock of their best troops, that his name soon became formidable. But Mohammed, to carry on the fiege with more vigour, ordered new Mohammed's b levies to be made throughout his extensive dominions; which reinforcements arriv- army reining daily from all parts, his army was foon increased to the number of near four forced. hundred thousand men, while the garison consisted only of nine thousand regular troops, viz. fix thousand Greeks, and three thousand Genoese and Venetians. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day without intermission, great part of them, with the tower called Baclatina, near the Roman gate, was beaten down; but while the Turks were bussed in filling up the ditch, in order to give the assault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expressed, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the shore his whole fleet worsted by five ships, four of which belonged to the Genoese The Turkish c of Galata, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from Pelopon-fleet worfled nefus, and the others with all manner of provisions from the island of Chios, where by five ships of they had passed the winter. When they first appeared Molanumed ordered his admit the christians. they had passed the winter. When they first appeared, Mohammed ordered his admiral to take them, if possible, or at least to prevent their entering the harbour, and joining the rest of the fleet. Hereupon the whole Turkish navy, weighing anchor, failed out to meet them, covering the streights, as they were in all three hundred fail, from shore to shore. The above-mentioned ships pursued their course; and failing into the midst of the enemy's fleet, funk some of their galleys, disabled others, and made fuch a dreadful havock among them, that Mohammed, who beheld the whole from the shore, could not forbear rushing with his horse into the sea, as d if he intended to swim to his fleet, and encourage them with his presence. But being foon apprifed of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curses, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered such menaces against the admiral, and his other officers, as struck all with terror who heard them. But notwithstanding his impotent rage, and the loud shouts of the whole Turkish army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ships opened themselves a way through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpressible joy of the christians, got safe into the harbour '. The Turks attempted feveral times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that fide; but all their efforts proving unfuccessful, Mohammed formed, and, to the great e terror and amazement of the befieged, put in execution, one of the boldest deligns we find mentioned in history. For, not being able to remove the chain drawn cross the entrance into the harbour, and the ships within it making a dreadful fire on the Turkish fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the Bosporus behind Pera to the haven of Constantinopie, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed Mohammed eighty galleys over land for the space of eight miles into the haven, of which he was conveys eighty no fooner master, the ships riding there being either taken or sunk, than he caused saileys over land into the a bridge, a work no less wonderful and surprising, to be built over it with incredit haven. ble labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp f of Zoganus at Pera to the walls of Constantinople, the city was laid open to an affault on that fide too. And now the place being invested, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all fides, the emperor, well apprifed he could not with his small garison hold out much longer against such a mighty sleet, and so numerous an army, sent deputies to Mobammed, offering to acknowledge himself his vastal, by paying him yearly what tribute he should think proper to impose upon him, provided he raised the siege, and withdrew. The tyrant answered, that he was determined at all events to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered

it up forthwith, he would yield to him Peloponnesus, and other provinces to his bro-

The emperor

A mutiny in the Turkish camp.

Conftantine makes the neceifary preparations for sustaining the affau't.

thers, which they should peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies; whereas, if he a held out to the last extremity, and suffered it to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the fword, abandon the city to be plundered by his foldiers, and carry all the inhabitants, stripped of their wealth and effects, into captivity. The city was already reduced to great streights; but the emperor being rejetts the con- determined to perish with it, rather than give it up upon any terms whatsoever, ditions offered the siege was carried on with great vigour till the twenty-sisth of May, when a report being spread in the Turkish camp, that a mighty army was advancing full march to the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated John Hunniades, the common foldiers, seized with a panic, began to mutiny, and press Mohammed in a tumultuous manner to break up the siege; nay, they openly threatened him with b death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the city, which they despaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the supposed succours. Mobammed, tho' hitherto an utter stranger to fear, alarmed at the menaces of the incenfed and ungovernable foldiery, was upon the point of yielding to the storm, and raising the siege, agreeable to the advice of the grand visier Haly, who favoured underhand the christians. But Zagan, a Turkish officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcileable enemy to the christian name, having confirmed the fultan in his former refolution, advised him to give, without loss of time, a general affault; to which, he faid, the foldiery, however mutinous, would not be averse, provided he solemnly promised to abandon the city to be plundered by them. c As this advice best fuited the humour of Mohammed, he readily embraced it, and caused a proclamation to be published throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his foldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required nothing for his share but the empty houses. The defire of plunder, and the prospect of an immense booty, soon got the better of the fear, which had seized the army: they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the affault. Hereupon the prepares for a emperor was summoned for the last time to deliver up the city, with a promise of general florm. his life and liberty. To this summons the brave emperor answered, that he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this answer the messenger returned, and on the evening of the same day, which was Trinity funday, the twenty-seventh of May, the Turkish camp and seet appeared illumi- d nated with an incredible number of lights fet up by the fultan's orders on every tent and vessel to admonish the whole army, that a solemn fast was to be observed the next, to implore the protection of heaven. Constantine, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend Haly, that on the Tuesday following he should be attacked by sea and land, made the necessary preparations for sustaining the assault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever else was dear to him, lying at stake. He ordered in the first place a general procession, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent speech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themselves in the desence of the empire and the christian religion. He then retired to the church of St. Sophia, attended by cardinal Isidore, and several e other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the Latins; and there, after affifting with exemplary piety at divine fervice, he received the holy eucharist. Zygomola, a modern writer, tells us, that Constantine, having first caused the empress and his children to receive the facrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be flruck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in most of the modern Greek writers, it being manifest from Ducas, and other contemporary writers, that Theodora, Constantine's first wife, and Catharina Catalusa, his second, died long before, without his having children by them; and that the king of Georgia's daughter, who not long before had been betrothed to him, died before she came to Constantinople, f or was married to him. From the church Constantine repaired to the great palace, and there, after taking leave of his ministers, as if he were never to see them again, he ordered every man to his post, and, putting on his armour, marched in person at the head of a chosen body to the gate Karsia, where a considerable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the emperor, and Justiniani his lieutenant-general, with 300 Genoese, and a select body of Greeks, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noise in the Turkish camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun by such troops as the sultan least valued, and therefore, g defigning

The Turks begin the ALIACK.

a defigning them for flaughter, had ordered them to march the first with no other view but to tire the christians, who, tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that disorderly multitude. After the carnage had lasted some hours, the janisfaries, and other fresh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigour and fury. The christians, summoning all their courage and resolution, twice repulsed the enemy, but in the end being quite spent, and fresh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to stind their ground; so that the enemy in several places broke into the city. In the mean time, Justinian having received two wounds, one in the thigh, and the other in the hand, Justinian is he was fo disheartened at the fight of his blood, that, abandoning his post, he caused mounded, and himself to be conveyed to Galata, where he died from after, not of his wounded has retires.

b himself to be conveyed to Galata, where he died soon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The Genoese and Greeks, who served under him, dismayed at the sudden retreat of their general, quitted their posts, and fled in the utmost consusion. However, the emperor, The emperor's attended by Theophilus Palæologus, Francis Comnenus, Demetrius Cantacuzenus, John gallant behaof Dalmatia, and a few more of the most resolute among the nobility, still k.pt viour. his post, striving with an unparallelled courage and intrepidity to oppose the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent storm, now broke in on all sides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and feeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, What! he cried aloud, is there no christian left alive to strike

c off my bead? He had scarce uttered these words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut cross the face with his sabre: at the same time another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him He is killed. dead on the ground. Thus died, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and tenth of his reign, Constantine XV. courageously defending that city which Constantine I. had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to stand his ground, he sled with the rest, and was stifled and pressed to death in the croud. But we have followed Ducas and Phranzes, of whom the latter was chancellor to Constantine, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole

d time of the siege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the Turks and christians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death. Ducas adds, that Mohammed, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor ". The emperor being thus flain, the few christians, who were left alive, betook themselves to slight, and the Turks, meeting with no further opposition, entered the city, and scouring the And the town streets, filled that once stately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no taken and quarter, but put all they met to the fword, without distinction of fex, age, or condition. But of the unspeakable miseries the inhabitants suffered, during the three days which Mohammed had allowed his foldiers to plunder the city, the reader will

• find a minute and affecting account in Ducas, and other contemporary writers. Many thousands took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, but they were all massacred without pity in their asylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the defire of revenge, and the love of booty, spared no place nor person. Most of the nobility were by the sultan's orders cut off, and the rest reserved for purposes more grievous than death itself. However, many of the inhabitants, amongst whom were some men of great learning, sound means to make their escape, while the Turks were busied in plundering the city. These embarquing on five ships then in the harbour, arrived fafe in Italy, where, with the study of the Greek tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had been long neglected in the west. When f the three days were expired, Mohammed commanded his foldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hostilities, and they put an end to the most cruel pillage and massacre mentioned in history. The next day he made his public and triumphal The total dissorting entry into the city; and chusing it for the seat of his empire, he solemnly promised Constanting. to take under his protection such of the inhabitants as should continue in it, or, being poliranRoman fled, should return to their ancient habitations, and even to allow them the free empire. exercise of the christian religion. The death of the last Roman emperor, the loss

\* Ducas, c. 39.

of Constantinople, and the final dissolution of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of May in the year of the Greeks 6961. of the Hegira 857.

and of the christian æra, according to the most probable opinion, 1453.

The downfal of a state, once so mighty and powerful, was not sudden, or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a visible decay of several ages. To what causes that was owing, we have, on proper occasions, pointed out in the course of the present history; and therefore, not to trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourselves to the immediate causes of so great a revolution, such as human policy may account for, not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor ascribe, as some have done, the calamities that befal a nation, to the sins of those on whom they are inslicted.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

# The history of the Carthaginians, to the destrution of Carthage by the Romans.

#### SECT. I.

A description of Carthage, and some account of the origin of that city.

\* WERE the materials afforded us by the antients for writing the history of Carthage, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, tew nations would make a greater figure in this work; but fuch has been the infelicity of this state, that notwithstanding the immense riches, the extended commerce, the consummate policy and military genius of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with Rome for the empire of the world, yet we have but very short and scanty memorials left us of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us: the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have escaped oblivion, have either been transmitted to posterity by its enemies, or such as b were favourably disposed towards them, and consequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juster idea of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, by collecting all the remarkable passages relating to it, scattered in the Greek and Roman authors; by comparing these together, and connecting them in a proper manner; and laftly, by making some observations of our own, in order to illustrate and explain them; we doubt not but to supply the defects of all former historians, and give the most complete, as well as the most entertaining, history of the Carthaginians, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage, the metropolis of Africa Propria for several centuries, was, according to Carthage, Velleius 2, built fixty-five years before Rome, tho' Trogus b and Justin will have it to when founded. c be seventy-two years older than that mistress of the world. Livy c seems to place its foundation twenty years higher than these; and Solinus d exceeds him twenty-seven years. Timeus of Sicily intimates, that Carthage and Rome were sounded at the same time, viz. thirty-eight years before the first olympiad. Lastly, from Menander state Epbesian, as cited by Josephus (A), and the Tyrian annals, it appears to have preceded the Roman æra an hundred and forty years. We shall not take upon us to determine which of these is in the right, nor whether any of them deserves absolute credit; but only observe, that as Carthage 8 consisted of different parts, which were supposed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the antients should

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Paterc. hist. Rom. I. i. <sup>b</sup> Just. hist. I. xviii. <sup>c</sup> Liv. hist. I. li. epit. <sup>d</sup> Solin. c. 29. <sup>c</sup> Timæus Sicul. apud Dionys. Halicarnas. I. i. <sup>f</sup> Menand. Ephel. apud Joeph. I. i. cont. Apion. <sup>g</sup> Petav. de doct. temp. I. ix. c. 69. & Boghart. de col. Phoen. I. i. c. 24.

(A) fosephus, in his computation from Menander Ephesius (1), seems inconsistent with himself, or at least very inaccurate; but Peravius (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix Dido's arrival in Africa an hundred and forty years before the foundation of Rome. Solinus (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that Carthage, at its final destruction by Scipio Africanus, had stood seven hundred and thirty-seven years. As therefore this destruction happened in the year of Rome six hundred and six, or six hundred and seven, it is evident, that, according to this author, Carthage was

built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before Rome; and if, with Sir Isaac Newton (4) and Salmasius, we suppose Solinus intended the encania or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, Dido's arrival in Africa will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the Roman æra; which agreeing so well with Petavius, from whom it differs but two years, a trisse in a point of so remote antiquity, we may justly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

(1) Menand. Ephef. apud Joseph. l. i. cont. Apion.
(2) Dion. Petav. de dott. temp. l. ix. c. 69.
(3) Solin. c. 27.
(4) Salmaf. in Solin. c. 27. Newt. chronol. p. 65.
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hand

hand down such a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns should disagree so a much amongst themselves in this affair. It is not very material to our present purpose, whether we can hit upon the precise year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore we shall not be over solicitous about it. However, it may not be amiss to refer our curious readers to Petavius, who has been very particular on this subject. That learned man, after confidering the jarring opinions of the antients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their mistakes, and at last, with an appearance of exactness, fixes the time of Dido's beginning to build Carthage an hundred thirtyseven years before the foundation of Rome, if, with Varro, we place this in the third year of the fixth olympiad, or an hundred forty-two, if, with archbishop Usher, we prefer the account of Fabius Pillor k (B), who will have it to be near the beginning b of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other chronologer whatfoever.

The Carthagi-

But whatever difagreement may be found amongst historians and chronologers as nians descended to the exact year of the foundation of Carthage, yet it is agreed on all hands, that from the Phoe- the Phanicians were its founders. The Greek poet Nonnus, from some authors, whose works are now lost, assures us, that Cadmus made a very successful expedition into these parts. Eusebius m and Procopius are positive, that the Canaanites who fled from Joshua retired hither; and St. Austin would have it believed, that the Carthaginians were descended from these Canaanites. Philistus of Syracuse, a writer of good authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Christ, relates, c that the first traces of Carthage were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Tyrians or Phanicians, thirty years before the destruction of Troy, according to Eusebius. Appian P. who undoubtedly received his notion from Philistus, attributes this event to Zorus and Charchedon, the two faid Phanicians, fifty years before that period; and from him Scaliger 9 corrects Eusebius's numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, Virgil t feems to hint, that Dido was rather the finisher than founder of this city, by giving us to understand, that the ground on which it stood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town stood upon it. What likewise renders the account of Philistus and Appian not a little probable, is, that the Greeks always called this city Charchedon, for which no reason so proper d can be affigned, as that the person who first settled with a colony on this spot of ground, was called by that name. Besides, something must have determined Dido to chuse this particular place for her Tyrians before any other . Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for fome time by the Phanicians, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore she had reason to expect the kindest and most friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coast of Africa, and the coast of Spain opposite to it, were known in very early ages to the Tyrians; since it is remarked by Velleius", that they built the cities of Cadiz in Spain, and Utica in Africa, a little above eighty years after the Trojan war; and Strabo declares, that the Phanicians were possessed of the best parts of Spain and Africa a c considerable time before the age of Homer: all which considerations strongly support the first Phanician settlement mentioned by Philistus and Appian. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the transactions of those very remote times, except what is deducible from the inspired writings of the old testament, and as nothing is less to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many antient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they please.

rity, particularly with regard to the point under consideration; but we chuse to refer our readers to archbishop Usher (7), Vossius, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

PETAV. ubi supra, & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Antwerp. 1703. & l. xii.

tempor. l. ii. c. 13. 

M. Onuph. Panvin. in ant. urb. imag. Uss. an. p. 87. 

1 Nonn. in Dionys. l. xiii.

M. Euseb. in chron. l. i. p. 11. 

Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. 

M. August. in exposit. epist. ad

Rom. sub init. 

Philist. Syracusan. apud Euseb. in chron. ad ann. 804. 

Philist. Serv. in loc. sub init. 

Government in Libyc. Stalie. animadvers. in Euseb. chron. ad ann. 804. 

Popular. in Libyc. Stalie. animadvers. in Euseb. chron. ad ann. 804. 

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<sup>(</sup>B) This Fabius Pictor was the most antient of the Roman historians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is followed herein by Onuphrius Pan-winius (6), as well as archbishop Usher. Several arguments might be offered in support of his autho-

<sup>(5)</sup> Liv. l. i. ii. &c. Die. Hal. l. i. User. an. p. 60. ad ann. Jul. per. 3966. Voss. de hist. Grac. l. iv. c. 13. &c. (6) Onuph. Panvin. antiq. urb. imag. apud Gravium in thesaur. ant. Rom. tom. 3. p. 215. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 51. (7) User. an. ubi supra. Voss. de hist. Grac. & Petav. ubi supra. How-

However, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening Elifa either before the destruction of Troy, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical founded or in-exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of anciquient that larged the city exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that of Carthage. Elisa w, called also Dido, sister of Pygmalion king of Tyre, slying with her brother Barca, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from Tyre, fixed her residence at Cartbage, and either founded, or much inlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great consideration till her arrival. The wealth of her husband & Sichaus, and the Tyrians she brought with her, who, at that time, were the y most polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to inlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the b foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, for which the Tyrian nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which seemed, in Aristotle's z opinion, by his descanting so largely upon it, to have been one of the most persect that ever was known in the world, at least, in his time. Dido's arrival in Africa, as we have observed, was an hundred thirty-seven years before the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account; an hundred forty-two, according to Fabius Pistor; an hundred and fourteen before the first olympiad; eight hundred eightynine, or eight hundred and ninety before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of Troy, unless, with Sir Isaac Newton, we will suppose the c antient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years. Virgil indeed seems to have allowed this supposition; for notwithstanding what has been advanced by several learned men b to excuse him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monstrous anachronism he makes, by bringing *Eneas* and *Dido* together as cotemporaries, would have been utterly inexcuseable. We shall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occasion and manner of Dido's slight from Tyre, of her putting into the island of Cyprus, and steering afterwards her course for the coasts of Africa, where she happily arrived; so that it will be intirely unnecesfary, even so much as to touch upon these particulars in this place .

How this city came to be called Carthage, authors are not fully agreed. Solinus d Name whence d tells us, that its true name was Carthada, which, in the Carthaginian language, figni-derived. fied the New City; and herein he is followed by Salmasius, Schindler, Bochart &, and others, who deduce it from the two Oriental words, Charta Hadatta, which are of the fame import. But, befides that it is too far fetched and unnatural, these very authors themselves supply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for Schindler h derives Carthago from the Oriental word Charta, a city; and the other two allow, that the city was founded long before Dido came into Africa, and that she only built that part of it called Byrsa, or the citadel. Dr. Hyde k derives it either from Chadre Hanacha, i. e. The chamber of rest, or place of repose, or from Card Haneca, the New City, as before, because Plautus in his Panulus intimates, that it was called by the e natives Chaedreanech; but these derivations likewise are too forced and unsatisfactory, and are besides overthrown by Bochart!. Servius m therefore seems to come nearer the truth, when he fays, that, according to the Carthaginians themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from Charta, a town not far from Tyre, to which Dido bore a near relation; and this town is called by Cedrenus " Chartica, or Chartaca, i. e. Charta Aca, or Charta Aco, the city of Aca or Aco, a celebrated fea-port of Phanice (C), near Tyre and Siden, in the territory of the tribe of Asher P, the possessed by the q Tyrians or Pbx-

w Just. l. xviii. Virgil. Æn. i. & Ser./. in loc. Cedres. ...
Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416, &c. \* Virg. Just. &c. ubi supra. \* Newt. chron. p. 13. Docs.

2 Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. \* Newt. chron.

Macron. alique. \* Univers. hist. chron. w Just. 1. xviii.
Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416, &c. 

x Virg. Just. 2. Arist. de rep. 1. ii. c. 12.

phal. & de col. Phœn. passim. 1 Kings, c. v. &c. 
2 Arist. de rep. 1. ii. c. 12.

p. 32, 65, &c. 
b Ludovic. de la Cerda, Car. Ruæus. Macrob. alique. 
Chan l. i. c. 27.
c Salmas. in Solin. p. 322.
d Solin. c. 27.
b Schind. ubi supra.
c Salmas. & Bochart. ubi supra.
c Salmas. & Bochart. ubi supra.
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c Salmas. & Bochart. ubi supra.
c Salmas. & Bochart. ubi supra. & Hyde in not. ad Peritsol. p. 44. BOCHART. Chan.l. i. c. 1. Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37. & Æn. iv. ver. 75. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 313. Strab. l. xvi. p. 521. Diodor. Sic. l. xix. c. 93. Corn. Vep. Datam. c. 5. Plin. l. v. c. 19. Steph. Byz. de urb. Hieronym. in Am. i, ii. & LXX in Jud. i. Jud. i. ver. 31. Ibid.

(C) The place was, according to Cedrenus, a maritime city or sea-port, as will appear from a peru-sal of the passage referred to; which is an additional argument in savour of our notion. We find likewise a city, called Kartah, given to the Levites in this country, taken out of the territory of the tribe of Zebulun.

nicians. In support of Servius and Cedrenus's authority, it may be observed, that the a Sidonians, Tyrians and Canaanites inhabiting that part of Phanice, frequently prefixed the word kiriath, cariath, or charta, i. e. city, to the proper names of towns, as Kiriath , or, according to St. Jerom, Cariath-Arba, Cariath-Baal, Cariath-Sanna, Cariath-Sepher, &c. tho' fometimes they styled them simply Cariath, or Charta, city, and, for the most part in writing, used their proper' names alone; so that it is no wonder the town under consideration should be known by the names Charta, Aca, Aco, Chartica, Chartaca, Cartaco, &c. fince this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho' Dido's city was constantly called by the Latin writers Carthago, yet its true name amongst the antient Romans, who undoubtedly received it from the Carthaginians themselves, was Cartaco u, as is evident from the co- b lumna rostrata (D) of Duilius. This, together with what has been w observed in the first

T Jud. i. ver. 10. Josh. xviii. ver. 14. xv. ver. 15, 49.

\* Josh. xv. ver. 9, 60, &c.

\* Vide Pet. Clacconium in column. rostrat. Duil. apud Joan. Geor. Grav. in thefaur. antiquit. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1810. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416.

(D) We have before given an English translation (8) of the old Latin inscription upon the balis of the columna rostrata of Duilius; but as it is a most curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquisitive readers would think us guilty of a great omission, were not the original itself interted somewhere in this work; especially as many fine conclusions relating to the Latin lan. guage may be drawn from it; and the furprifing

manner in which that language was polified and refined in less than two centuries, may be from thence discovered. In order therefore to render our history as complete as possible, and evince the point at present in view, we shall here present our readers with the inscription itself, and the chasms of it, as fupplied by Lipsius and Ciaccenius, together with a version of it into the Latin of the Augustan age:

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD REM. CERENS, ECEST. AND S. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISUMAD UBSEDEONED. XEMET. LECION. EIS.
MAXIMOSQUE. MACICATO. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS. MACISTRATOS. LUCAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS. NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MICELAM. MOENITAM. URBEM. PUCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE PUCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQUE CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. FARAVETQUE. DIEBOS. LX CUMQUE. EIS NAVADUS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQUE. SUMAS. COPIAS. CAPTACINIENSIS, PRÆSSNIED. MAXUMOD. DICTATOSED. OLOROM. IN. ALTQD. MARID. PUCNANDOD. VICET XXXQUE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CUV. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQUE. DUCIS QUINRESMOSQUE. TRIRESMOSQUE. NAYEIS. XX. DEPRESET AUROM. CAPTOM, NUMBI OCO DCC

ARCENTOM. CAPTOM. PRADRA NUMEI, eccioso e CRAVE. CAPTOM. AES Cooloso cucloso eccioso eccioso eccioso cucloso eccioso e TRIOMPOQUE, NAVALED, PREDAD, POPLOM, ROMANOM. eccloso PONDOD DONAVET DAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCENSOS. DUXET. ANTE. CUROM PRIMOSQUE. CONSOL. DE. SICELEIS. CLASEQUE. CASTACINIENSEOM TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EL HANCE. COLUMNAM. P.

Caius Duilius Marci filius Consul adversus Carthaginienses in Sicilia rem gerens, Egestanos (socios atque) cognatos populi Romani artissima obsidione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginicnsum (qui Egesiam obsidebant, & Amilcar) maximus (eorum) magistratus (festinandi studio) elephantis relictis novem, castris effugerunt. Macellam (deiude) munitam (validamque) urbem pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magistratu prospere rem navibus mari Consul primus gessit: remiges classesque navales primus ornavit atque paravit aiebus sexaginta. & cum his navibus, classes Punicas omnes, paratas (ornatas) que summas copias Carthaginiensum, trajente (Annibale) maximo dictatore illorum, in alto mari pugnando superavit; trigintaque naves cum sociis (hoc est cum ipsis hominibus) cepit, & septiremem pratoriam, quinqueremes (praterea) ac triremes naves xx depressit.

Aurum captum in prada nummi 111. M. DCC. Argentum captum in prada nummi C. M.

Æs grave captum vicies semel centena millia pondo, atque in triumpho navali pradam (omnem in ararium) Popul. Rom. intulit.

captivos (etiam) Carthaginienses ingenuos (hoc est, nobiles aliquot) ante currum duxit : primusque Consul, de Siculis, & classe Carthaginiensium triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo S.P. D. R. ei bancce columnam posuit. triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit (9).

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erected, the Carthaginians were called by the Romans CARTACINIENSEIS; and consequently the

name of their city, then in use amongst the Romans. was CARTACO.

(8) Univers hist. vol. iv. p. 659, 660. in not. Grav. in thesaur. antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1810.

(9) Vide Petr. Ciaccon. Tolet. in column, rost. Duil. apud

volume

a volume of this history, seems to render the authority above-mentioned incontests able.

THAT it was usual in those early ages to denominate some cities from others, as well as from their sounders, is a truth well known to all persons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiquity; and the city of Thebes in Baotia (E), so called from Thebes in Egypt; Pisa in Italy, from Pisa in Peloponnesus; Salamis in Cyprus, from Salamis in Attica, to omit several others that might be mentioned, are sufficient instances of it.

Salmasius will have the Greek name Charchedon to be derived from Solinus's Carthada; because the Sicilians now-and-then used the Greek letter chi for theta. But sure nothing can be more weak than this; besides, were it much more plausible, it becould not be admitted, because it classes with the authority of Philisus (F), Appian, Eusebius, and St. Jerom. Herodotus, Menander Ephesius, Polybius, &c. the most antient Greek authors, mentioning the Carthaginians, likewise disprove it, because they were not Sicilians.

The Carthaginians were called by the Greeks, fometimes Libyans, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes Phanicians, on account of the country from whence they were originally descended. The Romans also styled them Pani, or Phanicians, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them, or their

city, Punic or Panic, i. e. Phanician, or belonging to the Phanicians.

We must not omit observing, that, according to Stephanus y and Eustathius, this Caccabethe Punic name city was antiently named, in Punic, Caccabe, from a horse's head, which was found Carthage. by the Tyrians, whilst they were digging for the soundations of Byrsa. This was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the suture greatness of the city. Our readers will find the whole story in Virgil and Justin, and to these authors we refer them. In the mean time we shall only remark, that the learned Bochart has shewn the word Caccabe to have signified, in the Phanician language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the Carthaginians had frequently upon the reverses of their coins, either a horse's head, or the body of a horse dimidiated, or a horse intire, with Vistory upon him. Most of these coins have likewise a Punic inscription upon their said reverses, with several other symbols; as is evident from Agostini, Paruta, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

In order to avoid all future digressions on this head, we shall here give a faithful and particular account of the situation, dimensions, different parts, and power of the city of Carthage, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third Punic war, extracted from Polybius c, Strabo, Diodorus, Appian, and other antient authors of the best reputation and authority.

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulf, upon a peninsula three hundred and sixty Description of stadia, or forty-five miles, in circumterence, the isthmus joining this peninsula to the Carthage. continent of Africa, being twenty-five stadia, or three miles and a surlong, in breadth.

On the west side there projected from it a long tract of land, in shape resembling a tongue, half a stadium broad; which shooting out into the sea, separated it from a lake or morass, and was strongly fortisted on all sides by rocks, and a single wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortress or citadel, erected by Dido, called Byrsa, having on the top of it a temple sacred to Asculapius, seated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the ascent was by sixty steps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a considerable extent; so that when Byrsa was taken by Scipio towards the close of the last siege of Carthage, nine hundred Roman deserters sortisted them-

\* Salmas ubi fupra. 

\* Steph, Byz. de urb. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. 

\* Virg. Æn. i.

\* Just. l. xviii. Serv. & Ludovic. de la Cerda in Æn. i. Coel. Rhodigin. l. xviii. c. 38. 

\* Bochart. de col. Phon. l. i. c. 24. 

\* Ant. August. dial. vi. ant. 

\* Polyb. l. i. c. 73. Strab. l. xvii. p. 572.

\* Appian. in Libyc. p. 129. 

\* Diodor. Sic. bibl. hift. l. iii. p. 178. Oros. l. iv. c. 22. p. 277.

(E) It is plain from scripture (9), that there was a town of this name likewise in Phanice, or the land of Canuan, not far from Shechem; so that whether we look upon Cadmus as a Phanician or an Egyptian, it can scarce be doubted, but that Thebes in Baotia was so denominated from some more antient city.

(F) All these authors are clearly of opinion, that Carthage was built a considerable time before Dido

came into Africa; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel Byrsa only, the addition she made to the old city, the place was called Carthada, or the New city; and if this be allowed, it must likewise be admitted, that Salmasius endeavours absurdly to deduce Carchedon from Carthada.

(9) Jud. c. ix. ver. 50, 52. 8 F

**felves** 

At last Asdrubal's wife fetting fire to it, intirely consumed it, together a with herfelf, her children, and the faid nine hundred deferters, to avoid falling into the hands of Scipio. On the fouth fide, towards the continent, where Byrsa had its fituation, the city was furrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abstracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourfcore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower had its foundations funk thirty foot deep, and was four stories high, tho' the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, corresponding in depth with the foundations above-mentioned, were stalls, large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder, &c. Over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thousand b foot, and four thousand horse. Such a number of forces and beasts of war were contained within the walls, without in the least incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the first building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the sea towards the western continent, before taken notice of, and extending as far as the harbours, which were on the fame fide. Of these there were two, which were disposed in such a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and had one common entrance, seventy foot broad, and shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vast number of places of refreshment, and all kinds of accommodations for the seamen. The second, c or inner port, was, as well as the island called Cothon in the midst of it, lined with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles for securing and sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships, it being designed chiesly for ships of war. Over these were magazines or store houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order; fo that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. Upon the island was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations issued out; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at fea, tho' no one there could fee what was transacting in d the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themselves, when they entered into their port, had no prospect of the men of war, being separated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other.

Of how many parts the city confilled. Hence it is apparent, that the city consisted of three parts, Byrsa, Megara (G), or Magaria, and Cothon. Byrsa, according to Servius 4, was twenty-two stadia, or near three English miles, in circumference; the English miles. It was not so precisely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the south, or isthmus that joined Carthage to the continent, as is observed by Appian e. The word Byrsa is only a Greek e corruption of the true Punic or Phanician name Busra, Bosra, or Bossra, (for it may be pronounced all these ways) i. e. a fortress or citadel, as has been demonstrated by Scaliger f, Bochart, and others, versed in the oriental languages, and may be inferred from Strabo, Virgil, and Appian, the sable of the ox's hide having long since been exploded by the learned. This was justly looked upon as the interior part of Carthage, surrounded by the Megara e, or Magaria, i. e. the houses, or town, (for that the word imports in the Phanician tongue) its exterior part, according to Servius; so that together they formed a kind of double town. Strabo calls the small island in the midst of the second harbour, Cothon f; tho' Appian applies this name likewise to that port or harbour i itself, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a strong f wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word Cothon

d Serv. in Æn. i. ver. 320. Eutrop. & Bochart. ubi supra. Appian. & Bochart. ubi supra. Scalig. in not. ad Fest. Bochart. ubi supra. Salmas. in Solin. &c. Serv. in Æn. i. & iv. Deptan. in Libyc. p. 129, &c.

<sup>(</sup>G) The true name of the exterior part of Carthage (or that which was, properly speaking, the town) was Megara or Magaria, not Magalia, as

<sup>(10)</sup> Appian. & Serv. ubi supra. Isidor. in orig. l. xiii. c. 12. Vide etiam Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

a is of oriental extraction, and fignifies a port not formed by nature 1, but the effect of labour and art; so that this seems to have been not a proper, but a common name amongst the Carthaginians, who undoubtedly pronounced it Kathum or Kathom; but the Greeks, adopting it into their own language, gave it a Greek termination, and expressing the Phanician A by their great O, (which may easily be conceived) thence came the name Cothon. The Carthaginians were so extremely active and indefatigable, that when Scipio m had blocked up the old port, or Cothon, they, in a very short time, built a new one, the traces of which, scarce an hundred yards square, are still to be feen ". This Cothon was perhaps the fame that was called the Mandracium o in the time of Procopius.

THE number of inhabitants this city contained at the beginning of the third Punic Number of inwar, was seven hundred thousand; a prodigious number, considering the many ter-habitants. rible blows the Carthaginians had received from the Romans during the course of the first and second Punic wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt these wars, and the destructive broils they had been engaged in with Masinissa. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by sea, when they had a mind to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by Hamilear in his expedition against Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, which consisted of three hundred thousand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was composed of more c than two thousand ships of war, and above three thousand transports. Their riches were likewise immense, as may be collected from what Scipio carried off at the final destruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, intirely exhausted and consumed, viz. near a million and a half sterling. All which may serve to give us some faint idea of what Carthage was, when in the height

of its grandeur and magnificence.

As to the extent of the city, Livy informs us, that it was twenty-three ? miles round; The extent of and if what is related of it above be true, this is not improbable. Pliny q intimates, Carthage. that Carthage, when in the hands of the Phanicians, was much larger than when it was a Roman colony; and Suidas affirms, that it was the greatest and most powerful d city in the world. The dominion of the sea, which it enjoyed for six hundred years, almost without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a most prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extensive trade, the mines of Spain, &c. those inexhaustible sources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the Carthaginians should have arrived at such an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our description of Caribage, it may not be improper to take notice of, viz. the temple of Apollor, standing near the Cothon, wherein was a statue of that deity of massive gold, and whose inside was all covered with plates of the same metal, weighing a thousand talents s. But this was involved e in the common destruction of the city, being pillaged and destroyed by a party of Scipio's men, when the Cothon and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general.

It has been 'observed by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was him- Present reself upon the spot, that the greatest part of Carthage was built upon three hills, mains of anfomewhat inferior in elevation to those upon which Rome was erected. All the remains tient Carthage. of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a spacious room upon one of those hills, overlooking the south-east shore, with several smaller ones hard by it; the common fewers, which time hath not in the leaft injured or impaired; and the cifterns, which have very little submitted to the general ruins of the city. f The harbour is now stopped up, and, by the north-east winds with the (H) Mejerdab, made almost as far distant from the sea as Utica, tho' it is still called El-Mersa, or the port, lying to the north and north-west of the city, and formeth, with the lake of Tunis, the peninfula on which Carthage stood.

<sup>1</sup> Fest. in voc. cothones. Serv. in Æn. i. Bochart, ubi supra. Buxtorf. in voc. DDP &c. epit.

\*\*Shaw's geographical observations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151.

1. i. c. 20.

\*\*P Liv. l. li. epit.

\*\*PLIN. l. v. c. 4
\*\*APPIAN. ubi supra. m Liv. l. li. PROCOP. · Idem ibid. t Shaw ubi fupra.

<sup>(</sup>H) This river, the Bagrada of the antients, will be described in the next chapter.

Vast extent of the Carthagi-

Strabo " observes, that the Carthaginians possessed three hundred cities in Africa 2 the Carthagi-nian dominions, before the beginning of the third Punic war; which may easily be believed, if we consider, that the dominions of this state in Africa before that war, extended from the western confines of Cyrenaica w, to the pillars of Hercules, or streights of Gibraltar (1), a tract of land near fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its last period of perfection, the best part of Spain, even as far as the Pyrenees, of Sicily, and all the islands in the Mediterranean to the west of this latter, were subject to it. How it came to make such large acquisitions, and by what steps it grew so formidable, as to dispute the empire of the world with Rome itself, will appear in the sequel of this history.

> w SCYLAX CARYAND. Vide & Bochart. ubi fupra, &c. " STRAB. 1. XVII.

(I) The distance betwixt the Philanorum Ara and pillars of Hercules, according to Polybius (11), was fixteen thousand stadia, or about two thousand miles. But from Dr. Shaw's most accurate observations, it appears to have been one thousand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, fixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be feen in the following table:

	Miles.
From Tingi, or Tangier, to the river Malva, or Mullooiah -	200
To the eastern part of the river Chinalaph, or Shelliff	220
To the river Ampfaga, or city of Cirta	165
To Laribus by Theveste, or Tiffesh	130
To Carthage — — — — —	70
To Kairwan, olim Vicus Augusti — — — — —	75
To Tacape in the Lesser Syrsis	110
To Tripolis —	135
To Leptis Magna, or Libda, in the Greater Syrtis -	115
To the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, now called the gulf of Seedra, where the Philanorum Ara are supposed to have been situated	200
In all	1420

Hence it is evident, that Polybius makes this tract to have been of a greater extent than it really was, tho', considering the largeness of the geographical

miles above-mentioned, that author does not fo much exceed the truth, as may at first sight be imagined.

(11) Polyb. l. iii.

#### SECT. II.

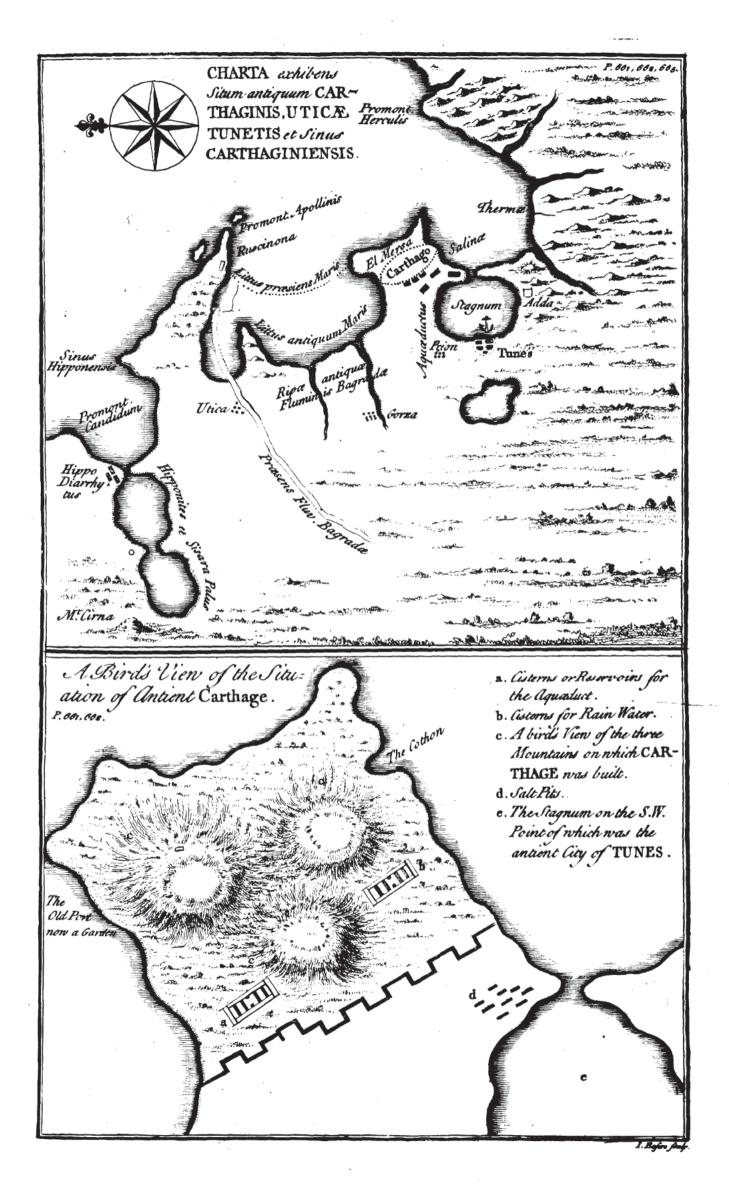
### A description of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage.

Africa Propria. HAVING given our readers the best account of the origin and foundation of b Carthage that can be drawn from antiquity, as likewise a small sketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, &c. which we shall expatiate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the history of the Carthaginians, or describe the religion, government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, sciences, &c. of that people, it will be proper to give a description of the country wherein they were seated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, possessed, or got a footing in, they were fometimes of a larger, and fometimes of a narrower extent; fometimes in their own hands, and fometimes in those of other states, according as success or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Its limits.

Mela 2 and Ptolemy will have Africa Propria to have contained all the countries fituate between the river Amp/aga and the borders of Cyrenaica, which, Pliny b tells us, were inhabited by twenty-fix different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include Numidia, and the Regio Syrtica, which are countries distinct from the proper territory of Carthage. Its true limits seem c to have been the river Tusca on the west, or side of Numidia; the Mediterranean or African sea on the north; the frontiers of the Garamantes and defarts of Libya Interior on the fouth; and the Mediterranean, with the Lesser Syrtis, on the east. It d was divided into two pro-

POMP. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Vide etiam Cellar, geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. Plin. v. c. 4. Idem ibid. Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand, in peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Ptol. eggr. l. iv. & Cellar, geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. Plin. ubi supra. Strab. l. ii. geogr. l. iv. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4.



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graduate to the control of the second of the control of the contro

a vinces, the Regio Zeugitana, and Byzacium, with which the kingdom of Tunis e, under Divison. its division into the summer and winter circuits, at present nearly corresponds. According to Dio f, this region was likewife called the old province, and Numidia the new one. Byzacium E, or at least the sea coast of that province, seems to be the Emporia of Livy and Polybius.

Ptolemy has placed Carthage, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too foutherly, which is not to be wondered at, confidering the inaccuracy of that geographer in ascertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the position of Africa Propria to have been nearly the same with that of the kingdom of Tunis, as there is great reason to believe, it must have taken up almost four degrees of north b latitude, viz. from 33° 30' N. to 37° 12' N. and of longitude above three degrees, fince Sbekkab, the most advanced city of the kingdom of Tunis to the westward, is in 8°, and Clybea, the farthest to the east, in 11° 20 E. longitude from London. The spot of ground on which Carthage stood is, according to the latest observa-

tions k, about 10° 40' east of London, and in north latitude 36° 40'.

Zeugitana, or the Regio Zeugitana, was separated from Numidia by the river Zeugitana. Tusca, and extended as far as Adrumetum, which Pliny 1 makes to be the first city of Byzacium. The summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunism, including the fruitful country about Keff and Bai-jab, and several other districts, answers at present to this province, which was the Regio Carthaginiensium of Strabon, and the Africa Propria c of Pliny and Solinus. We shall not pretend here to give a minute and particular description of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our present design; but only touch upon some of the principal of them, which have been taken the most notice of by those writers who have treated of the Roman and Carthaginian affairs.

THE first place in Zeugitana worthy our notice, fince Carthage has been already Utica. described, is Utica. In rank and dignity this city was next to Carthage itself, and even superior to it in point of antiquity. Aristotle P says it was built, according to the Phanician historians, two hundred and eighty-seven years before Carthage. Velleius 9, as has been above related, makes the Tyrians to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the destruction of Troy. Justin r intimates, that the Tyrians were d settled there a considerable time before Dido came into Africa; nay, that this settlement commenced upon their first arrival in that country: and with these two last authors Mela and Stephanus' agree. From this great antiquity, Bochart thinks the Phanicians gave it the name Atica, the antient, i. e. city, rather, in our opinion, Etuca a or Ituca, i. e. the city of long standing, or the great city, the strong city, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongst the Tyrians, even in Dido's time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from Scylax and Polybius, the most antient authors mentioning it, who call it Ituce, or Ityce, to whom the other Greek authors, speaking of it, except Dio, who uses the Latin name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and Carthage stood, was formed by two promontories, e viz. the promontory of Mercury, and that of Apollo, under the last of which Utica was seated. Appian w says it was sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half to the westward of Carthage; but, according to the itinerary, these two cities were twenty-seven Roman miles distant from each other z. Utica had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the Roman history, but on none more than the death of the younger Cato, who was from thence called Cato Uticensis, or Cato of Utica. After Carthage was razed by the Romans, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between Carthage and Hippo, and was for a confiderable time the metropolis of Africa. An ingenious modern traveller y supposes this place to have stood where Boo-shatter does at present; the traces of buildings of great extent and magf nificence still visible there, and the distance from Carthage, perfectly agreeing with that of the itinerary, besides other circumstances, giving good grounds for such a supposition.

THE next town in the neighbourhood of Carthage, but in a contrary direction to Tunes. the former, is Tunes or Tuneta, the Tunis of the moderns. This town is undoubt-

THE next town.

The next town.

The next town.

The former, is Tunes or Tuneta, the 14m.

Shaw's geographical description of the kingdom of Tunis, chap. 1.2. &c.

Plin. ubi supra.

Prol. geog. l. iv. Shaw ubi sup.

Plin. ubi sup. & Cellar. ibid.

Shaw ubi sup.

Vell. Paterc. ubi sup.

Part.

Phon. l. i. c. 24.

Part. 

edly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by Polybius 2, Diodorus, Livy, a and others; nay, that it was of Phanician original, the name itself sufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the Lower Egypt, almost contiguous to the borders of Arabia Petræa and Phanice, a town called Tanes a, from whence the Tanitic nome, and Tanitic mouth of the Nile took their name. And 'tis well known, that this part of Egypt b was over-run by the Phanicians, either in the time of Joshua, or much earlier; and that these same Phanicians afterwards settled in Africa Propria, Numidia, and Mauritania. In confirmation of which sentiment, we find a river in Numidia c, not far from the Ampfaga, called Tanas; from whence we may infer, fince nothing is more common in the Oriental languages than a permutation of vowels, that Tunes is a Phanician name, and that the city itself is of Phanician extraction, b That it was a town of some note in very early ages, is evident from Livy d, Diodorus, and Strabo, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and furrounded with a wall. It was feated on or near the mouth of the river Catada, fifteen Roman miles east of Carthage. The city is more famous now, than it was even amongst the ancients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situate upon a riling ground, along the western banks of the lake, which goes by the same name , and in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it) of the Guletta, Carthage, and the island Zowa-moore. Tunis some time since was noted for its corsairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themseves wholly to trade, and are now become c

the most civilized and polite people in Barbary (A).

Maxula.

Carpis.

Maxula, or, according to Ftolemy, Mazula f, is an ancient town of the state of Carthage, and, if Pliny 8 may be credited, pretty near that city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of Apollo and Utica. We find on the western banks of the Tigris a city in Arabic " named Moful, or Mozul, which word is not remote from the Mazula of Ptolemy. 'Tis likewise evident from the authority of Scylax, who mentions it, that Mazula was of some repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which confiderations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity betwixt the Arabic and Phanician languages, that this town was built by the Phanicians. It stood on the eastern side of the Catada, now the Mili-d ana; and if the conjecture of the ingenious gentleman above-mentioned be true, viz. that Mo-raisah, two leagues to the north-east of Solyman, be the Maxula, or Mazula, of the antients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four English

miles, fouth-east of Tunes (B).

Carpis, a city of this district, placed by Ptolemy k one third of a degree more northerly than Carthage. Pliny calls it Carpi. Our learned traveller | supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which Gurbos, or Hamman Gurbos, at present stands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the Aqua Calida of Livy. Though the position Ptolemy assigns his Carpis does not agree with that of the modern Gurbos, this last lying above a degree more southerly than Carthage, yet we doubt not but e the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Polyb. l. i. Liv. l. xxx. Diodor. Sic. l. xiv. Strab. l. xvii. ccc.

aliiq; Vide etiam Cellar. geog. ant. p. 785, 799. ed. Lipfiæ, 1732. b D. August. in exposit. epist.

ad 3 Rom. sub init. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. Euseb. chron. l. i. p. 11. Gemar. Hierosol. ad

Tit. Shebith, cap. 6. Manetho apud Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. Nonnus in Dionysiac. l. xiii. Newton's

chronol. p. 198—202. Marsham's can. chron. Bp. Cumberland's treatise on Sanchoniatho's Phæn. hist.

Univ. Hist. Vol. I. Sal. in Jugurth. c. 95. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 913. d Liv. Diodor. & Strab.

ubi sup. & alibi. Shaw ubi sup. p. 155. f Ptol. geog. l. iv. B Plin. l. v. c. 4. h Val.

Schind. pentaglot. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 623. l Shaw ubi sup. p. 57. k Plin. & Ptol. \* POLYB. l. i. LIV. l. XXX. DIODOR. SIC. l. XIV. STRAB. l. XVII. &c. \* HEROD. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. SHAW ubi fup. p. 57.

(A) Somewhere near this place Adis or Adda is to be looked for, where Regulus gave the Cartha-ginians a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from Polybins (1), that this was a town of fome importance; but the antients being filent as to any farther particulars relating to it, fave only that it was fituated amongst rocks and hills, we shall think it sufficient just to have mentioned it.

(B) We find the Musulani, a people seated in the western part of Numidia, not far from the Amplaga,

taken notice of by Tacitus (2); and a town and promontory of Eshiopia, famous for the cinamon they produced, near the confines of Nubia and Libya interior, named Mosylon or Mosulum, remembered by Pliny (3). Now as a Phanician colony came very early into Numidia, and the Nubians and Ethiopians were the descendants of the Egyptians and Arabians, as will hereafter be proved, possibly some light may from hence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

(1) Polyb. l. i.

(2) Tacit. an. ii. c. 52. & l. iv. c. 24.

(3) Plin. l. v. c.4. O l. vi. c. 29. Misua,

Misuam, or Nisua, a town taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, between Carpis Misua. and Clypea. The ruins a of this place are still to be seen at the sanctuary of Seedy Doud, in the kingdom of Tunis, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of

THE next place that occurs is the Aquilaria of Casar o, where Curio landed his Aquilaria. troops from Sicily. Cafar tells us, it was a very convenient station in the summer feafon, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of these, in all probability, that of Mercury (called by the Moors the Ras-adder, and by the Franks cape Bon) was one; fince this is about a league to the northward of Lowab-reab, supposed to be the ancient Aquilaria. Many fragments P of antiquities are still extant b here, but amongst them nothing remarkable.

Clypea 9, a city built upon the small promontory Tapbitis, five leagues south-east Clypea. of the promontory of Mercury, which being in the figure of a shield or hemisphere, gave occasion to the name. It is called by Livy, Mela, and Pliny, Clupea; by Polybius, Appian, and Agathemerus, Aspis; but by Solinus, and the itinerary, Clypea. A mile distant from the ground where the old city stood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants Clybea. Ptolemy is guilty of a great mistake,

when he makes Afpis and Clypea two different cities.

Curubis, Curobis, and Curabis, a town, according to the itinerary, thirty-two Roman Curubis. miles diftant from the former; but, according to the more accurate observations of c the moderns, seven leagues, or twenty-one miles, south-west and by west of it. It is flyled by Pliny: the free city Curubis, and feems to have been a confiderable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the cifterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boast of at present, if the modern Gurba answers to it, as both the name and situation sufficiently intimate.

Canthele, a Phænician city, not far from Curubis, according to Hecatæus ". This Canthele. town feems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity Saturn; fince, according to Sanchoniatho w and Damascius, the word el in the Phanician tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis observed by Ponticus, in his life of St. Cyprian, that there was a town in that place called by the d Romans, vicus Saturni, the street or town of Saturn. This was not a place of figure, at least so low as the classic times, so that we take notice of it here purely on account

of its antiquity.

Neapolis, a famous and ancient empory of the Carthaginians in the fouth-east part Neapolis. of Zeugitana, five leagues to the north-east of Curubis. Thucydides x says, that the passage from hence to Sicily was very short, as being performed in two days and a night. Scylax places it not far from the leffer Syrtis, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of Mercury. Nabal, a thriving and industrious modern town, is a furlong to the westward of the ancient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city. Pliny styles this place, as well as Curubis, a free city. Here is a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six foot in length, and three in breadth; but they are either so unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbish and morter, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. Strabo and Hirtius agree with Scylax in fixing it pretty near the promontory of Mercury. Nabal y stands upon the gulph of Hamam-et in N. lat. 36° 8' two leagues from a little opulent town of the same name.

To these may be added Nepheris, a fortress lying a little to the eastward of Car- Nepheris. thage. It was a place of good confideration, being built upon a rock, and strongly fenced by nature on all fides. Afdrubal, with his whole army, was cut off near it by Scipio, who, after a siege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conquest of Carthage. Strabo, Appian, and the epitomizer of Livy,

f take particular notice of it. THE only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is Hippo, to-Hippo, wards the north-west borders of it, a fort of frontier town on the side of Numidia. From the navigable lake Hipponitis, on which it was built, and which served it as a natural fortification, it was denominated Hippo Diarrbytus, and Hippo Zarytus; tho', from the promontory near it the antients sometimes gave it the denomination of Acra, Hippuacra, and Hippagreta. Scylax calls it simply Hippo, notwithstanding it generally

O Cæs. lib. ii. civ. bell. c. 23.
P Shaw uoi
P Lin. ubi fup. n Shaw ubi sup. C.E.s. lib. ii. civ. ben. c. - 5.
i. p. 573. F Shaw ubi sup. Shaw ibid. PLIN. ubi sup.
de urb. W Sanchionatho apud Euseb. in præp. evang. l. i. c. 10.
ibliothec. 242. Thucyd. l. vii. Shaw ubi sup.
Went m PLIN. & PTOL. ubi fup. n Shaw ubi fup. p. 158. q Strab. lib. xvii. p. 573. HECATEUS perieget. apud Steph. de urb. & Damascius apud Photium in bibliothec. 242.

crene, to have his wound dreffed there, a report was spread in the camp, that he was a killed; which so disheartened his men, that they betook themselves to a precipitous slight, leaving their camp, arms and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having pur-

The Turks re-

fued them for some time with great slaughter, seized on the rich booty which they had lest, and amongst other things, on all the emperor's plate and surniture. Andronicus, quite despirited at this missortune, returned to Constantinople, while the Turks, having now no enemy to controul them, made themselves masters of all the maritime towns in Bithynia, and in the end of Nice itself, by the following stratagem: Andronicus, in leaving Asia, had promised to reinforce the garison of Nice with a thousand horse. Orchanes, being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men

horse. Orchanes, being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men after the Roman manner, and marching with them in person through by-ways into b the road leading from Constantino le, dispatched three hundred more, armed like Turks, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a sudden to have discovered the enemy; and leading his men

against the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty. As this was done in the fight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended Romans were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no fooner opened, than they fell sword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three

opened, than they fell fword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the garison in pieces, and made themselves masters of the city. After this, Orchanes, leading his And take Aby- men to the sea-side, laid siege to Abydus; which was betrayed to him by the gover- c

nor's daughter, while his two fons, Solyman and Amurath, reduced several other important places in Asia, and among the rest the antient city of Nicomedia. As the emperor was at this time seized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was despaired of, the court was in too great a confusion to think of the proper measures

for putting a stop to the conquests of the Turk, in Asia. Such as had been instrumental in the late revolution, could not reflect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they must inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor should die, and his grandfather be restored to his power and authorize. This consideration

and his grandfather be restored to his power and authority. This consideration prompted Cantacuzenus, and some others, if Gregoras is to be credited, to resolve on the old emperor's death; but this resolution being generally disapproved, they all d agreed at last to confine him to a monastery, and sorce him to take the monastic habit,

and exchange the name of Andronicus for that of Antony; which was done accordingly. Thus Gregoras 8. But Cantacuzenus tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more severe usage from his enemies, if his grandson should die, retired to a monastery of his own accord, and taking the monastic habit, continued there unmolested to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332. he being then in the seventy-

fecond year of his age h. Young Andronicus intended, during his malady, to restore the crown to his grandsather; but, upon his recovery, he suffered him to continue in the monastery, retaining the whole power to himself. In the mean time the Turks pursued their conquests in Asia, and threatened Europe itself with an invasion. As e

the emperor was no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy, he was persuaded by Cantacuzenus to conclude a dishonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in Asia, and suffer the Romans peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wrested from them. Not long after, the inhabitants of Thessaly revolting, the emperor marched

against them in person; but while he was employed in reducing them, the Turks, who observed the peace no longer than it suited their interest, passed over into Europe; and having ravaged the sea-coast, repassed the streights with an immense booty, and a great number of captives. Andronicus died soon after, in the forty-sisth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he deposed his grandsather, f

and 1341. of the christian æra. Cantacuzenus, in the history he has lest us, endeavours to justify his conduct towards his grandfather. The the old emperor designed, as that writer pretends, to have excluded him from the succession, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deserved. Gregoras, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young Andronicus, and will not allow that the old emperor gave

his grandson the least provocation. All the disorders in the state were owing, according to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counsels of Cantacuzenus and his other savourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if

Andronicus the younger dies.

Andronicus
the elder con-

fined to a mo-

nastery, where

he dies.

a the grandfather was to blame, the grandfon was altogether inexcuseable. Andronicus the younger left two fons, John and Manuel, of whom the eldest was, upon his father's John Palxolodeath, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, John Cantacuzenus gus. was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. Cantacuzenus governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the security of the provinces; and in short, omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous and difinterested minister. But as he had been declated guardian to the young prince against the will and The patriarch approbation of John the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and an enemy to b claimed a share in the administration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his Cantacuzenus, she young power to render him suspected to the empress Anne, representing him as one who had prince's guarnothing less in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit dian. with the empress, Cantacuzenus, apprehending he might in the end gain the ascendant over her to his utter ruin, was for resigning his charge, and earnestly pressed the empress for leave to retire; but she resuling to comply with his request, and assuring him, that she was fully convinced of his integrity, and consequently determined to shut her ears against the unjust calumnies, and malicious informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the administration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the c princess with the dangers she was to apprehend from the protector, and misconstruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take such measures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for, giving intire credit to the malicious infinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own fafety, and that of her children, against the wicked designs of the protector, she began to look upon him as an enemy to herfelf and her family; and having caused some of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was absent at Didymothicum, she sent him orders to refign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refuling to do, till he had an opportunity of justifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocency, the empress, at the instigation of the patriarch, declared him a public Cantacuzenus d enemy and traitor. Cantacuzenus, now apprifed, that his enemies aimed at nothing declared a publes than his utter destruction, thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raifed to oppose the Servians, who, upon the emperor's death, had broken into the empire, and having with him several persons of the greatest authority in the empire, who all advised him to assume the purple, as the only means of defeating the designs of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor at Didymo- He assumes the thicum in 1342. the fecond year of his administration. When news of his revolt was purple. brought to Constantinople, his mother, and the rest of his friends and relations in the city, were immediately apprehended, and thrown into prison, his estate was confie scated, and troops levied to suppress the rebellion in its birth. Thus Cantacuzenus himself in his history; and with him most other historians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the persecuted minister to take arms in his own defence. Having thus assumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and foldiery in a long speech with the motives that had prompted him to take that step, which, he said, the malice of his enemies had ren-

dered necessary. He then gave leave to all those, whose friends and relations were at Constantinople, to depart, lest, by continuing with him, they should occasion the ruin of their innocent friends. The rest of the army declaring themselves ready to stand by him to the last, he advanced to Adrianople, the inhabitants of which city had f seized on all those whom they suspected to savour him, and sent them in chains to Constantinople. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of Bulgarians were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay afide the design he had formed against Adrianople, and retire to the sea-side, that he might with more ease receive supplies from the Turks in Asia, with whom he had entered into an alliance upon his first assuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large supplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all possible means of bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messenger who His offers for a brought the letters was seized, and thrown into prison, Cantacuzenus was declared a

anew a public enemy, and fuch of his relations as had not the good luck to make their His mother escape, were treated with the utmost cruelty. His mother was delivered up to Apo-used with great caucus, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmost barbarity, telling her fometimes, that her fon was taken prisoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to Constantinople. Her concern, and the cruel usage she met with, having thrown her into a violent sever, Apocaucus would fuffer no physician to attend her, till the empress, hearing the danger she was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own physicians, who nevertheless were not admitted by the patriarch and Apocaucus to visit her, till they had folemnly sworn not to administer any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being b thus destitute of all help, and daily insulted by her enemies, she died soon after, to the great grief of the empress, who, being informed of the unspeakable miseries she had undergone, and on that account highly provoked against the patriarch and A10caucus, obliged them to fend deputies to Cantacuzenus with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empress. that Cantacuzenus would hearken to no terms; that he was obstinately bent upon war, and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accomplished the ruin of her two ions, and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore resolved on, Andronicus and Thomas Palæologi were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into Thrace, of which country most cities had declared for Cantacuze- c At the fame time a fleet, confifting of fixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the Turks from supplying the enemy with men or provisions. Of this fleet Apocaucus took upon himself the command; and having driven back the Turks attempting to cross the streights, and succour their ally, reduced Cantacuzenus, who was at the fame time warmly pressed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two abovementioned Palæologi, to such streights, that he was forced to quit Thrace, and take refuge in the dominions of Crales, prince of Majia, who received him with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection, and sent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained feveral confiderable advantages over the emperor's forces, His enemies at- and made himself master of the greater part of Thrace. Hereupon his enemies, find-d

kim.

tempt to poilon ing they could not suppress him by force, had recourse to treachery, and, with mighty promifes, prevailed upon one Monomachus to try whether he could dispatch him with poison. Accordingly Monomachus, repairing to his camp at Selybria, the better to compass his wicked purpose, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorfe, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poison, which he was to have administered. Cantacuzenus received him in a most obliging manner, loaded him with prefents, and taking him into his favour, reposed to great a trust in him, that the traitor would have foon found an opportunity of putting his design in execution, without incurring the least suspicion, had not Cantacuzenus been privately warned by his friends at Constantinople to be upon his guard. e In the mean time Cantacuzenus, having made himself master of all Macedon and Thrace, approached the imperial city, with a design to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when several citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long fiege, refolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having first acquainted him with their design, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themselves masters of one of the gates, admitted him and his whole army, faluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud shouts to the forum. As for the empress, she continued in the palace, which she seemed determined to defend to the f last extremity, having a considerable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earnestly intreating her not to expose both herself and him to the fury of the incenfed multitude, she was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms; viz. that Cantacuzenus should be declared collegue to the young prince, and have the sole administration of affairs for the space of ten years, Palaologus being then but sisteen; that afterwards they should both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion should pass on both sides. This agreement being signed and sworn to by Cantacuzenus, Palacologus, and the empress Ann, on the eighth of February 1347. the new emperor was received the same day into the palace, and soon after crowned with g

He is received into Constantinople.

emiperor.

a the usual solemnity by Isidore, the new patriarch of Constantinople, John his predecessor being deposed, and sent into banishment. That the union between the two princes might be better settled, and more lasting, Cantacuzenus gave his daughter Helena in marriage to young Palæologus, and caused her to be likewise crowned, and acknowledged empress by the nobility and people k. As Cantacuzenus had been powerfully assisted by Orchanes the Turkish sultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correspondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy, and some zealous christians, who, by exclaiming against so strict an alliance and intimacy between a christian and a Mohammedan prince, estranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from Cantacuzenus; which proved very preju-

b dicial to his affairs. However, he governed the empire for the space of ten years He governs with such equity and moderation, that even his most inveterate enemies could lay with great nothing to his charge. In the fixth year of his administration, the Genoese of Galata, equity and mowho were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's refusing them leave to inlarge their city, set fire to several buildings in the suburbs of Constantinople, seized on all the emperor's ships then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they gained several advantages at sea, and made themselves masters of some islands in the Archipelago, which the emperor was obliged to yield to them. When Palæologus came to govern jointly with him, Crales king of the Servians, highly provoked against Cantacuzenus, for having obliged him to restore some cities,

e which he had seized during the late troubles, gained over with rich presents several persons of distinction, who, by infinuating to the young emperor, that Cantacuzenus defigned to confine him to a monastery, to usurp the whole power, and transmit the fovereignty to his posterity, raised a diffidence between the two princes, which soon after broke out into an open war, Palæologus being on one hand affifted by Crales A war breaks king of Servia, and Alexander prince of Bulgaria; and Cantacuzenus on the other by out between the Orchanes the Turkish sultan. In a battle which was fought in Thrace, the young swo princes. emperor's army was utterly defeated, and he himself obliged to take refuge in Constantinople, all the other cities in Thrace having opened their gates to the conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded between the two princes; which was

d no sooner signed, than Cantacuzenus, divesting himself, by a voluntary resignation, Cantacuzenus of all his power, retired to the monastery of Mangana, and there took the monastic resigns, and habit. But his son Matthew, whom he had some time before declared emperor, pur-nastic habit. Sued the war, and seized on several circles in Thrace, and among the rest on Adrianaste. fued the war, and feized on feveral cities in Thrace, and among the rest on Adrianople. Against him Palaologus marched in person; and having utterly deseated his army, tho' reinforced before the battle with five thousand Turks sent by Orchanes, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his strong-holds; whence while he was making his escape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was seized by one Boienas, and delivered up to Palæologus, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, restored him to his liberty 1.

DURING these civil commotions, the Turks, under the conduct of Solyman, the fon, or, as others will have it, the brother, of Orchanes, passed the Hellespont, and having seized on a strong castle called Coiridocustron, marched from thence against Gallipolis, which Solyman took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the garifon to offer him battle. Thus the Turks, after having reduced all Asia, first settled in Europe, where they have continued ever since. This happened The Turks first in the year 1357. Orchanes dying soon after, Amurath his son and successor pursued settled in Eu the conquests, which Solyman had begun; and having made himself master of several rope. strong-holds in Thrace, laid siege at length to Adrianople, which was forced to submit, They take the emperor not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. Adrianople.

f Amurath, having in a short time mastered all Thrace, made Adrianople the seat of his

empire in Europe, as the most proper place for the inlarging his dominions, and extending his conquests to Greece, and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time Andronicus, the emperor's eldest son, having conspired against his father, was by his orders deprived of his fight, and kept under close confinement. Ducas the historian tells us, that Andronicus, and Cuntuzes Amurath's youngest son, having contracted an intimate friendship, conspired the death of their fathers, binding themselves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendship, when the one should be emperor, and the other fultan. The same writer adds, that the conspiracy being discovered to

The emteror driven from the throne by his son, and rejiored.

Bajazet's conquests in Europe.

gus dies. Manuel.

Bajazet besieges Constantinople.

Defeats an army of 1 30,000 christians.

Amurath, he ordered his own fon's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to 2 inflict the same punishment on his son, threatening him with a war, if he refused to The emperor, dreading the power of the fultan, caused the eyes both of his fon and grandson, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the same time his fecond fon Manuel his collegue in the empire. Andronicus however, after two years confinement, made his escape, being favoured therein by the Genoese of Galata, with whose affistance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into Constantinople, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, Manuel and Theodorus, into his power, he confined them to the fame prison in which he had been detained; but they having likewise, after two years, made their escape, Andronicus, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while b the Turks were ready to fall upon the few countries that were still left to the empire. restored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him Selymbria, and feveral other places in that neighbourhood m. In the mean time Amurath the Turkish fultan being treacherously slain, his son Bajazet succeeded him in his dominions; and purfuing the conquests which had been so successfully carried on by his predecessors in Europe, made himself mafter of Thessay, Macedon, Phocis, Peloponnesus, Mysia, and Bulgaria, driving out the defpots, or petty princes, who held those countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the Greek emperor, to whom nothing was now left but Constantinople, and the neighbouring country, as his vasfal, and accordingly fent him an arrogant and haughty message, requiring, or rather c commanding him to pay him a yearly tribute, and fend him his fon Manuel to attend him in his military expeditions. With this dishonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formi-John Palzolo- dable an enemy. The unhappy prince died soon after, that is, in 1392, the thirtyfeventh of his reign, leaving no fon behind him but Manuel, the other two, Andronicus and Theodore, being dead fome time before. Manuel, who was then in Bajazet's court, hearing of his father's death, hastened to Constantinople, without taking his leave of the fultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his fudden departure; which Bajazet highly refenting, punished the officers who had suffered him to escape with the utmost severity; and passing with great expedition out of Bithynia, where d he then was, into Thrace, destroyed with fire and sword the country adjoining to Constantinople, and after having reduced the neighbouring towns, invested the imperial city itself both by sea and land. In this extremity Manuel had recourse to the western princes, who having raised an army 130,000 strong, sent it to his relief, under the conduct of Sigismund king of Hungary, and John count of Nevers. The western troops were at first attended with good success; for entering the countries lately subdued by the sultan, they recovered Widin, and several other places of great importance in Bulgaria, and invested Nicopolis. Hereupon Bajazet, raising the siege of Constantinople, marched, with all the forces he could assemble, to relieve the place. Upon his approach, Sigismund, leaving part of the army to pursue the siege, marched e with the relt to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the French cavalry having difmounted to fight on foot, the rest of the army observing the horses without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces. began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigour to the enemy, who making an utmost effort, and charging the christians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great confusion. The Turks pursued them to their camp, which they took, with all their baggage, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom was the count of Nevers, and three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, except the count f himself, and five more, put to death in Bajazet's presence, after having been insulted by him in a most outrageous manner. As for Sigismund, he had the good luck to make his escape, and croffing the Danube in a small boat, to get safe to his own domi-This memorable battle, in which 20,000 christians were slain, and a far greater number taken prisoners, was fought in the second year of Manuel's reign, and 1393. of the christian æra n. After this victory, Bajazet returned to the siege of Constantinople; but finding the citizens determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he applied to John the fon of Andronicus, to whom, as we have observed above,

a the emperor had yielded the town of Selymbria. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which Bajazet was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a just claim, as being the son of Manuel's elder brother. On the other hand, John was to yield the city of Constantino le to Bajazet, and remove the imperial seat to Peloponne us, which the fultan promised to relinquish to him and his posterity. This agreement being privately figned and tworn to by both parties, Bajazet dispatched deputies to the inhabitants of Constantinople, offering to withdraw his army, and abstain from all hostilities, provided they would drive out Manuel, and place his nephew John on the throne, to which he had an unquestionable right. This politic proposal rent the whole city into two factions, some favouring Manuel, and others b declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being apprifed, and apprehensive of the evils attending a civil discord at so critical a conjuncture, he acquainted his nephew, then in the Turkish camp, that, to deliver his subjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to relign the fovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himself by sea to whatever place he should think fit. With this condition John readily complied, and Manuel resigns Manuel, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, his nephero embarqued on board a galley, and let fail for Venice, where he landed, and from John. thence went to the feveral courts of the christian princes, to solicit aid against the overgrown power of the Turks, now become formidable to all Europe. He was everyc where received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem, and promised large supplies, all Christendom being alarmed at the late conquest of the infidels. In the mean time John being crowned with the usual solemnity, Bajazet took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and press him to a speedy execution of the main article, which was to yield Constantinople to him, and retire to Peloponnesus or Morea; but the citizens refusing, notwithstanding the unspeakable hardships they suffered, to comply with fuch a scandalous treaty, Bajazet renewed the siege, and assaulted the Constanticity with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmost extremity, news was brought him, that Tamerlane, the victorious Tartar, after having by Bajazet; mity, news was brought him, that Tamerlane, the victorious Tartar, after having fubdued Perfia, and the more easterly provinces, had turned his arms against him, d and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into Syria. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great hafte raifed the fiege, and paffing the Hellespont, marched with the utmost expedition to Prusa, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both for his eaftern and western forces. From Prusa he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, to meet Tamerlane, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of Angoria Who is overin Galatia, on the twenty-eighth of July 1401. cut most of his men in pieces; and come and taken having taken the fultan himself prisoner, to punish his excessive pride, cruelty, and prisoner by Taarrogance. Thus him up in an iron care, against which he is failed to have a decider. arrogance, shut him up in an iron cage, against which he is said to have dashed out his brains the year following, tho' fome ascribe his death to poison o, as we shall e relate more at length elsewhere. Manuel was no sooner informed of the overthrow and captivity of his inveterate enemy Bajazet, than he returned to Constantinople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked against John for his servile compliance with the Turks, drove him from the throne, and restored Manuel, by whom he was banished to the island of Lesbos. This Manuel regreat overthrow of the Turks had like to have occasioned the total dissolution of their flored. empire both in Europe and Asia; for the five sons of Bajazet, taking arms against each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. Isa-Zelebis, Bajazet's third son, upon his father's death, caused himself to be proclaimed fultan; but was foon driven from the throne by his brother Solyman, as f was Solyman by his brother Musa. At length Mohammed, Bajazet's youngest son, having overcome all his competitors, was univerfally acknowledged fultan, and the sole monarch of the Turks. The emperor Manuel in the mean time, taking advantage of these intestine divisions, and siding sometimes with one of the competitors, and fometimes with another, recovered feveral provinces, which Mohammed, whom he had affisted against his brother  $Mu \int a$ , suffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424. the seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty seventh of his Manuel dies; reign P. Some authors write, that he refigned the empire to his son John Palacologus five years before his death, and retiring to a monastery, took the monastic habit,

Confintia nople befreged by Amurath

The Malonica, andjeveral other places, taken by Amu-

John Hunniades's success against the Turks.

He is in the end routed by the Turks.

a yearly tribute to the sultan.

John Palacolo- with the name of Antony. Be that as it will, he was succeeded by his son John, in a whose reign Amurath II. the fon and successor of Mohammed, recovered all the provinces which had been feized after the death of Bajazet by the emperor, and the other christian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid siege to Constantinople, being provoked against the emperor for espousing the cause of an impostor, who, pretend-11. who is forced ing to be Mustapha the fon of Bajazet, was acknowledged for sultan in all the provinces of the Turkish empire in Europe. The citizens defended themselves with great bravery; but being haraffed with continual affaults, must have in the end submitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of Caramania to countenance another Mustapha, Amurath's younger brother, who, having revolted in Asia, was, with the fupplies fent him by his new ally, enabled to lay siege to the city of Nice, which he b This obliged Amurath to raise the siege of Constantinople, and march foon reduced. with all his forces against the usurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by one Ilras, in whom he reposed great confidence. Amurath, having got him into his power, caused him to be immediately strangled with a bow-string; and then turning his arms against the prince of Caramania, obliged him to sue for peace; which the fultan granted him upon what terms he thought proper to prescribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered Macedon at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged the country far and near, laid siege to Thessalonica, which he took, and plundered with the utmost cruelty, as he did most of the cities of Ætolia, Phocis, and Baotia. From Greece he marched into Servia, which country he foon c reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of Hungary, besieged the strong city of Belgrade, which made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thousand Turks being slain by the christians in one fally; which obliged Amurath to drop the enterprize, and retire. In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated John Hunniades, who cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves under the walls of Sinderovia. Not long after, he gained a still more signal victory over the enemy in the plains of Transslvania, with the loss of no more than three thousand of his own men, whereas twenty thousand Turks were killed on the fpot, and almost an equal number in the pursuit. Amurath, who was then at Adrianople, fent another army into Transylvania, far more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better success, being cut off almost to a man by the d brave Hungarian. He gained over the Turks several other no less remarkable victories, and recovered all Bulgaria and Servia; but was in the end overcome and put to flight by Amurath, in the memorable battle of Varna, fought in the year 1444. the christians being disheartened by the death of Uladislaus king of Hungary, who, while he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on all fides, and cut in pieces. However, Hunniades having had the good luck to make his escape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of Ladislaus, who was chosen king of Hungary in the room of Uladislaus, he raised a considerable army, and advancing to Cossova, engaged Amurath, who lay encamped The battle lasted three days, both armies retiring to their respective camps e when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two first days the christians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out, and overpowered with numbers, Amurath charging them with fresh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous resistance, put to slight, and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448. thirty-four thousand Turks were slain, and eight thousand christians, with the flower of the Hungarian nobility. As for Hunniades, he made his escape into Servia, and from thence returned into Hungary 4. In the mean time John Palaologus, the Greek emperor, fearing the victorious sultan should turn his arms against him, sent embassadors to Adrianople, where Amurath then refided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The fultan received f them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to Constantinople, unless the emperor yielded to him some strong-holds, which he still possessed on the Euxine sea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand aspers. To these shameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to submit, in order to enjoy the submits to pay poor remains of the Roman empire, now reduced to the imperial city, and the adjoining country. However, as he did not doubt but Amurath, as foon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with George Castriot, surnamed Scanand derbeg, prince of Epirus, would, under some pretence or other, attempt Constantinople Itself, he applied to the western princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cause, he promised to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the Greek and Latin churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at Ferrara, he went thither in person, attended by Joseph the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the Greek nobility, who were all received at Venice, where they landed, and afterwards at Ferrara, with great pomp and magnificence. From Ferrara the council was removed foon after, by reason of a plague which broke out there, to Florence, where the union was effected between the two churches, and subscribed to Union of the by the patriarch, and the other prelates. The patriarch died soon after at Florence; Greek and b but the emperor, and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to Latin churches.

Venice, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to Constantinople. Upon his return, he found the people highly diffatisfied with his conduct, and that of the bishops, some of whom had refused to subscribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to fign them. The disturbances which this union raised in the church, the death of the empress Despina, and the insupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the fultan, gave him fuch concern, that, being already broken with age, he funk

under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty-feventh of his John, the emreign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of Constantinople, to his bro- peror, dies. c ther Constantines. Amurath, the Turkish fultan, did not long survive him; but dying Constantine in the beginning of February 1450. was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who had no Palæoiogus. fooner taken poss ssion of the throne, than he caused all his brothers to be strangled, Mohammed and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is faid to have been the ion of a concu-11. bine) to marry a flave, by name Isaac. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with Constantine, the Greek emperor, who, upon the first news of his father's death, had fent embassadors to congratulate him upon his accession to the The embassadors were received very graciously, the new sultan declaring, that he had nothing fo much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor, and the other christian princes. The embassadors of the Walachians, Lesbians,

d Bulgarians, Rhodians, Servians, &c. were likewise received in a most obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings the accession of Mobasinmed to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the christians, the more because his mother was of that religion, being, according to the most credible writers, the despot or prince of Servia's daughter. But notwithstanding the friendship and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no fooner put an end to the war with Ibrahim, king of Caramania, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in Asia, than he began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of Constantinople, and abolishing the very name of the Roman empire. With this view he built on the Europe side of the Bosporus a strong castle, called by the Turks He builds a

e Genichicar, and by the Greeks Neocastrum, opposite to another in Asia called Aspo-fore on the castron, which he caused to be repaired, placing in both strong garisons. These two Bosporus. castles commanded the streights, and the former, being but five miles from Constantinople, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. Mohammed had no fooner begun the work, than the emperor, and the citizens of Constantinople, alarmed at the undertaking, dispatched embassadors to the sultan, with orders with occasions to do all that lay in their power to divert him from it. But Mohammed was fo far a miguader from granting them their request, that the' the emperor even offered to pay him an standing beannual tribute, provided he put a flop to the work, he threatened, with the utmost the empror. arrogance, to cause such as should be sent to him upon the like errand to be slead

f alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to Constantine, and that he had an unquestionable right to build in his own dominions what castles and forts he pleased. When the fort in the neighbourhood of Constantinople was finished, the garifon left there by the fultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excursions to the very gates, returned to their strong-hold loaded with booty. This occasioned several skirmishes between the christians and Turks; in one of which a confiderable number of the latter being killed, the fultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the christians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the fword, which was done

Constantine christian

princes.

stantinople taken by the Turks.

Constanti-Disposition of the Turkish army.

accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, a ordered all the Turks within the walls to be arrested, but set them at liberty the next day, fending at the same time embassadors to Mohammed, with proposals for concluding a lasting peace between the two crowns. As the sultan seemed averse to an accommodation, and was assembling his forces from all parts, Constantine, well apprifed of his defign, in the first place took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with great plenty of all forts of provisions; then by his embassadors to the western princes, acquainted them with the designs of the sultan, and the storm that was gathering against the imperial city, the taking of which might prove satal to all Christendom. That they might the more readily assist him at so critical a conjuncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraor- b dinary demonstrations of esteem and respect the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the ecclesiastics zealously attached to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and occasioned a misunderstanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the least affistance from the Latins in the west, who, by a strange infatuation, suffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of Christendom, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the christian name, who, they well knew, would not stop there, but extend his conquests to the neighbouring and perhaps to the most distant kingdoms. While Constantine was foliciting aid from the western princes, Caracia, one of Mohammed's All the forts in chief commanders, reduced several places on the Euxine sea, which were still held by c the neighbour- the emperor, viz. Mesembria, Acheloum, Bison, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by affault a firong caffle called St. Stephen's tower, and put the garifon to the Other forts in that neighbourhood submitted at the approach of the enemy; but Selybria held out for fome time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and resolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated assaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, castles, and throng-holds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, Caracia was ordered to fcour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the Greeks were still masters at sea, d their galleys ravaged the coasts of Asia, and returned with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were fold for flaves in Constantinople's.

In the mean time, Mohammed, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thousand men, left Adrianople; and bending his march towards the nople befreged. imperial city, encamped before it on the fixth of April 1483, covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His Afiatic troops were posted on the right towards the Bosporus; those of Europe on the left towards the haven; and he himself, with fifteen thousand janizaries, and other chosen troops, between both, over-against the gate named Karsias. On the other side the haven, Zoganus, one of his chief officers, encamped with a confiderable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication e between the city and country on that fide. At the same time Pantologes, the Turkifb admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred fail; but the emperor had taken care to fecure the haven, in which were three large ships, twenty finall ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn cross the entrance from the city to Pera. Mohammed having thus affigned to each part of his army their feveral quarters, and furrounded the city both by fea and land, he began the fiege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raifing mounts in feveral places as high as the walls themselves; whence the besieged were incessantly galled with showers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious fize, which carried, according to Ducas, a ball of an hundred pound weight, f made of hard black stone brought from the Euxine sea. It had been cast by an Hungarian engineer, who not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to Mohammed, while he was busied in building the abovementioned forts. With this vast piece, the enemy made several breaches in the walls, which however were with great expedition repaired by the belieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and resolution, being encouraged by the example

John Justiniani of the emperor, and directed by John Justiniani, a Genoese adventurer, who arriving, commander in before the siege, with two large ships, and a considerable number of voluntiers on chief of the emperer's forces.

a board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary skill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and belides, for his farther encouragement, promifed the fovereignty of the island of Leslos, provided he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of fo great a reward, performed exploits, fays our historian, tho' no-ways biaffed in favour of the Latins, worthy of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Not fatiffied with repulfing the enemy in their frequent affaults, he often fallied out against them at the head of his voluntiers, overturned their machines, destroyed their works, and made fuch a dreadful havock of their best troops, that his name soon became formidable. But Mohammed, to carry on the fiege with more vigour, ordered new Mohammed's b levies to be made throughout his extensive dominions; which reinforcements arriv- army reining daily from all parts, his army was foon increased to the number of near four forced. hundred thousand men, while the garifon confisted only of nine thousand regular troops, viz. fix thousand Greeks, and three thousand Genoese and Venetians. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day without intermission, great part of them, with the tower called Baclatina, near the Roman gate, was beaten down; but while the Turks were busied in filling up the ditch, in order to give the assault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expressed, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the shore his whole fleet worsted by five ships, four of which belonged to the Genoese The Turkish c of Galata, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from Pelopon-fleet worfled nefus, and the others with all manner of provisions from the island of Chios, where the chrystans. they had passed the winter. When they first appeared, Mohammed ordered his admiral to take them, if possible, or at least to prevent their entering the harbour, and joining the rest of the fleet. Hereupon the whole Turkish navy, weighing anchor, failed out to meet them, covering the streights, as they were in all three hundred fail, from shore to shore. The above-mentioned ships pursued their course; and failing into the midst of the enemy's fleet, funk some of their galleys, disabled others, and made such a dreadful havock among them, that Mohammed, who beheld the whole from the shore, could not forbear rushing with his horse into the sea, as d if he intended to fwim to his fleet, and encourage them with his prefence. But being foon apprifed of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curses, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered such menaces against the admiral, and his other officers, as struck all with terror who heard them. But notwithstanding his impotent rage, and the loud shouts of the whole Turkish army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ships opened themselves a way through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpressible joy of the christians, got safe into the harbour '. The Turks attempted feveral times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that fide; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, Mohammed formed, and, to the great e terror and amazement of the besieged, put in execution, one of the boldest designs we find mentioned in history. For, not being able to remove the chain drawn cross the entrance into the harbour, and the ships within it making a dreadful fire on the Turkish fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the Bosporus behind Pera to the haven of Constantinople, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed Mohammed eighty galleys over land for the space of eight miles into the haven, of which he was conveys eighty no fooner mafter, the ships riding there being either taken or sunk, than he caused saileys over a bridge, a work no less wonderful and surprising, to be built over it with incredit haven. ble labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp f of Zoganus at Pera to the walls of Constantinople, the city was laid open to an affault on that fide too. And now the place being invested, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all fides, the emperor, well apprifed he could not with his small garison hold our much longer against such a mighty fleet, and so numerous an army, fent deputies to Mobammed, offering to acknowledge himself his vasfal, by paying him yearly what tribute he should think proper to impose upon him, provided he raised the siege, and withdrew. The tyrant answered, that he was determined at all events to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered

ir up forthwith, he would yield to him Peloponnesus, and other provinces to his bro-

The emperor ditions offered

A mutiny in the Turkith camp.

Mohammed

Conft nine makes the neceijary preparations for fullaining the affau't.

thers, which they should peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies; whereas, if he a held out to the last extremity, and suffered it to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the fword, abandon the city to be plundered by his foldiers, and carry all the inhabitants, stripped of their wealth and effects, into captivity. The city was already reduced to great streights; but the emperor being rejetts the con- determined to perish with it, rather than give it up upon any terms whatsoever, the fiege was carried on with great vigour till the twenty-fifth of May, when a report being spread in the Turkish camp, that a mighty army was advancing full march to the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated John Hunniades, the common foldiers, feized with a panic, began to mutiny, and press Mohammed in a tumultuous manner to break up the siege; nay, they openly threatened him with b death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the city, which they despaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the supposed succours. Mobammed, tho' hitherto an utter stranger to sear, alarmed at the menaces of the incensed and ungovernable soldiery, was upon the point of yielding to the storm, and raising the siege, agreeable to the advice of the grand visier Haly, who favoured underhand the christians. But Zagan, a Turkish officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcileable enemy to the christian name, having confirmed the fultan in his former resolution, advised him to give, without loss of time, a general affault; to which, he faid, the foldiery, however mutinous, would not be averse, provided he solemnly promised to abandon the city to be plundered by them. c As this advice best suited the humour of Mohammed, he readily embraced it, and caused a proclamation to be published throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his foldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required nothing for his share but the empty houses. The desire of plunder, and the prospect of an immense booty, soon got the better of the fear, which had seized the army: they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the affault. Hereupon the prepares for a emperor was summoned for the last time to deliver up the city, with a promise of general florm. his life and liberty. To this summons the brave emperor answered, that he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this answer the messenger returned, and on the evening of the same day, which was Trinity funday, the twenty-feventh of May, the Turkish camp and fleet appeared illumi-d nated with an incredible number of lights fet up by the fultan's orders on every tent and vessel to admonish the whole army, that a solemn fast was to be observed the next, to implore the protection of heaven. Constantine, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend Haly, that on the Tuesday following he should be attacked by sea and land, made the necessary preparations for sustaining the assault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever else was dear to him, lying at stake. He ordered in the first place a general procession, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent speech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themselves in the defence of the empire and the christian religion. He then retired to the church of St. Sopbia, attended by cardinal Isidore, and several e other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the Latins; and there, after assisting with exemplary piety at divine service, he received the holy eucharist. Zygomola, a modern writer, tells us, that Constantine, having first caused the empress and his children to receive the facrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be flruck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in most of the modern Greek writers, it being manifest from Ducas, and other contemporary writers, that Theodora, Constantine's first wife, and Catharina Catalusa, his second, died long before, without his having children by them; and that the king of Georgia's daughter, who not long before had been betrothed to him, died before she came to Constantinople, f or was married to him. From the church Constantine repaired to the great palace, and there, after taking leave of his ministers, as if he were never to see them again, he ordered every man to his post, and, putting on his armour, marched in person at the head of a chosen body to the gate Karsia, where a considerable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the emperor, and Justiniani his lieutenant-general, with 300 Genoese, and a select body of Greeks, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noise in the Turkish camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun by fuch troops as the fultan least valued, and therefore, g deligning

The Turks begin the attack.

a defigning them for flaughter, had ordered them to march the first with no other view but to tire the christians, who, tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that disorderly multitude. After the carnage had lasted some hours, the janisfaries, and other fresh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigour and sury. The christians, summoning all their courage and resolution, twice repulsed the enemy, but in the end being quite spent, and fresh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to flind their ground; so that the enemy in several places broke into the city. In the mean time, Justinian having received two wounds, one in the thigh, and the other in the hand, Justinian is he was so disheartened at the sight of his blood, that, abandoning his post, he caused mounded, and b himself to be conveyed to Galata, where he died soon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in resecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The Genoese and Greeks, who served under him, dismayed at the sudden retreat of their general, quitted their posts, and fled in the utmost consusion. However, the emperor, The emperor's attended by Theophilus Palæologus, Francis Comnenus, Demetrius Cantacuzenus, John gallant beha-of Dalmatia, and a few more of the most resolute among the nobility, itill k.pt

his post, striving with an unparallelled courage and intrepidity to oppose the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent ftorm, now broke in on all fides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and feeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, What! he cried aloud, is there no christian left alive to strike e off my bead? He had scarce uttered these words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut cross the face with his sabre: at the same time

dead on the ground. Thus died, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and tenth of his reign, Constantine XV. courageously defending that city which Constantine I. had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to stand his ground, he fled with the rest, and was stifled and pressed to death in the croud. But we have followed Ducas and Phranzes, of whom the latter was chancellor to Constantine, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole d time of the siege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the Turks and christians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death.

another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him He is killed,

Ducas adds, that Mohammed, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor . The emperor being thus flain, the few christians, who were left alive, betook themselves to slight, and the Turks, meeting with no further opposition, entered the city, and scouring the And the town streets, filled that once stately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no taken and quarter, but put all they met to the fword, without distinction of fex, age, or con-plundered. dition. But of the unspeakable miseries the inhabitants suffered, during the three days which Mohammed had allowed his foldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find a minute and affecting account in Ducas, and other contemporary writers. Many thousands took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, but they were all massacred without pity in their afylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the desire of revenge, and the love of booty, spared no place nor person. Most of the nobility were by the sultan's orders cut off, and the rest reserved for purposes more grievous than death itself. However, many of the inhabitants, amongst whom were some men of great learning, found means to make their escape, while the Turks were busied in plundering the city. These embarquing on five ships then in the harbour, arrived fafe in Italy, where, with the study of the Greek tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had been long neglected in the west. When f the three days were expired, Mohammed commanded his soldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hostilities, and they put an end to the most cruel pillage and massacre mentioned in history. The next day he made his public and triumphal The total dissorting entry into the city; and chusing it for the seat of his empire, he solemnly promised Constanting. to take under his protection such of the inhabitants as should continue in it, or, being poliranRoman

fled, should return to their ancient habitations, and even to allow them the free empire.

<sup>a</sup> Ducas, c. 39.

exercise of the christian religion. The death of the last Roman emperor, the loss of Constantinople, and the final diffolution of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of May in the year of the Greeks 6961. of the Hegira 857.

and of the christian æra, according to the most probable opinion, 1453.

The downfal of a state, once so mighty and powerful, was not sudden, or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a visible decay of several ages. To what causes that was owing, we have, on proper occasions, pointed out in the course of the present history; and therefore, not to trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourselves to the immediate causes of so great a revolution, such as human policy may account for, not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor ascribe, as some have done, the calamities that befal a nation, to the sins of those on whom they are insticted.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

# The history of the Carthaginians, to the destrution of Carthage by the Romans.

#### SECT. I.

A description of Carthage, and some account of the origin of that city.

WERE the materials afforded us by the antients for writing the history of Carthage, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, tew nations would make a greater figure in this work; but such has been the infelicity of this state, that notwithstanding the immense riches, the extended commerce, the consummate policy and military genius of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with Rome for the empire of the world, yet we have but very short and scanty memorials left us of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us: the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have escaped oblivion, have either been transmitted to posterity by its enemies, or such as b were favourably disposed towards them, and consequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juster idea of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, by collecting all the remarkable passages relating to it, scattered in the Greek and Roman authors; by comparing these together, and connecting them in a proper manner; and lastly, by making some observations of our own, in order to illustrate and explain them; we doubt not but to supply the defects of all former historians, and give the most complete, as well as the most entertaining, history of the Carthaginians, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage, the metropolis of Africa Propria for several centuries, was, according to Carthage, Velleius 2, built sixty-five years before Rome, the Trogus b and Justin will have it to when founded. c be seventy two years older than that mistress of the world. Livy c seems to place its foundation twenty years higher than these; and Solinus d exceeds him twenty-seven years. Timeus of Sicily intimates, that Carthage and Rome were sounded at the same time, viz. thirty-eight years before the first olympiad. Lastly, from Menander the Ephesian, as cited by Josephus (A), and the Tyrian annals, it appears to have pre-

ceded the Roman æra an hundred and forty years. We shall not take upon us to determine which of these is in the right, nor whether any of them deserves absolute credit; but only observe, that as Carthage & consisted of different parts, which were supposed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the antients should

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Paterc. hist. Rom. I. i. <sup>b</sup> Just. hist. I. xviii. <sup>c</sup> Liv. hist. I. li. epit. <sup>d</sup> Solin. c. 29. <sup>e</sup> Timæus Sicul. apud Dionys. Halicatnas. I. i. <sup>f</sup> Menand. Ephes. apud Joeph. I. i. cont. Apion. <sup>g</sup> Petav. de doct. temp. I. ix. c. 69. & Boghart. de col. Phoen. I. i. c. 24.

(A) folephus, in his computation from Menander Ephefius (1), seems inconsistent with himself, or at least very inaccurate; but Peravius (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix Dislo's arrival in Africa an hundred and forty years before the foundation of Rome. Solinus (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that Carthage, at its final destruction by Scipio Africanus, had stood seven hundred and thirty-seven years. As therefore this destruction happened in the year of Rome six hundred and six, or six hundred and seven, it is evident, that, according to this author, Carthage was

built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before Rome; and if, with Sir Isaac Newton (4) and Salmasius, we suppose Solinus intended the encania or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, Dido's arrival in Africa will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the Roman æra; which agreeing so well with Peravius, from whom it differs but two years, a triste in a point of so remote antiquity, we may justly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

(1) Menand. Ephef. apud Joseph. l. i. cont. Apion. (2) Dion. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. (3) Solin. c. 27. (4) Salmaf. in Solin. c. 27. Newt. chronol. p. 65. Vol. VI. No. 9. 8 E hand

hand down such a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns should disagree so a much amongst themselves in this affair. It is not very material to our present purpose, whether we can hit upon the precise year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore we shall not be over solicitous about it. However, it may not be amiss to refer our curious readers to Petavius, who has been very particular on this subject. That learned man, after confidering the jarring opinions of the antients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their mistakes, and at last, with an appearance of exactness, fixes the time of Dido's beginning to build Carthage an hundred thirtyfeven years before the foundation of Rome, if, with Varro, we place this in the third year of the fixth olympiad, or an hundred forty-two, if, with archbishop Usher, we prefer the account of Fabius Pictor (B), who will have it to be near the beginning b of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other chronologer whatfoever.

The Carthagi-

But whatever difagreement may be found amongst historians and chronologers as nians descended to the exact year of the foundation of Carthage, yet it is agreed on all hands, that from the Phoe- the Phanicians were its founders. The Greek poet Nonnus, from some authors, whose works are now lost, affures us, that Cadmus made a very successful expedition into these parts. Eusebius m and Procopius are positive, that the Canaanites who sed from Joshua retired hither; and St. Austin would have it believed, that the Carthaginians were descended from these Canaanites. Philistus of Syracuse, a writer of good authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Christ, relates, c that the first traces of Carthage were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Tyrians or Phanicians, thirty years before the destruction of Troy, according to Eusebius. Appian P, who undoubtedly received his notion from Philistus, attributes this event to Zorus and Charchedon, the two said Phanicians, fifty years before that period; and from him Scaliger 9 corrects Eusebius's numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, Virgil + feems to hint, that Dido was rather the finisher than founder of this city, by giving us to understand, that the ground on which it stood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town stood upon it. What likewise renders the account of Philistus and Appian not a little probable, is, that the Greeks always called this city Charchedon, for which no reason so proper d can be affigned, as that the person who first settled with a colony on this spot of ground, was called by that name. Besides, something must have determined Dido to chuse this particular place for her Tyrians before any other s. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for some time by the Phanicians, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore she had reason to expect the kindest and most friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coast of Africa, and the coast of Spain' opposite to it, were known in very early ages to the Tyrians; since it is remarked by Velleius ", that they built the cities of Cadiz in Spain, and Utica in Africa, a little above eighty years after the Trojan war; and Strabo declares, that the Phanicians were possessed of the best parts of Spain and Africa a considerable time before the age of Homer: all which considerations strongly support the first Phanician settlement mentioned by Philistus and Appian. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the transactions of those very remote times, except what is deducible from the inspired writings of the old testament, and as nothing is less to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many antient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they please.

How-

PETAV. ubi supra, & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Antwerp. 1703. & l. xiii. Petav. ration. tempor. l. ii. c. 13. 

M. Onuph. Panvin. in ant. urb. imag. Uss. an. p. 87. 

Nonn. in Dionys. l. xiii. M. Euseb. in chron. l. i. p. 11. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. 

M. August. in exposit. epist. ad Rom. sub init. Philist. Syracusan. apud Euseb. in chron. ad ann. 804. Philist. Serv. in loc. sub init. 

Gold Car. Rues not. in Virg. Æn. iv. sub init. Procop. ubi supra. 

Total Car. Rues not. in Virg. Æn. iv. sub init. Procop. ubi supra. 

Total Car. Rues not. in Paras l. i. c. 2 Vide etiam Car. Ruei not. in Virg. Æn. iv. sub init. edit. Casaub. 1587. 

Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 2. edit. Casaub. 1587.

<sup>(</sup>B) This Fabius Pictor was the most antient of the Roman historians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is followed herein by Onuphrius Pan-vinius (6), as well as archbishop Usher. Several arguments might be offered in support of his autho-

rity, particularly with regard to the point under confideration; but we chuse to refer our readers to archbishop Usher (7), Vossius, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

<sup>(5)</sup> Liv. l. i. ii. &c. Dio. Hal. l. i. User. an. p. 60. ad ann. Jul. per. 3966. Voss. de hist. Grac. l. iv. c. 13. &c. (6) Onuph. Panvin. antiq. urb. imag. apud Gravium in thesaur. ant. Rom. tom. 3. p. 215. Petav. de dost. temp. l. ix. c. 51. (7) User. an. ubi supra. Voss. de hist. Grac. & Petav. ubi supra

However, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening Elifa either before the destruction of Troy, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical founded or inexactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that of Carthage. Elisa w, called also Dido, sister of Pygmalion king of Tyre, slying with her brother Barca, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from Tyre, fixed her residence at Cartbage, and either founded, or much inlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great confideration till her arrival. The wealth of her husband \* Sichaus, and the Tyrians the brought with her, who, at that time, were the y most polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to inlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the b foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most sourishing and extensive commerce, for which the Tyrian nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which seemed, in Aristotle's 2 opinion, by his descanting so largely upon it, to have been one of the most perfect that ever was known in the world, at least, in his time. Dido's arrival in Africa, as we have observed, was an hundred thirty-seven years before the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account; an hundred forty-two, according to Fabius Pillor; an hundred and fourteen before the first olympiad; eight hundred eightynine, or eight hundred and ninety before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of Troy, unless, with Sir Isaac Newton, we will suppose the c antient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years. Virgil indeed seems to have allowed this supposition; for notwithstanding what has been advanced by feveral learned men b to excuse him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monstrous anathronism he makes, by bringing  $\cancel{E}$  neas and Didotogether as cotemporaries, would have been utterly inexcuseable. We shall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occasion and manner of Dido's slight from Tyre, of her putting into the island of Cyprus, and steering afterwards her course for the coasts of Africa, where she happily arrived; so that it will be intirely unnecesfary, even so much as to touch upon these particulars in this place .

How this city came to be called Carthage, authors are not fully agreed. Solinus d Name whence d tells us, that its true name was Carthada, which, in the Carthaginian language, figni-derived. fied the New City; and herein he is followed by Salmasiuse, Schindler, Bochart &, and others, who deduce it from the two Oriental words, Charta Hadatta, which are of the same import. But, besides that it is too far fetched and unnatural, these very authors themselves supply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for Schindler h derives Carthago from the Oriental word Charta, a city; and the other two i allow, that the city was founded long before Dido came into Africa, and that she only built that part of it called Byrsa, or the citadel. Dr. Hyde k derives it either from Chadre Hanacha, i. e. The chamber of rest, or place of repose, or from Card Haneca, the New City, as before, because Plautus in his Panulus intimates, that it was called by the e natives Chaedreanech; but these derivations likewise are too forced and unsatisfactory, and are besides overthrown by Bochart. Servius m therefore seems to come nearer the truth, when he fays, that, according to the Carthaginians themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from Charta, a town not far from Tyre, to which Dido bore a near relation; and this town is called by Cedrenus " Chartica, or Chartaca, i. e. Charta Aca, or Charta Aco, the city of Aca or Aco, a celebrated sea-port of Phanice (C), near Tyre and Sidon, in the territory of the tribe of Asher P, tho' possessed by the a Tyrians or Pha-

w Just. l. xviii. Virgil. Æn. i. & Ser.: in loc. Cedren. in hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Paris. 1647. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416, &c. x Virg. Just. &c. ubi supra. y Newt. chron. p. 13. Boch, phal. & de col. Phoen. passim. 1 Kings, c. v. &c. 2 Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. Newt. chron. p. 32, 65, &c. b Ludovic. de la Cerda, Car. Ruæus. Macrob. alique. Cunivers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416. d Solin. c. 27. c Salmas. in Solin. p. 322. f Schind. pentaglot. p. 1654. Bochart. de col. Phoen. l. i. c. 24. &c. b Schind. ubi supra. Salmas. & Bochart. ubi supra. P. 415, 416. d Solin. c. 27.

B Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. &c.

B Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 1.

Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 1. \* HYDE in not. ad Peritsol. p. 44. 

BOCHART. Chan.l. i. c. 1.

\* Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37.

E Æn. iv. ver. 75.

CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647.

Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37.

sup>m</sup> Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37.
Sehind. pentaglot. p. 1313.

(C) The place was, according to Cedrenus, a maritime city or sea-port, as will appear from a perusal of the passage referred to; which is an additional argument in savour of our notion. We find like-

wise a city, called Kartah, given to the Levites in this country, taken out of the territory of the tribe of Zebulun.

nicians.

nicians. In support of Servius and Cedrenus's authority, it may be observed, that the sidonians, Tyrians and Canaanites inhabiting that part of Phanice, frequently prefixed the word kiriath, cariath, or charta, i. e. city, to the proper names of towns, as Kiriath, or, according to St. Jerom, Cariath-Arba, Cariath-Baal, Cariath-Sanna, Cariath-Sepher, &c. tho' sometimes they styled them simply Cariath, or Charta, city, and, for the most part in writing, used their proper names alone; so that it is no wonder the town under consideration should be known by the names Charta, Aca, Aco, Chartica, Chartaca, Cartaco, &c. since this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho' Dido's city was constantly called by the Latin writers Carthago, yet its true name amongst the antient Romans, who undoubtedly received it from the Carthaginians themselves, was Cartaco, as is evident from the coblumna rostrata (D) of Duilius. This, together with what has been wobserved in the first

<sup>1</sup> Jud. i. ver. 10. Josh. xviii. ver. 14. xv. ver. 15, 49. <sup>2</sup> Jerem. xlviii. ver. 24, 41. Am. xi. ver. 2. <sup>3</sup> Josh. xv. ver. 9, 60, &c. <sup>3</sup> Vide Pet. Clacconium in column. rostrat. Duil. apud Joan. Geor. Grav. in thesaur. antiquit. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1810. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416.

(D) We have before given an English translation (8) of the old Latin inscription upon the basis of the columna rostrata of Duilius; but as it is a most curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquisitive readers would think us guilty of a great omission, were not the original itself inscreed immewhere in this work; especially as many fine conclusions relating to the Latin language may be drawn from it; and the surprising

manner in which that language was polifhed and refined in lefs than two centuries, may be from thence discovered. In order therefore to render our history as complete as possible, and evince the point at present in view, we shall here present our readers with the inscription itself, and the chasms of it, as supplied by Lipsius and Ciaccenius, together with a version of it into the Latin of the Augustan age:

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD REM. CERENS. ECEST. ANO S. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISUMAD OBSEDEONED. XEMET. LECION. EIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS. MAXIMOSQUE. MACISTRATOS. LUGAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS. NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELAM. MOENITAM. URBEM. PUGNANDOD. CEPET. EN QUE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE REM. MAYEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQUE CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. FARAVETQUE. DIEBOS. LX QUM QUE. EIS NAVAUS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQUE. SUMAS. COPRAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRESSINTED. MAXUMOD. DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTQD. MARID. PUGNANDOD. VICET XXXCUE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CUM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQUE. DUCIS QUINRESMOSQUE. TRIRISMOSQUE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET AURO M. CAPTOM. NUMBEI OCO DCC

ARCENTON, CAPTON, PRADA, NUMEL COCIDDO COCIDO PONDOD TRIOMPO O U.P. NAVALED, PREDAD. POFLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET DAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCERVOS. DUXET. ANTE. CUROM PRIMOS QUE. CONSOL. DE. SICELEIS. CLASEQUE. CARTACINIENSEOM TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EL HANCE. COLUMNAM. P.

Caius Duilius Marci filius Consul adversus Carthaginienses in Sicilia rem gerens, Egestanos (socios atque) cognatos populi Romani artissima obsidione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginicnsum (qui Egestam obsidebant, & Amilcar) maximus (eorum) magistratus (sestinandi studio) elephansis relictis novem, castris essugerunt. Macellam (deiude) munitam (validam que) urbem pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magistratu prospere rem navibus mari Consul primus gessit: remiges classesque navales primus ornavit atque paravit aiebus sexaginta. & cum his navibus, classes Punicas omnes, paratas (ornatas) que summas copias Carthaginiensium, trajente (Annibale) maximo dictatore illorum, in alto mari pugnando superavit; trigintaque naves cum sociis (hoc est cum ipsis hominibus) cepit, & septiremem pratoriam, quinqueremes (praterea) ac triremes naves xx depressit.

Aurum captum in prada nummi III. M. DCC.

Argentum captum in prada nummi c. M.

Æs grave captum vicies semel centena millia pondo, atque in triumpho navali predam (omnem in erarium)
Popul. Rom. intulit.

captivos (etiam) Carthaginienses ingenuos (hoc est, nobiles aliquot) ante currum duxit:
primusque Consul, de Siculis, & classe Carthaginienssum triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo
S.P. ② R. ei hancce columnam posuit.
vel
triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit (9).

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erected, the Carthaginians were called by the Romans CARTACINIENSEIS; and consequently the

name of their city, then in use amongst the Romans, was CARTACO.

(8) Univers hist. vol. iv. p. 659, 660. in not. Grav. in thesaur. antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1810.

(9) Vide Petr. Ciaccon. Tolet, in column, roft. Duil. apud

volu me

a volume of this history, seems to render the authority above-mentioned incontest:

THAT it was usual in those early ages to denominate some cities from others, as well as from their founders, is a truth well known to all perfons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiquity; and the city of Thebes in Baotia (E), so called from Thebes in Egypt; Pisa in Italy, from Pisa in Peloponnesus; Salamis in Cyprus, from Salamis in Attica, to omit several others that might be mentioned, are sufficient instances of it.

Salmafius will have the Greek name Charchedon to be derived from Solinus's Carthada; because the Sicilians now-and-then used the Greek letter chi for theta. But fure nothing can be more weak than this; besides, were it much more plausible, it b could not be admitted, because it clashes with the authority of Philistus (F), Appian, Eusebius, and St. Jerom. Herodotus, Menander Ephesius, Polybius, &c. the most antient Greek authors, mentioning the Carthaginians, likewife disprove it, because they were

THE Carthaginians were called by the Greeks, fometimes Libyans, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes Phanicians, on account of the country from whence they were originally descended. The Romans also styled them Pani, or Phanicians, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them, or their

city, Punic or Panic, i. e. Phanician, or belonging to the Phanicians.

We must not omit observing, that, according to Stephanus Y and Eustathius, this Caccabethe c city was antiently named, in *Punic*, Caccabe, from a horse's head, which was found Carthage. by the Tyrians, whilst they were digging for the foundations of Byrsa. This was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. Our readers will find the whole story in Virgil z and Justin, and to these authors we refer them. In the mean time we shall only remark, that the learned Bochart a has shewn the word Caccabe to have signified, in the Phanician language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the Carthaginians b had frequently upon the reverses of their coins, either a horse's head, or the body of a horse dimidiated, or a horse intire, with Victory upon him. Most of these coins have likewise a Punic inscription upon d their said reverses, with several other symbols; as is evident from Agostini, Paruta, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

In order to avoid all future digressions on this head, we shall here give a faithful and particular account of the fituation, dimensions, different parts, and power of the city of Carthage, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third Punic war, extracted from Polybius c, Strabo, Diodorus, Appian, and other antient authors of the best reputation and authority.

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulf, upon a peninsula three hundred and sixty Description of stadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference, the isthmus joining this peninsula to the Carthage. continent of Africa, being twenty-five stadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth.

e On the west side there projected from it a long tract of land, in shape resembling a tongue, half a stadium broad; which shooting out into the sea, separated it from a lake or morafs, and was strongly fortified on all sides by rocks, and a single wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortress or citadel, erected by Dido, called Byrsa, having on the top of it a temple facred to Æsculapius, seated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the ascent was by fixty steps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a confiderable extent; fo that when Byrsa was taken by Scipio towards the close of the last siege of Carthage, nine hundred Roman deserters fortified them-

\* Salmas ubi supra. 

7 Steph. Byz. de urb. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. 

2 Virg. Æn. i.

Just. l. xviii. Serv. & Ludovic. de la Cerda in Æn. i. Coel. Rhodigin. l. xviii. c. 38. 

Bochart. 
de col. Phoen. l. i. c. 24. 

Ant. August. dial. vi. ant. 

C Polyb. l. i. c. 73. 

Strab. l. xviii. p. 572. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. 

ANT. AUGUST. dial. vi. ant. 

Polyb. l. i. c. 73. Strab
Applan. in Libyc. p. 129. 
Diodor. Sic. bibl. hift. l. iii. p. 178. Oros. l. iv. c. 22. p. 277.

(E) It is plain from feripture (9), that there was a town of this name likewise in *Phanice*, or the land of Canaan, not far from Shechem; so that whether we look upon Cadmus as a Phoenician or an Egyptian, it can scarce be doubted, but that Thebes in Baotia was so denominated from some more antient city.

(F) All these authors are clearly of opinion, that Carthage was built a confiderable time before Dido

came into Africa; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel Byrsa only, the addition she made to the old city, the place was called Carthada, or the New city; and if this be allowed, it must likewife be admitted, that Salmafius endeavours abfurdly to deduce Carchedon from Carthada.

(9) Jud. c. ix. ver. 50, 53. 8 F

selves there. At last Asdrubal's wife setting fire to it, intirely consumed it, together a with herself, her children, and the said nine hundred deserters, to avoid falling into the hands of Scipio. On the fouth fide, towards the continent, where Byrsa had its fituation, the city was furrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abstracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diffances, each interval being fourfcore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower had its foundations funk thirty foot deep, and was four stories high, tho' the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, corresponding in depth with the foundations above-mentioned, were stalls, large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder, &c. Over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thousand b foot, and four thousand horse. Such a number of forces and beafts of war were contained within the walls, without in the least incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the first building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the fea towards the western continent, before taken notice of, and extending as far as the harbours, which were on the same side. Of these there were two, which were disposed in such a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and had one common entrance, seventy foot broad, and shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vast number of places of refreshment, and all kinds of accommodations for the seamen. The second, c or inner port, was, as well as the island called Cothon in the midst of it, lined with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles for securing and sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships, it being designed chiefly for ships of war. Over these were magazines or store houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order; fo that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. Upon the island was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations issued out; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, tho' no one there could see what was transacting in d the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themselves, when they entered into their port, had no prospect of the men of war, being separated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without paffing through the other.

Of how many parts the city consisted. Hence it is apparent, that the city confished of three parts, Byrsa, Megara (G), or Magaria, and Cothon. Byrsa, according to Servius 4, was twenty-two stadia, or near three English miles, in circumference; tho' Eutropius says, it did not much exceed two thousand paces, which is not quite two English miles. It was not so precisely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the fouth, or isthmus that joined Carthage to the continent, as is observed by Appian e. The word Byrsa is only a Greek e corruption of the true Punic or Phanician name Busra, Bosra, or Bossra, (for it may be pronounced all these ways) i. e. a fortress or citadel, as has been demonstrated by Scaliger s. Bochart, and others, versed in the oriental languages, and may be inferred from Strabo, Virgil, and Appian, the sable of the ox's hide having long since been exploded by the learned. This was justly looked upon as the interior part of Carthage, surrounded by the Megara e, or Magaria, i. e. the houses, or town, (for that the word imports in the Phanician tongue) its exterior part, according to Servius; so that together they formed a kind of double town. Strabo calls the small island in the midst of the second harbour, Cothon s; tho' Appian applies this name likewise to that port or harbour itself, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a strong f wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word Cothon

d Serv. in Æn. i. ver. 320. Eutrop. & Bochart. ubi supra. e Appian. & Bochart. ubi supra. f Scalig. in not. ad Fest. Bochart. ubi supra. Salmas. in Solin. &c. s Serv. in Æn. i. & iv. b Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. i Appian. in Libyc. p. 129, &c.

<sup>(</sup>G) The true name of the exterior part of Carthage (or that which was, properly speaking, the town) was Megara or Magaria, not Magalia, as

<sup>(10)</sup> Appian. & Serv. ubi supra. Isidor, in orig. l. xiii. c. 12. Vide etiam Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

a is of oriental extraction, and fignifies a port not formed by nature 1, but the effect of labour and art; so that this seems to have been not a proper, but a common name amongst the Carthagirians, who undoubtedly pronounced it Kathum or Kathom; but the Greeks, adopting it into their own language, gave it a Greek termination, and expressing the Phanician A by their great O, (which may easily be conceived) thence came the name Cothon. The Carthaginians were so extremely active and indefatigable, that when Scipio m had blocked up the old port, or Cothon, they, in a very short time, built a new one, the traces of which, scarce an hundred yards square, are still to be seen a. This Cothon was perhaps the same that was called the Mandracium o in

the time of Procopius.

THE number of inhabitants this city contained at the beginning of the third Punic Number of inwar, was seven hundred thousand; a prodigious number, considering the many ter-habitants. rible blows the Carthaginians had received from the Romans during the course of the first and second Punic wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt these wars, and the destructive broils they had been engaged in with Masinissa. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by sea, when they had a mind to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by Hamilear in his expedition against Gelon the tyrant of Syracule, which consisted of three hundred thousand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was composed of more c than two thousand ships of war, and above three thousand transports. Their riches were likewise immense, as may be collected from what Scipio carried off at the final destruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, intirely exhausted and consumed, viz. near a million and a half sterling. All which may ferve to give us fome faint idea of what Carthage was, when in the height of its grandeur and magnificence.

As to the extent of the city, Livy informs us, that it was twenty-three ? miles round; The extent of and if what is related of it above be true, this is not improbable. Pliny q intimates, Carthage.

that Carthage, when in the hands of the Phanicians, was much larger than when it was a Roman colony; and Suidas affirms, that it was the greatest and most powerful d city in the world. The dominion of the sea, which it enjoyed for six hundred years, almost without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a most prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extensive trade, the mines of Spain, &c. those inexhaustible sources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the Carthaginians should have arrived at such an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our description of Caribage, it may not be improper to take notice of, viz. the temple of Apollo , flanding near the Cothon, wherein was a statue of that deity of massive gold, and whose inside was all covered with plates of the same metal, weighing a thousand talents s. But this was involved e in the common destruction of the city, being pillaged and destroyed by a party of Scipio's men, when the Cothon and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general.

It has been 'observed by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was him- Present reself upon the spot, that the greatest part of Carthage was built upon three hills, mains of ansomewhat inferior in elevation to those upon which Rome was erected. All the remains tient Carthage. of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a spacious room upon one of those hills, overlooking the fouth-east shore, with several smaller ones hard by it; the common fewers, which time hath not in the least injured or impaired; and the cifterns, which have very little submitted to the general ruins of the city. f The harbour is now stopped up, and, by the north-east winds with the (H) Mejerdab, made almost as far distant from the sea as Utica, tho' it is still called El-Mersa, or the port, lying to the north and north-west of the city, and formeth, with the lake of Tunis, the peninfula on which Carthage stood.

<sup>1</sup> Fest. in voc. cothones. Serv. in Æn. i. Bochart. ubi supra. Buxtorf. in voc. DDD &c. epit.

\* Shaw's geographical observations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151.

l. i. c. 20.

\* P. Liv. I. li. epit.

 Liv. l. li. PROCOP. <sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. \* Shaw ubi supra.

<sup>(</sup>H) This river, the Bagrada of the antients, will be described in the next chapter.

Vast extent of

Strabo " observes, that the Carthaginians possessed three hundred cities in Africa 2 the Carthaginian dominions. before the beginning of the third Punic war; which may easily be believed, if we consider, that the dominions of this state in Africa before that war, extended from the western confines of Cyrenaica w, to the pillars of Hercules, or streights of Gibraltar (I), a tract of land near fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its last period of perfection, the best part of Spain, even as far as the Pyrenees, of Sicily, and all the islands in the Mediterranean to the west of this latter, were subject to it. How it came to make fuch large acquisitions, and by what steps it grew so formidable, as to dispute the empire of the world with Rome itself, will appear in the sequel of this history.

> " STRAB. 1. XVII. w SCYLAX CARYAND. Vide & BOCHART. ubi supra, &c.

(I) The distance betwixt the Philanorum Ara and pillars of Hercules, according to Polybius (11), was fixteen thousand stadia, or about two thousand miles. But from Dr. Shaw's most accurate observations, it appears to have been one thousand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, fixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be feen in the following table:

	Miles.
From Tingi, or Tangier, to the river Malva, or Mullooiah -	200
To the eastern part of the river Chinalaph, or Shelliff	220
To the river Amplaga, or city of Cirta	165
To Laribus by Theveste, or Tiffesh	130
To Carthage — — — — —	70
To Kairwan, olim Vicus Augusti — — — — —	75
To Tacape in the Lesser Syrsis	110
To Tripolis — — — — —	135
To Leptis Magna, or Libda, in the Greater Syrtis	115
To the bottom of the Greater Syriis, now called the gulf of Seedra, where the Philenorum Are are supposed to have been situated	200
In all	1420

Hence it is evident, that Polybius makes this track to have been of a greater extent than it really was, tho', considering the largeness of the geographical

miles above-mentioned, that author does not fo much exceed the truth, as may at first fight be imagined.

(11) Polyb. 1. iii.

## SECT. II.

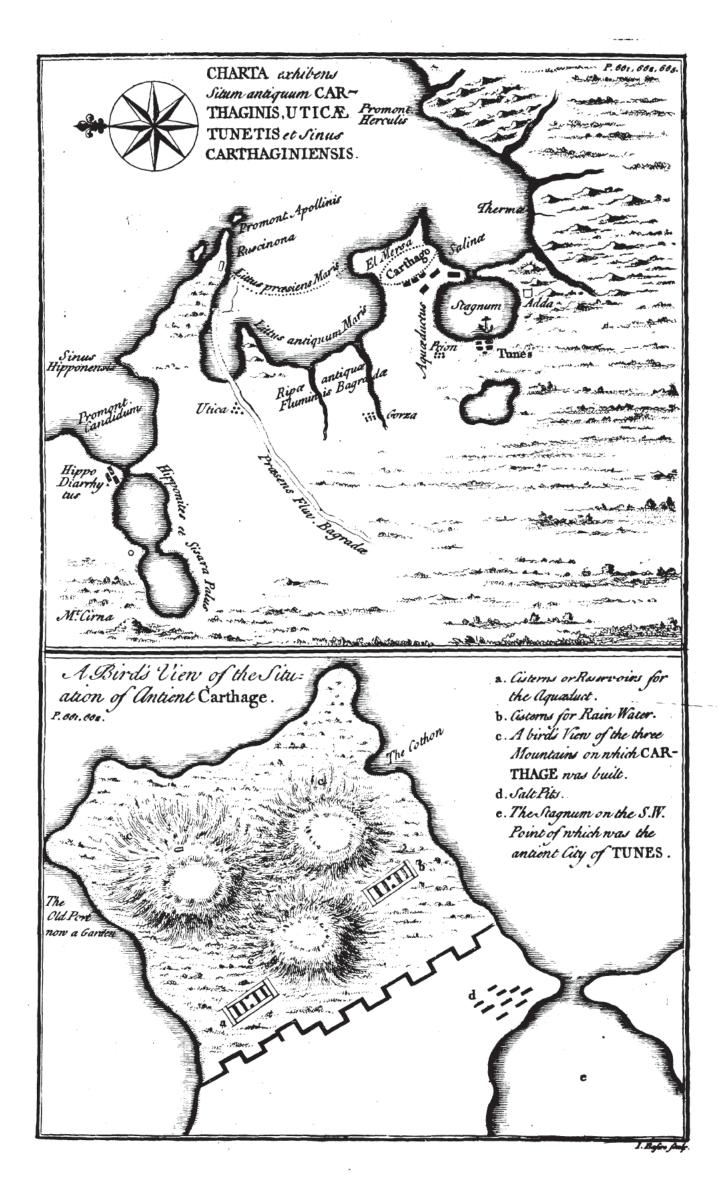
## A description of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage.

Africa Propria. HAVING given our readers the best account of the origin and foundation of b Cartbage that can be drawn from antiquity, as likewise a small sketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, &c. which we shall expatiate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the history of the Carthaginians, or describe the religion, government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, sciences, &c. of that people, it will be proper to give a description of the country wherein they were seated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, possessed, or got a footing in, they were fometimes of a larger, and fometimes of a narrower extent; fometimes in their own hands, and sometimes in those of other states, according as success or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Its limits.

Mela a and Ptolemy will have Africa Propria to have contained all the countries fituate between the river Amp/aga and the borders of Cyrenaica, which, Pliny b tells us, were inhabited by twenty-fix different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include Numidia, and the Regio Syrtica, which are countries distinct from the proper territory of Carthage. Its true limits seem c to have been the river Tusca on the west, or side of Numidia; the Mediterranean or African sea on the north; the frontiers of the Garamantes and defarts of Libya Interior on the fouth; and the Mediterranean, with the Leffer Syrtis, on the east. It d was divided into two pro-

<sup>\*</sup> Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Vide etiam Cellar, geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. b Plin. v. c. 4. cogr. l. iv. Scylax Caryand, in peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Ptol. edgr. l. iv. & Cellar, geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. d Plin. ubi supra. Strab. l. ii. l. v. c. 4. Idem ibid. Herodot. l. i geogr. l. iv. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4.



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And the second s

a vinces, the Regio Zeugitana, and Byzacium, with which the kingdom of Tunis e, under Divison. its division into the summer and winter circuits, at present nearly corresponds. According to Dio f, this region was likewise called the old province, and Numidia the new one. Byzacium E, or at least the sea coast of that province, seems to be the Emporia of Livy and Polybius.

Ptolemy has placed Carthage, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too foutherly, which is not to be wondered at, confidering the inaccuracy of that geographer in ascertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the position of Africa Propria to have been nearly the same with that of the kingdom of Tunis, as there is great reason to believe, it must have taken up almost four degrees of north b latitude, viz. from 33° 30' N. to 37° 12' N. and of longitude above three degrees, fince Sbekkab, the most advanced city of the kingdom of Tunis to the westward, is in 8°, and Clybea, the farthest to the east, in 11° 20 E. longitude from London. The spot of ground on which Carthage stood is, according to the latest observa-

tions k, about 10° 40' east of London, and in north latitude 36° 40'.

Zeugitana, or the Regio Zeugitana, was separated from Numidia by the river Zeugitana. Tusca, and extended as far as Adrumetum, which Pliny makes to be the first city of Byzacium. The summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis m, including the fruitful country about Keff and Bai-jah, and several other districts, answers at present to this province, which was the Regio Carthaginiensium of Strabon, and the Africa Propria c of Pliny and Solinus. We shall not pretend here to give a minute and particular description of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our present design; but only touch upon some of the principal of them, which have been taken the most notice of by those writers who have treated of the Roman and Carthaginian affairs.

THE first place in Zeugitana worthy our notice, since Carthage has been already Utica. described, is Utica. In rank and dignity this city was next to Carthage itself, and even superior to it in point of antiquity. Aristotle P says it was built, according to the Phanician historians, two hundred and eighty-seven years before Carthage. Velleius 9, as has been above related, makes the Tyrians to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the destruction of Troy. Justin r intimates, that the Tyrians were d settled there a considerable time before Dido came into Africa; nay, that this settlement commenced upon their first arrival in that country: and with these two last authors Mela and Stephanus agree. From this great antiquity, Bochart thinks the Phanicians gave it the name Atica, the antient, i. e. city, rather, in our opinion, Etuca " or Ituca, i. e. the city of long standing, or the great city, the strong city, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongst the Tyrians, even in Dido's time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from Scylax and Polybius, the most antient authors mentioning it, who call it Ituce, or Ityce, to whom the other Greek authors, speaking of it, except Dio, who uses the Latin name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and Carthage stood, was formed by two promontories, e viz. the promontory of Mercury, and that of Apollo, under the last of which Utica was seated. Appian w says it was sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half to the westward of Carthage; but, according to the itinerary, these two cities were twenty-seven Roman miles diffant from each other z. Utica had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the Roman history, but on none more than the death of the younger Cato, who was from thence called Cato Uticensis, or Cato of Utica. After Carthage was razed by the Romans, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between Carthage and Hippo, and was for a confiderable time the metropolis of Africa. An ingenious modern traveller y supposes this place to have stood where Boo-shatter does at present; the traces of buildings of great extent and magf nificence still visible there, and the distance from Carthage, perfectly agreeing with that of the itinerary, besides other circumstances, giving good grounds for such a fupposition.

THE next town in the neighbourhood of Carthage, but in a contrary direction to Tunes. the former, is Tunes or Tuneta, the Tunis of the moderns. This town is undoubt-

edly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by Polybiusz, Diodorus, Livy, a and others; nay, that it was of Phanician original, the name itself sufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the Lower Egypt, almost contiguous to the borders of Arabia Petræa and Phanice, a town called Tanes a, from whence the Tanitic nome, and Tanitic mouth of the Nile took their name. And 'tis well known, that this part of Egypt b was over-run by the Phanicians, either in the time of Joshua, or much earlier; and that these same Phanicians afterwards settled in Africa Propria, Numidia, and Mauritania. In confirmation of which fentiment, we find a river in Numidiac, not far from the Ampfaga, called Tanas; from whence we may infer, fince nothing is more common in the Oriental languages than a permutation of vowels, that Tunes is a Phanician name, and that the city itself is of Phanician extraction, b That it was a town of some note in very early ages, is evident from Livy d, Diodorus, and Strabo, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and furrounded with a wall. It was feated on or near the mouth of the river Catada, fifteen Roman miles east of The city is more famous now, than it was even amongst the ancients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situate upon a rifing ground, along the western banks of the lake, which goes by the same name, and in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it) of the Guletta, Carthage, and the island Zowa-moore. Tunis some time since was noted for its corsairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themseves wholly to trade, and are now become c the most civilized and polite people in Barbary (A).

Maxula, or, according to Ftolemy, Mazula f, is an ancient town of the state of Carthage, and, if Pliny 8 may be credited, pretty near that city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of Apollo and Utica. We find on the western banks of the Tigris a city in Arabic hamed Moful, or Mozul, which word is not remote from the Mazula of Ptolemy. 'Tis likewise evident from the authority of Scylax, who mentions it, that Mazula was of some repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which confiderations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity betwixt the Arabic and Phanician languages, that this town was built by the Phanicians. It stood on the eastern side of the Catada, now the Mili-d ana; and if the conjecture of the ingenious gentleman above-mentioned be true, viz. that Mo-raisab, two leagues to the north-east of Solyman, be the Maxula, or Mazula, of the antients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four English

miles, fouth-east of Tunes (B).

Carpis, a city of this district, placed by Ptolemy k one third of a degree more northerly than Carthage. Pliny calls it Carpi. Our learned traveller | supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which Gurbos, or Hammam Gurbos, at present stands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the Aqua Calida of Livy. Though the polition Ptolemy affigns his Carpis does not agree with that of the modern Gurbos, this last lying above a degree more southerly than Cartbage, yet we doubt not but e the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Polyb. l. i. Liv. l. XXX. Diodor. Sic. l. XIV. Strab. i. XVII. CC.

aliiq; Vide etiam Cellar. geog. ant. p. 785, 799. ed. Lipfiæ, 1732. b D. August. in exposit. epist.

ad 3 Rom. sub init. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. Euseb. chron. l. i. p. 11. Gemar. Hierosol. ad

Tit. Shebith, cap. 6. Manetho apud Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. Nonnus in Dionysiac. l. Xiii. Newton's

chronol. p. 198—202. Marsham's can. chron. Bp. Cumberland's treatise on Sanchoniatho's Phœn. hist.

Univ. Hist. Vol. I. Sal. in Jugurth. c. 95. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 913. d Liv. Diodor. & Strab.

ubi sup. & alibi. Shaw ubi sup. p. 155. f Ptol. geog. l. iv. SPLIN. l. v. c. 4. h Val.

Schind. pentaglot. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 623. i Shaw ubi sup. p. 57. h Plin. & Ptol. POLYB. l. i. LIV. l. XXX. DIODOR. SIC. l. XIV. STRAB. l. XVII. &c. · HEROD. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. 3 SHAW ubi fup. p. 57.

(A) Somewhere near this place Adis or Adda is to be looked for, where Regulus gave the Carthaginians a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from Polybius (1), that this was a town of fome importance; but the antients being filent as to any farther particulars relating to it, fave only that it was fituated amongst rocks and hills, we shall think it sufficient just to have mentioned it.

(B) We find the Musulani, a people seated in the western part of Numidia, not far from the Amplaga,

taken notice of by Tacitus (2); and a town and promontory of Eshiopia, famous for the cinamon they produced, near the confines of Nubia and Libya interior, named Mosylon or Mosulum, remembered by Pliny (3). Now as a Phoenician colony came very early into Numidia, and the Nubians and Ethiopians were the descendants of the Egyptians and Arabiaus, as will hereafter be proved, possibly some light may from hence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

Maxula.

Carpis.

Misuam, or Nisua, a town taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, between Carpis Misua. and Clypea. The ruins of this place are still to be seen at the sanctuary of Seedy Doud, in the kingdom of Tunis, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of

THE next place that occurs is the Aquilaria of Cafar o, where Curio landed his Aquilaria. troops from Sicily. Cafar tells us, it was a very convenient station in the summer feasion, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of these, in all probability, that of Mercury (called by the Moors the Ras-adder, and by the Franks cape Bon) was one; fince this is about a league to the northward of Lowab-reab, supposed to be the ancient Aquilaria. Many fragments P of antiquities are still extant b here, but amongst them nothing remarkable.

Clypea 9, a city built upon the small promontory Tapbitis, five leagues south-east Clypea. of the promontory of Mercury, which being in the figure of a shield or hemisphere, gave occasion to the name. It is called by Livy, Mela, and Pliny, Clupea; by Polybius, Appian, and Agathemerus, Aspis, but by Solinus, and the itinerary, Clypea. A mile distant from the ground where the old city stood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants Clybea. Ptolemy is guilty of a great mistake,

when he makes Afpis and Clypea two different cities.

Curubis, Curobis, and Curabis, a town, according to the itinerary, thirty-two Roman Curubis. miles distant from the former; but, according to the more accurate observations of c the moderns, feven leagues, or twenty-one miles, fouth-west and by west of it. It is styled by Pliny: the free city Curubis, and seems to have been a considerable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the cifterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boast of at present, if the modern Gurba answers to it, as both the name and situation sufficiently intimate.

Canthele, a Phanician city, not far from Curubis, according to Hecataus ". This Canthele. town feems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity Saturn; fince, according to Sanchoniatho w and Damascius, the word el in the Phanician tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis observed by Ponticus, in his life of St. Cyprian, that there was a town in that place called by the d Romans, vicus Saturni, the street or town of Saturn. This was not a place of figure, at least so low as the classic times, so that we take notice of it here purely on account

of its antiquity.

Neapolis, a famous and ancient empory of the Carthaginians in the fouth-east part Neapolis. of Zeugitana, five leagues to the north-east of Curubis. Thucydides \* says, that the passage from hence to Sicily was very short, as being performed in two days and a night. Scylax places it not far from the leffer Syrtis, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of Mercury. Nabal, a thriving and industrious modern town, is a furlong to the westward of the ancient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city. Pliny styles this place, as well as Curubis, a free city. Here e is a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six foot in length, and three in breadth; but they are either so unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbish and morter, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. Strabo and Hirtius agree with Scylax in fixing it pretty near the promontory of Mercury. Nabal y stands upon the gulph of Hamam-et in N. lat. 36° 8' two leagues from a little opulent town of the same name.

To these may be added Nepheris, a fortress lying a little to the eastward of Car- Nepheris. thage. It was a place of good confideration, being built upon a rock, and strongly fenced by nature on all sides. Asdrubal, with his whole army, was cut off near it by Scipio, who, after a fiege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conquest of Caribage. Strabo, Appian, and the epitomizer of Livy,

f take particular notice of it. THE only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is Hippo, to-Hippo, wards the north-west borders of it, a fort of frontier town on the side of Numidia. From the navigable lake Hipponitis, on which it was built, and which served it as a natural fortification, it was denominated Hippo Diarrbytus, and Hippo Zarytus; tho', from the promontory near it the antients fometimes gave it the denomination of Acra, Hippuacra, and Hippagreta. Scylax calls it simply Hippo, notwithstanding it generally

m PLIN. & PTOL. ubi fup. n SHAW ubi fu fup. p. 158. 9 STRAB. lib. xvii. p. 573. 2 HECATEUS perieget. apud Steph. de urb. v & DAMASCIUS apud Photium in bibliothec. 242.

went

went by the names above-mentioned in the time of Polybius, Diodorus, Pliny, and Ap- 2 pian; and this in order to diffinguish it from Hippo Regius in Numidia. Appian x tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repolitories for naval stores. The modern name is Bizerta, which is a corruption of the Hippo Zarytus of the ancients. It is pleafantly fituated upon a canal y, eight miles to the fouth and by west of cape Blanco, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is at present about a mile in circuit, defended by feveral castles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the sea. The origin of it was Phanician, as has been fully proved by Bochartz, who derives the name Hippo from the Syriac or Phanician Ubbo or Uppo, a gulph, which perfectly well answers to the situation of the place. To which by way of corroboration, it may be observed, that the gulph, on which it was seated. b seems, in contradistinction to the city Hippo or Hippon, to be called Hippos by Plolemy, when he takes notice of the promontory of Hippos, or of the gulph close by it; and if so, this was only the Syriac or Phanician Ubbo (gulph) with a Greek termination superadded. This gulph is formed by the Promontorium Candidum and Promontorium Apollinis of the ancients, the Ras el abeadb and Ras Zibeeb of the present Tuniseens.

As for the inland towns of Zeugitana, Ulizibirra, Mediccara, Tucma, Cerbica, Sasura, Cilma, Vepillium, Vina, Valli, Cigisa, Musti, Membressa, Cilio, and others equally obscure, enumerated by Ptolemy, the itinerary, and Peutinger's table; they were for the most part, if not intirely, modern in comparison of the Carthaginian c times, and never considerable in any other. We shall therefore conclude what we have to say of this province with observing, that there seem to be some traces of Zeugis or Zeugitana in the present name of the city of Zowan or Zagwan, a small flourishing town built upon the north-east extremity of a conspicuous mountain of the same name, in the summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis. This will appear extremely probable from what has been advanced by Solinus, compared with the observations of the learned traveller of often cited. The Zygantes of Herodotus seem likewise to have been placed in the neighbourhood of Zagwan, which is an addi-

tional argument in support of this notion.

Byzacium.

Byzacium, according to Pliny, was inhabited by the Libyphanicians, that is, by d a mixture of Aborigines, or native Africans, and Carthaginians. The same author tells us, it was about two hundred and fifty Roman miles in circumference, and of so great fertility, that the earth made a return of an hundred sold. The limits of this province seem impossible to be precisely defined, because the antients have passed over the interior part of it bordering upon Lybia in a very slight manner, and greatly mistaken the course, magnitude and source of the river Triton; only in general it may be proper to remark, that it is supposed not to have differed much in extent and situation from the present winter circuit of the Tuniseens. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope, that a brief description of some of the principal of them will suffice.

Adrumetum.

Adrumetum, or Hadrumetum, the capital of Byzacium, was a city of great antiquity, and of great note in the antient world. It had a variety of names, being called by Strabo and Stephanus, Adryme or Adrume, as also Adrymetus; by Plutarch and Ptolemy, Adrumetus or Adrumettus; by Appian, Adrymettus; and by Casar, Hirtius, and Pliny, Adrumetum; by Mela, Hadrumetum, or, according to Vossius, Hadrumentum; and lastly, in Peutinger's table, we find it named Hadrito. The city was large and spacious, built upon an hemispherical promontory, like Clypea, at the distance of two leagues to the south-east of the morass, the boundary, as hath been supposed, betwixt the Zeugitana and this province. According to the itinerary, it was eighteen Roman miles from Leptis Minor, though Peutinger's table makes the f distance greater. Adjacent to the city was a cothon, being either a port or little island, in imitation of that of Carthage so called. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the present situation, was something more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins c, feems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the Phanicians, is evident from Sallust 4 and others; as likewise from the name itself, which Bochart, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two Syriac or Phanician words, importing, the land or country returning an hundred fold, i. e. of corn or grain. The extraordinary fertility,

<sup>\*</sup> Appian. in Libyc. 

\* Shaw ubi fup. 

\* Bochart. de col. Phoen. l. i. c. 24. 

\* Shaw ubi fup. 

\* Sha

a not only of the province in general, but of Adrumetum, the metropolis of it in patticular, is confirmed by an infcription in Smetius, which gives a fanction to Bochart's authority, and sufficiently convinces us of the truth of what we find related concerning it by the Latin authors; though at this day f it is but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry sandy nature, and partly incommoded with morasses and spibkabs (C) dispersed over it, especially in the winter season. If the Herkla of the Tuniseens, the Heraclea of the lower empire, be Adrumetum, as we see no reason to doubt, it must have been in N. lat. 35° 50°, though Ptolemy places it in N. lat. 32° 40°.

Ruspina, a town of Byzacium, betwixt Adrumetum and Leptis Minor, where Casar Ruspina.

b incamped in his wars with Scipio 8. The village of Sabaleel, a little above fix leagues from Herkla, and full a mile from the sea, has the fairest pretensions to Ruspina; since we are assured by Hirtius, that the port of Ruspina was not at a much greater

distance from the town.

Leptis Minor, one of Pliny's free cities, eighteen Roman miles from Adrumetum, of Leptis Minor. Phanician extraction. It had the epithet minor commonly annexed to it, in order to distinguish it from Leptis Major, a city of the Regio Syrtica, which was built either by the Sidonians, as Salust seems to intimate; or the Tyrians, according to Pliny. Bochart deduces the name Leptis from the Phanician labt or lapt, denoting a port or station for vessels. Strabo and Stephanus say, that Lepethis, a city of Cyprus, was famous for its commodious station, and the same is said of Leptis Minor by Lucan. The city paid every day a talent to the Carthaginians by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceeding fruitful, which has induced Bochart to derive Emporia (its name in Livy and Polybius) from two Oriental words, importing the fruitful mother. The place is at present called Lempta; but there is nothing left besides a small part of the castle, with a low shelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the Cothon.

Agar, a town taken notice of by Hirtius, a few miles to the westward of Leptis. Agar. The situation of this place is very rocky, and here is a great quantity of stones and ruins. The village, at present taking up the spot of ground on which Agar stood, d is called by the Arabs, Boo-Hadjar, i. e. the sather of a stone; which agrees in signification pretty well with the old name, and answers to the circumstances above-men-

tioned.

Thapfus, a maritime town of this province, seated, according to Dio P, upon a fort Thapfus. of isthmus, betwixt the sea and a lake. Peutinger's table makes it eight miles distant from Leptis to the south. The inhabitants of Thapfus were famous for their sidelity to Scipio, in his wars with Cæsar; but notwithstanding the strength of the place, they were obliged to submit to the latter, after he had deseated the sormer. Demass, the ancient Thapfus, is situated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the E. by S. of To-bulba, within half a league of which is the lake taken notice of by Hirtius. Here is still remaining q, in desiance of time and the sea, a great part of the cothon, built in frames; the composition whereof is made up of small pebbles and morter, which are so well cemented and knit together, that a solid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of Tlemsan very much resemble the remaining part of this cothon.

Acholla or Acilla, another free city, called by Appian r, Cholla. If the fite Ptolemy Acholla. affigns this city be allowed, Elalia, fix miles to the northward of She-ah, the antient Rujpa, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly answers to it.

\* SMETIUS in inscript. vol. & Vet. Inscript. apud Gruter. p. 362.

\* Ibid. p. 190.

\* Hirt. bell. Atric. sec. 9.

\* SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 22. & 80.

\* PLIN. l. v. c. 19.

\* Bochart. ubi sup.

\* Lucan. bell. civ. l. ix. v. 951.

\* Hirt. bell. Afric. sec. 68, 79.

\* Shaw ubi sup. p. 191.

\* Dio, l. xliii. p. 245.

\* Shaw ubi sup.

\* Appian. in Libyc.

(C) The word shibkah signifies in the Arabic language a saltish plat of ground; and denotes a spot generally overflowed in the winter, but dry all the summer (4). There are great numbers of these in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers, which appear like so many extensive lakes, and produce a considerable quantity of salt. In the summer they may be taken for bowling greens prepared for the turs.

Some of them have a hard and folid bottom, without the least mixture of gritty mould, retaining the falt that lieth crystallized upon them after rain; but others are of a more oozy absorbent nature, seldom preserving any saline incrustations upon the surface. The earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and, by a proper solution, would yield, no doubt, a copious portion of salt.

(4) Shaw in phys. and miscel. observ. p. 230.

Turris Hanni-

Turris Hannibalis t, the tower of Hannibal, was a fort, tower or country feat, be- a longing to Hannibal, betwixt Thapfus and Acilla, according to Livy. To this place Hannibal fled from Carthage, for fear of the Romans; and immediately, upon his arrival, imbarking in a vessel that waited for him, passed over to the island Cercina. Either El-Medea, five miles to the south of Demass, or Salecto', five miles to the S. by W. of El-Medea, in all probability, occupies the space on which this fort, tower or county feat, was erected.

Thena.

Thena or Thena, a town on the coast of the lesser Syrtis mentioned by Strabo, known at this time among the Tuniseens by the name Thainee. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren, without either fountain or rivulet to refresh it.

Macodana.

BETWIXT Thenæ and the mouth of the Triton, or the place where it discharges itself into the sea, Ptolemy places his Macodama, with which perhaps Maba-ressu, four leagues to the west of Thainee, corresponds. 'Tis a village samous for nothing, but several cisterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water.

Uzita.

Uzita, a town of some note near Tisdrus and Leptis Minor, mentioned by Hirtius, Ptolemy, and Dio. Bochart w derives the name from zaith or zait, an olive, or place where olives are produced; and, according to Hirtius, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives, fince Cafar exacted yearly from the inhabitants of Leptis a vast quantity of oil by way of mulct or tribute. This gives great weight to Bochart's opinion, and proves the city to be Phanician.

Thala.

Thalax, a city of great extent, taken notice of by Sallust, fituated, like Capsa, in the midst of mountains and deserts, though there were some sountains without the city. All which particulars agree with the fituation of the modern Ferre-anab, in

the fouth-west part of this province.

Capfa.

TWELVE leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is Gafsa, the Capla of the antients, and one of the strong castles of Jugurtha v. It is built upon a rising ground, inclosed, almost in every direction, with mountains; and hath the like melancholy situation with Ferre-anab, only with this difference, that the landskip here is somewhat more gay and verdant by the prospect we have from it of the palm, olive, pistachio, and other fruit-trees. In the eastern languages the word signifies streightly environed, d and fo the place is on every fide by folitudes and deferts; which is a good proof that it was originally Phanician 2. There seem to have been two more cities of this name, the one in Numidia, the other in Libya Interior.

Suffetula, Turzo, Sarsura, Tisdra or Tisdrus, Caraga, Orbita, and other obscure towns of Byzacium, of which we know nothing but the bare names, either intirely depend upon the faith of Ptolemy, were always inconsiderable in themselves, or built below the classic period of time; and therefore, as they cannot have the least tendency to illustrate any part of the Carthaginian history, or supply us with the least hint or circumstance relative thereto, we shall pass them over in silence, and conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a concife description of the most e celebrated lakes, rivers, and other principal curiofities of it, and a brief enumeration

of the African nations, who in the remotest times possessed it.

Lakes.

THE chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the antients (belides the lake Hipponitis above-mentioned, and the Palus Sisara joined to it, of no great repute) were the Palus Tritonis or Tritonitis, the Palus Pallas, and the Palus Libya; all which, according to Ptolemy, had a communication with one another, by means of the river Triton, which ran thro' them into the sea. But herein that geographer was greatly deceived. The fource of the Triton is nearer the sea than these lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the same lake, whose modern name is, the Shibkab El Lowdeab a, or lake of marks, so called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, that are f placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their marches over it. This lake extends itself near twenty leagues from east to west, and is interspersed with several dry spots, which appear like islands in it. To the eastward especially, in the same meridian with Telemeen, there is one, which, though uninhabited, is very large, and well stocked with date trees. This feems to be the Chersonesus of Diodorus b, and the Pbla of Herodotuse; and the date trees in it, according to a tradition of the Arabs,

F Liv. l. xxxiii. Just. l. xxxi. Shaw udi SHAW ubi fup. p. 192.

SALLUST. in Jugurth. t Strab. l. xvii. p. 572, 574. ugurth. T Idem ibid. Shaw ubi sup. p. 195. W Bochart, upi sup.

Vid. Bochart, ubi sup. & Cellar, in Geog. ant. p. 875, 913.

Herodot, l. iv. a Shaw ubi sup. p.211, 212.

a sprung originally from the stones of those dates which the Egyptians brought with them for provisions, many ages since s, when they invaded this part of Africa, and halted here. The Punic name perhaps was Tarit s, Terit, or Trit, i. e. pasturage, or pasture-ground; for, if we may believe Scylax and Herodotus, it served as a boundary to the Libyan Nomades, who abounded with slocks and herds, and whose country must of consequence have been of such a nature as the word tarit imports the ground bordering upon the lake and river Triton to have been. Scylax makes the lake to have been in his time about a thousand stadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the best modern description we find given of it. Festus i tells us, that the goddes Minerva sirst appeared in the neighbourhood of this place.

THE most famous river of Africa Propria was the Bagradak, Bagadras, or Bragada, Rivers. for it went by all those names. On the banks of which, Regulus, in the first Punic war, by the help of his battering engines, killed a ferpent of a monstrous fize, being a hundred and twenty foot in length, whose skin and jaw-bones were preserved at Rome till the Numantine war. Ptolemy m derives this river from mount Mampsarus, The Bagrada. where he fixes its fource, making it bend its course almost directly from north to fouth; and herein he is followed by the late geographers: but this is a mistake a, its stream flowing in a direction almost from west to east. At this day it is called the Me-jerdab°, whose first and most distant branches are the small rivers Hameese and Myski-anab, in the district of the Hen-neisha; which, with the concurrent streams c of the Wed el Boule, Scilliana, and some other rivulets of the Frig-eah, render it as large as the Isis and Cherwell united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes so well saturated with soil, that it is of the same complexion with the Nile, and appears to have no less the property of making encroachments upon the fea. Utica stood upon the western bank of the Bagrada, and Carthage on the other fide, but at some distance from it. Bochart will have the Phanicians to have pronounced the name Bragda P or Bractha, i. e. a pord, and produces feveral authorities, which give a great air of probability to his opinion.

The Catada of Ptolemy, now the Miliana, is famous for nothing but having Tunis The Catada feated upon the mouth of it; nor the Triton, now the Gabbs, but on account of the d lake of the fame name already described. However, it may not be improper to observe, that it has its source only about three or sour leagues to the S. S. W. of Gabbs, and becomes at once a considerable stream, near as big as the Cherwell.

Among the principal curiosities of this country are to be ranked the Hammam Curiosities. Leef (D), a noted hot bath, very much resorted to by the citizens of Tunis; the hot bath, with some ruins, at the creek of Gurbos, the Aquæ Calidæ of Livy; the salt lake near To-bulba, the Stagnum Salinarum of Hirtius; the Jibbel Had-deffa, an intire mountain of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the lake of marks, whose salt is as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour; the lead-oars at Jibbel Ris-Jass, near Hammam Leef, which are very rich. To which many others might be added, did we not chuse to reserve them for a more proper place (E).

f Shaw ubi sup.

f Shaw ubi sup.

f Festus Pompeius, & Diodor. Sic. l. iii. p. 142.

bell. civil. p. 748. Silius Italicus, Lucan. &c.

Liv. epit. xviii. Val. Max. 1, 8, 19.

m Ptol. Geog. l. iv.

f Gellius, l. vi. c. 3.

g Cellius, l. vii. c. 3.

g Cellius, l. vii. c. 14.

g Cellius, l. vii. c. 3.

g Cellius, l. vii. c. 14.

g Cellius, l. vii. c. 3.

g Cellius, l.

(D) These hammams, or baths, are so called from the Hebrew or Chaldee verb DDD hammam, incaluis, their waters being hot, though not all in the same degree; perhaps the word hummums, which we have adopted into our language, of the same import, is to be deduced from the same original.

import, is to be deduced from the tame original.

(E) We shall beg leave in this note just to mention the principal islands on the coast of Africa Propria, taken notice of by the antients, which are the following:

1. Coffyra or Coffyrus, a small island in the African sea, which some authors refer to Sicily; but Strabo makes it part of the proper territory of Carthage. According to Ptolemy, it had a city of the same name, which, by reason of its vicinity to Carthage,

was doubtless a place of some repute. Scylax tells us it was a day's fail only from the promontory Lilybaum in Sicily; and Strabo places it in the middle of the African sea, at an equal distance from Lilybaum and Clypea, a city of Africa Propria. From some antique coins, exhibited by Paruta and Lucas Holstenius, it appears, that Cossyra was the name of frequently used. According to Strabo, this island was an hundred and firty studia in circumserence (5).

2. The Tarichia of Strabo were certain minute islands very near the coast of Africa Propria, almost opposite to Leptis Minor. They are at present called the fouries, and lie over-against Lempta and Tobulba. Cafar seems to have looked upon them as posts of

(5) Peol. l. iv. c. 3. Scyl. Caryand, Strab. l. vi. Parut, apud Thesaur, ant, & hist. Sic. vol. viii. Luc. Helsten. in not, ad Steph. Byzant.

fome

Antient inhabit ants.

THE most antient inhabitants of this country were, according to Herodotus w, the a Auses, situated to the west of the river Triton, whose capital city was doubtless Auza or Auzate, said by Menander Ephesius to be built by Eth-baal or Ithobal, king of Tyre; the Maxyes, a Libyan nation; the Machlyes, another Libyan nation, near the lake Tritonis; the Zaueces; and the Zygantes, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. These were, in all likelihood, a mixture of old Libyans or Africans, and Phanicians, a more distinct account of whom may be expected from us when we come to treat of the different nations of Libya.

As for the climate, modern state, and natural history of Africa Propria, both with regard to its animal, vegetable, and subterraneous productions, we shall defer what we have to fay on each of these heads, till, according to the method already pro- b posed to ourselves, we come to write the history of the states of Algiers, Tunis, and

Tripoli.

w HERODOT. l. iv.

fome importance, which is all that we have at prefent to fay of them (6).

3. Lopadusa, opposite to Thapsus above-mentioned, and six miles long, if we will believe Pliny. The same author affirms it to have been fifty miles distant from Cercina and Cercinitis, two small islands belonging to the Regio Syrtica (7).

4. Æthusa or Ægusa, another little island mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, lying a little to the

westward of the former (8).

5. The Larunesia, two small islands, according to the Palatine MS. of Ptolemy, that lay above Rus-

țina (9).

6. The Insula Dracontia of Ptolemy, to the north of Hippo Diarrhytus. Two little flat contiguous islands called the Cani, not far from cape Blanco, seem at this day to bid fair for the fame fituation that Pto-

lemy affigns his Insula Dracontia (10).
7. Galata, a little island above Tabraca, three hundred stadia from the continent of Africa (11).

8. Ægimurus, a small island in the gulph of Carthage, about thirty miles from that capital. Pliny assures us, that there were two rocks near this island called the Ara Ægimuri or Ægimori, which, according to Servius, were the remains of an island, fome ages before his time absorpt by the sea. This author likewise informs us, that they were called Ara, because on them the Romans and Carthaginians concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their respective dominions. The modern Zowa-moor, between cape Zibeeb and cape Bon or Rafaddar, the Zimbra of our fea charts, is undoubtedly the Agimurus of the antients (12).

(6) Strab. l. xvii. Hirt. de bel. Afric. §. 20. (7) Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. v. c. 7. (8) Plin. (9) Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. (10) Ptol. ubi sup. (11) Cellar. (12) Strab. l. xxii. p. 573. Liv. l. xxx. c. 24. Plin. l. v. c. 7. Virg. 1. iii. c. 8. Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. ex itinerario maritimo, sibi fup. An i. ver. 108. Serv. in loc. Steph. Byzant. &c.

## SECT. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians.

nians originally Phœnicians.

HE Carthaginians being originally Phanicians 2, were the descendants of the cold Canaanites b, and therefore could trace up their actions. Canaanites or the fon of Ham, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the Greek and Roman' writers, that make any mention of their affairs, are clear in this point, without the least variation. And that they themselves were of the same opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongst their posterity so late as St. Austin's days; from the authority of Servius and Procepius e; and from the strong fattachment they always shewed to the customs and manners of that nation, from which these authors deduce them. One of the Punic names of Carthage, according to Plautus 8, was Chaedreanech, or Chadre-Anak, which Bocharth with great reason imagines to allude to their Canaanitish extraction; for Anak and his family, upon account of their ex-d traordinary fize of body, and distinguished valour, being esteemed both by sacred and profane writers as the most famous of the Canaanites or Phanicians, from him the whole nation, or at least that part of it bordering upon the sea coast near the

<sup>\*</sup> Univ. hist. vol. I. p. 415, 416. & vol. VI. p. 658.

\* Philistus Syracusanus apud Eusebium in chron. ad an. 804. Appian in Libyc. sub init. Vell. Paterc. hist. Rom. Justin. l. xviii. &c.

\* August. in exposit. epist. ad Rom. sub in.t.

\* Servius in Æn. i. v. 37. & Æn. iv. v. 75. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. Diodor. Sic. Q. Cort. Justin. Tertul. Minut. Fel. &c. passim. f HERODOT. POLYB. LIV. E PLAUT. in Poen. BOCH. Chan. l.i. c. 1.

a place of his residence, might probably receive a new denomination (A). This is to be understood of the most early Phanician colonies settled in Africa, and many of their descendants; for it is to be naturally supposed, that some of these mixed with the Aborigines, or native Africans, whom they found there upon their arrival, and with them, or at least a considerable body of them, formed one people. And for this reason it is, that the inhabitants of Byzacium, especially of the maritime parts of it, were sometimes called, by the Greeks and Romans, Libyphanicians, as consisting of both nations (B). But a fuller account of the name, as well as a more particular description of the people with whom the Phanicians were incorporated, will be found in a proper place.

Dr. Hyde, in his notes upon Peritfol, is of another opinion; but, in order to fupport it, he has recourse to hypotheses only, and those such as have but a stender foundation. On the contrary, Bochart k proves what he advances by unquestionable authorities, the only solid arguments in points of this nature, of which he produces

such a train, as will not easily be overborn.

Some authors have imagined, that the Libyphanicians, or, as Strabo and most of Libyphanicians, the other Greek writers call them, the Libophanicians, were a nation distinct both from cians. the Africans or Libyans, and Carthaginians, and inhabited a different tract. It is certain the true or Asiatic Phanicians and Syrians, bordering upon their respective frontiers, were called Syrophanicians, upon account of their intermixing one with another, and by way of contradistinction from the people inhabiting the opposite

Hype in Perits. p. 44.

k Bochart. ubi fupra.

1 Vide BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(A) To what has been already observed (1) of the Anakims, may be added, that profane authors themselves, as well as scripture, seem to have had fome knowledge of them. Pau/anias (2) tells us, that in the island Afteria near Miletus, the body of the hero Asterius, from whom the island received its name, was buried; that he was the fon of Anax, or Anak, who was the fon of the Earth; that his body was ten cubits long; and that the whole territory of the Milesians was antiently called Anadoria, from his father Anax, or Anak. Euflathius (3) and the epitomizer of Stephanus agree with Pausanias, in relation to the antient name of Miletus, with its district; and add, that this Anax was the son of Heaven and Earth. We are affured by scripture (4), that the Anakims, when driven out of their own country by foshua, fled to Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod, and there settled themselves. And it is likewise probable (5) from the Phanician history, that Gath, the metropolis of these Anakims, was subject to the kings or judges of Tyre, as early as the days of Pygmalion; fince it had revolted from the Tyrians fome time before the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah. From whence we may conclude, that some of this family might even attend Dido into Africa, though it is at the same time very likely, that many of them, after their chiefs had been cut off by David (6), might likewise retire to their countrymen, who had fixed their abode in Africa ever since the days of foshua (7). We must not omit, that the Dioscuri (8., who were Phanician gods, i. e. deified Phanicians of great distinction, were called Anakes, or Anakims, by the Greeks, on account, no doubt, of their superior stature and majesty. The word anax or anak (9) was a term of great honour amongst the most antient Greeks, being applied only to their kings and heroes. It has been imagined by some, that this is a common name, answering to the Latin Torquatus (10), and that the great men in the east were in the earliest times so called, on account of the rich collar or chain that they usually wore about their necks. Benjamin of Tudela (11) afferts, that he saw a human rib hanging up in a palace at Damascus, which was nine Spanish palms long, and two broad; and that, from an inscription upon the tomb-stone, it appeared, that one of the Anakims was buried there, whose name was Abchamaz, and who was said to have reigned over the whole world, i. e. over a good part of the east, or all the countries in that neighbourhood. But whether this inscription ought to be looked upon as genuine, or of a late date in comparison of the age of the Anakims, and sounded only upon some Oriental tradition, is what we shall not take upon us to determine.

(B) The Byzacium of Pliny (12) feems to be the Byzacis of Polybius, if we will give credit to Salma-fius's emendation of a passing in Stephanus, where he quotes the twelfth book of that historian. A strong presumption in savour of this is, that both Pliny and Polybius's provinces have the same extent, the same situation, and their names are pretty much alike (13). Byzacium, according to the Greek and Roman authors, consisted of two parts, the maritime or exterior, and the mediterranean or interior (14), both which were inhabited by the Libyphanicians. Bochart derives the name from the oriental word biza (15), a teat, and thinks it was so denominated from its surprising fertility, of which that was a symbol amongst most nations. So Virgil,

Terra antiqua potens armis, atq; ubere gleba. Æn. 1.

Et fertilis ubere campus. Grorg.l. ii.

----- stap apápis.

Il. 1.

Which, according to the scholiast, signifies a most fertile and beautiful part of the country. The Mamma of Procopius (16) in this province, a word of the same import with Biza, greatly strengthens this derivation.

(1) Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 133, 134—157. (2) Pausan in Attic. & Achaiac. (3) Eustath. in Hom. iliad. A, p. 16. & Steph. epit. sub voc. Miantos. (4) fos. xi. 22. (5) Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 416. (6) 2 Sam. xxi. 16—22. 1 Chron. xx. 4—8. (7) Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 333. (8) Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. (9) Hom. iliad. A, & alibi passim. (10) Bochart. ubi supra. & Val. Schind. pentaglot. sub voc. Dy (11) Benj. Tudel. itiner. p. 56. (12) Vide Salmas. in Steph. sub voc. Ridaxis. (13) Conf. Steph. ubi supra. Plin. l. v. c. 4. & Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 1. (14) Cellar. geog. ant. l. iv. e. 4. Bochart. ubi supra. (15) Bochart. ubi supra. (16) Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii.

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BOOK III.

parts of those two regions, who were known by their proper names, Syrians and Pha- a nicians. In conformity to our notion of the people we are here discoursing of, Livy " styles them mistum Punicum Afris genus; and Diodorus a speaks of them to the same

The form of government at Carthage.

The suffetes.

THE first government settled at Carthage o was probably monarchical; but this feems to have been but of short continuance, as expiring with Dido herself, or rather in her life-time, when it was changed into a republic. As to the particular form of this republic, authors differ. Aristotle tells us, that it was partly aristocratical P, and partly (as he terms it) political, i. e. democratical (C). According to Polybius 9, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, all centred in it. And lastly, Isocrates r makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. b In the forming of it, the Carthaginians undoubtedly borrowed many things from their ancestors the Tyrians, who, for several ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high efteem on account of their wisdom, riches and power. Aristotle s intimates, that the Cretan, Lacedamonian and Carthaginian republics were the most perfect and best modelled of any in the world; and that these in many particulars agreed; tho', in several respects, he gives the preference to the Carthaginian. The consummate wisdom of those maxims and institutions, upon which this last was formed, appeared to him from hence, that notwithstanding the great sway the people bore in Carthage, there had been no instance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of diffurbing the public tranquillity, nor of any c tyrant, who had been able, at the expence of liberty, to introduce oppression. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the constitution of Carthage was composed, were of such a nature, as to counterpoise one another, and, by their mutual harmony, to preserve and promote the public selicity (D). These were the fuffetes, the fenate, and the people, who, whilst they kept within their proper bounds, were a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic of all others the most sourishing; but when, as Polybius observes, by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the ascendant over the senate, prudence was banished their counsels, nothing but cabals and sactions took place; and in consequence of this, such precipitate steps were taken, as first rendered this for- d midable state weak and contemptible, and soon after completed its destruction.

In order to give our readers some idea of the Carthaginian government, though the antients afford us little light on this head, we shall give a brief account of the three

principal powers above-mentioned.

THE fuffetes " were two in number, of equal power and dignity, and the chief magistrates of Carthage w. They answered to the two kings of Lacedamon, as well as to the Roman confuls; for which reason we find them styled in different authors both kings and confuls . However, these did not in all things correspond; for the Spartan

DIODOR. Sic. l. xx. O UBBO EMMIUS de stat. & rep. Carthag. sub init. Christ. HENDREICH. in Carthag. l. ii. sect. t. c. 15. p. 307. Just. l. i. alique mult. P Arist. de re Ubbo Emm. ubi supra. Polyb. l. vi. Isocrat. in Nicocl. Aristot. ubi supra. P Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. UBBO EMM. ubi supra. Polyb. l. vi. Isocrat. in Nicocl. Aristot. ubi supra. bibid. Corn. Nep. in Annib. Arist. ubi supra, & l. vi. c. 49.

Ralibi passim. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. &c. WARIST. ubi supra. Liv. l. xxx. Corn. Nep. ubi supra. Just. l. xxxi. Calid. apud Festum, &c. Hendreich. & Ubbo Emm. abi supra.

(C) Horreia (polity or policy) taken in a geneform of government, where the laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined fense it was, among the antient Greeks before Aristotle's time, frequently synonymous to Inuasparia (18), (demonstruction of the state of cracy) as may be proved from Æschines, and others. But when Aristosie comes to distinguish more subtilly (19), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of government, each of which was a com-position of oligarchy and democracy. That which participated most of oligarchy, was called aristocracy; but that which inclined most to democracy, went by the name of policy or policy. Both of these, in some respects (20), prevailed in the state

of Carthage, as we shall see hereaster, when we come to confider the defects of it; for which reason Aristotle tells us, it was composed of both. In short, polity or policy regarded men as rich and poor(21), aristocracy as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which considerations had their influence in the Carthaginian commonwealth.

(D) The legislator of the Carthaginians was undoubtedly a person of great political wisdom; yet Aristotle himself finds some desects in his institutions (22), and, notwithflanding the beautiful draught he has exhibited of this republic, intimates, that the uninterrupted tranquillity it enjoyed, was, in some measure, owing to chance (13).

(17) Ariflot. de rep. l. iv. (20) Ariflot. ibid. l. ii. c. 11. (18) Idem ibid. c. 3. (19) Idem ibid. c. 7, 8, &c. Æschin. in Ctesiph. (21) Idom, l. iv. c. 8. (22) Idem, l. ii. c. 11. (23) Idem ibid. sub fin.

kings

a kings were perpetual, had an hereditary right of succession y, and the state was supplied with them from two families only 2; whereas the Carthaginian suffects were annually elected out of all the noblest families, and were always such persons as most attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth, which enabled them to support their high station with a becoming grandeur and dignity; for which reason Aristotle prefers the supreme magistrates of Carthage to those of Lacedamon (E). As for the Roman confuls, they had not only a chief hand in the administration of civil, but likewise in the conducting of military affairs; whereas it is very probable, that the suffetes were, generally speaking, confined to the former (F). Their province was to affemble the senate, in which they presided a, to propose subb jects for deliberation there, to tell the voices, and to prefide likewife in all emergent and decilive debates. It does not appear by whose suffrages the suffetes were elected, but most likely b either by those of the centumvirate, or the people. According to fome authors, they had the power of life and death, and of punishing all crimes whatsoever. Their concurrence in dall points with the senate was necessary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that most, if not all the cities of note in the Carthaginian dominions , had their suffetes or chief magistrates, as well as the metropolis.

THE senate was a most august assembly, composed of persons venerable for their The senate.

age and experience, as well as illustrious ton account of their birth, their riches, and, c above all, their merit. They arrived at this honour by election, as we are informed by Aristotle 8, when he makes a comparison betwixt the Spartan and Carthaginian senates; but who were their electors, is not known. Their number likewise we are ignorant of, the' from Justin we may infer, that it greatly exceeded that of either the Spartan or Roman senators; for, according to this author, an hundred were selected from it, and appointed as judges to inquire into the conduct of their generals; and if this number was thought requilite to inspect into this single article, how many must have been deemed necessary to superintend, and, in concert with the suffetes, manage every branch of the administration? Besides, it is natural to suppose, that there was a great affinity betwirt the customs and manners of the Sicilians and those of the Card thaginians, fince these last may be justly looked upon as some of the antient inhabitants of Sicily i. Now, in the time of Agathocles, the senate of Syracuse consisted of fix hundred of the k principal citizens; no wonder then if that of Carthage was equal, if not much more numerous. In this grand 1 council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, to trade and navigation; in short, to all affairs of consequence, whether foreign or domestic, were debated, and for the most part determined m; so that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and spirit were from thence diffused over all the public deliberations. When the votes n of the senate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and from hence there lay no appeal; but when there was either a division or a disae greement with the suffeces, the affair in o question was referred to the people, who, in such a case, had the liberty of offering their sentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legislature; and not only so, but what was thus offered,

<sup>2</sup> CORN. NEP. ubi supra. Liv. l. xxx. Zonar. tom. ii. Arist. ubi 7 Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. OLYB. L. iii. BUBBO EMM. & FIENDR. L. XV. LIV.

d UBBO EMM. & ARIST. ubi fupra. Polyb. L. XV. LIV.

f UBBO EMM. HENDR. & \* Liv. ubi supra, & l. xxxiv. Polyb. l. iii. l. xxxiii. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SELDEN. de diis Syris in prolegom. c. 2. & Boch. Chan. ubi fupra. 

\* Ubbo Emm. Hendr. & bi fupra. 

\* Arist. ubi fupra. 

\* Justin. l. xix. 

\* Univers. bift. vol. iii. p. 12. 

\* B1. 

\* Ubbo Emm. ubi fupra. 

\* Polyb. l. iii. c. 15. 

\* Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. 

\* Hendr. 

\* Hendr Arist. ubi fupra.

k Ibid. p. 81. т Uвво Емм. ubi fuprа. Liv. & Polys. paff. ubi fupra, p. 323. PolyB. l. xv.

(E) He prefers the suffetes to the Lacedamonian kings, not because the Carthaginians had some regard to wealth in their election of them (for this he abfolutely condemns, as will be elsewhere observed); but because they chose them out of all the best families in Carthage, and esteemed great abilities in them as an essential qualification; which was contrary to the practice of the Lacedamonians (24).

(F) This appears not only from Livy, Polybins, and other antient authors, but likewise from the judi-

cious observations of Ubbo Emmins (25). However, it must be allowed, that we have several instances of the suffeces commanding Carthaginian armies. Hamsibal, who commanded the auxiliaries sent to the relief of the Ægestans, or Segestans; Himileo, who was general in the second expedition against Dionysius; and Mago, under whose conduct many thousand men were transported to Sicily and Isaly, fet this point beyond dispute (26).

lom ibid, sub mis. (25) Ubbo Emm. de stat. & repub. Carthag. apud Gronov. ans. Grac. vol. iv. (26) Diod. Sic. l. xiii. xiv. xv. &c. Hendr. mbi supra, p. 315. (24) Idem ibid, sub inis.

passed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the dernier a resort of power. However, as Aristotle P observes, this was a slaw in the constitution, and was at last attended with satal effects; for during the second and third Punic wars, the populace at Carthage prevailed over the senate, whilst the senatorial authority at Rome was in its sull bloom and vigour; and this, if we may give credit to Polybius q, was the principal cause of the rise of the one, and sall of the other. We must not romit, that none but persons of the most distinguished merit were ever elected senators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual (G).

Power of the people at Carthage.

WHAT sway the people had in Carthage, whilst the different parts of which the constitution was framed were duly proportioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural share of power, does not appear from any antient author, though b it can scarce be doubted, but so accurate a writer as Polybius must have taken notice of it somewhere in his writings. It is slikely they had a vote at the election of magistrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly those in which they were more immediately concerned; and, in short, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In Aristotle's days, the commonwealth seems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too strong a tendency to popular government, which was censured as a defect in it by that philosopher. However, the fenate still kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrolable; but in Hannibal's time u, about an hundred years after, there was reason to apprehend a total subversion of the constitution; the senate had little regard or attention paid to it; the c people arrogated to themselves almost the whole power, and of course every thing which might have promoted the public welfare, was obstructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the most famous and potent state of Carthage began to decline, and, in the course of a few years, lost not only its liberty, but its very being.

Establishments, civil officers, &c. at Carthage.

HAVING thus laid down a general sketch or plan of the Carthaginian government, we shall mention some of their principal establishments, civil officers, &c. as taken notice of by the antients, who, it must be owned, have been extremely deficient in all their memoirs relating to this republic; for which reason the loss of those excellent pieces of Polybius, that, through the injuries of time, have not reached us, is the demore to be regretted.

The centumvirate and quinquevirate,

The centumvirate, or tribunal of the hundred, consisted of an hundred and sour persons, not simply of an hundred, as the name seems to imply, receiving its denomination from the greater number w. According to Aristotle, who is the only author that has given us any description of it x, the power it enjoyed was very extensive, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature y. Out of this tribunal were selected five judges, whose jurisdiction was superior to that of the rest, to whom we may, with propriety enough, give the name of quinquevirs, or the quinquevirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewise of chusing those persons who composed the tribunal of the hundred z; were, under the suffectes, e at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great measure, the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. Aristotle z informs us, that the Carthaginian centumvirate answered in several respects to the ephori at Sparta; but,

P Arist. ubi fupra. 9 Polyb. l. vi. г Arist. ubi fupra. Ub. Emm. Hendr. Polyb. Liv. Just. &c. pafi. в Ub. Емм. & Hendr. ubi fupra. г Arist. ubi fupra. п Polyb. l. vi. w Justin. l. xix. Arist. ubi fupra. х Idem ibid. з Idem ibid. з Idem ibid.

(G) According to Livy (27), there was a council formed of such ienators, as were the most venerable and eminent for their wisdom, who were called feniores, seniorum principes, or simply, as Justin (28) intimates, principes. This council was in the highest repute at Carthage, on account of the vast influence it had over the senate (29). Recourse was therefore had to it in all cases of an extraordinary nature. It is not improbable, that this council was Aristotle's centumvirate, as being invested with great authority, and consisting of a pretty large number of members. Livy tells us (30), that thirty of these were deputed

to wait upon Scipio, and fue to him in the most submissive terms for a peace with Rome. Polybius likewise makes a distinct on between these and the other senators; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage by Scipio, there were two [ex this yegarias] belonging to the assembly of old men, and fisteen [ex this oulsahits] of the senate (31). In other authors, the senate, or at least this most venerable part of it, went by appellations equivalent to the optimates and patres conscripts of the Romans (32).

(27) Liv. l. xxx. (28) Just. l. xi. c. 31. (29) Liv. ubi supra. (30) Idem ibid. Vide & Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 3. edit. Amst. 1677. (31) Polyb. l. x. (32) Appian. in Libyc. Died. Sic. l. xx.

a with submission to this philosopher, we think the quinquevirate should be substituted in its room, as having a better title to the comparison: for b with regard to the ephori, first, they were the most despotic magistrates in Sparta, their authority being, in a manner, boundless, and the lives, fortunes, &c. of all the Lacedamonians almost intirely depending upon their will and pleasure; which may be e said of the quinquevirate in Carthage, with more reason than of the centumvirate. Secondly, the centumvirate was perpetual 4; but whether the quinquevirate was so or not, is uncertain-Now, the ephori were elected annually . Thirdly, the ephori were five in number f, and so were the quinquevirs. Fourthly, an universal administration of justice, with regard to individuals, was the province of the quinquevirate at Carthage 8, as it was b of the ephori at Lacedamon; whereas the inflitution of the centumvirate was intended only at first as a curb to the authority of their generals h, by calling them to an account for their conduct on their return from the campaign, tho' afterwards it extended to many branches of civil affairs. From which considerations it is probable, that the council of five in Carthage, rather than the tribunal of the hundred, resembled the Lacedamonian ephori. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate, gave the Carthaginian state i the appearance of an oligarchy, tho, as the members of this council discharged the duties of their function without any salary or reward, and were elected freely by suffrages, not by lot (H), it had likewise the resemblance of an aristocracy k. Ubbo Emmius 1 thinks, that the suffetes presided in this council, and e the centumvirate, as well as in the senate, being the chief magistrates concerned in the administration of justice. If so, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of Hannibal ", by whose influence a law passed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. This last observation will point out to us the reason why the supreme magistrates at Carthage were called suffetes, and enable us to trace up that institution to its first source (I).

THE

b Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 574. CARIST. ubi supra. Vide etiam Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi supra. Arist. ubi supra. Liv. l. xxxiii. Vide etiam Rollin. in hist. anc. des Carthag. sect. 3. Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 574. Univers. hist. & Arist. ubi supra. Univers. hist. Ub. Emm. & Aristot. ubi supra. Us. Emm. & Hendr. ubi supra. Arist. ubi supra. Idem ibid. Ub. Emm. ubi supra. Idem ibid.

(H) The Carthaginian republic, in this respect, followed the Lacedamonian, in which the senate, ephori, &c. were elected by suffrages or votes (33). On the contrary, at Athens the senate, prytanes, &c. were all chosen by lot. This last method of electing was peculiar to the democratical form of government, as the former was to the aristocratical. The manner in which the Athenians chose their magistrates and rulers by lot, has been already described in the former part of this history (34); and the Lacedamonian election of civil officers has been fully handled by Cragius. It may not be improper here to repeat, that Solon was the Athenian legislator, and Lycurgus the Lacedamonian.

(1) Scaliger, in his notes upon Festus, derives this word from the verb TDY tzaphah, he looked from on high, or, he overlooked others, and so makes it agree in fignification with the Greek equest, existing, existing, &c. (35). But this, notwithstanding it has some appearance of truth, is not so easy and grammatical as Bochart's etymon. That learned man, after the great Selden, will have suffectes to be the same word with DIDIW sophetim, or so setting, judges, magistrates, &c. which notion is absolutely confirmed, not only by what we have advanced, but likewise by Paulus, Calidius, and Festus (36). If this be allowed, it cannot well be denied, that the Carthaginian suffectes resembled very much the old judges of the Israelises, who governed that nation from the death of Joshus to the election of Saul,

the first king of Israel. We say, this cannot well be denied; for these old judges were called in Historew sophesium, or sofesium, for which reason the Historews always styled the book of judges sophesium; and this very government stourished in the neighbourhood of Tyre, the mother of Carthage. We may therefore reasonably presume, that the Carthage may therefore reasonably presume, that the Carthage inimals borrowed their suffectes either from Tyre, or immediately from the Israelites themselves, by whom some of their ancestors the Canaanises were at first expelled their country in the time of Joshus, and others in the time of David, after they had, for a considerable period, been contiguous to them. If the Carthaginians derived this institution from the Tyrians, these last probably received it from the Israelites their neighbours. However this may be, it is certain such magistrates as these were in Tyre after the destruction of the old city by Nebuchadnezzar; for Josephus, in his treatise against Apien, has given us a series of them (37). It ought to be observed, that but one person was invested with the supreme authority amongst the Hebrews during the government of the sophetim, which was likewise the custom at Tyre; and therefore it is natural to suppose, that it was so originally at Carthage also (38). The Romans had very inadequate ideas of the Carthaginian government in general, and of their magistrates in particular; and therefore we cannot absolutely depend upon their accounts of them. Yet even from some of these it seems not

(33) Aristot de repub. & Nic. Cragius de rep. Lacedam. l. ii. c. 1. (34) Univers. bist. vol. ii. p. 440. Car. Sigon. de rep. Athen. l. ii. c. 3. & Nic. Crag. ubi supra. (35) Scalig. in Fest. sub. voc. susces. (36) Seld. de diis Syris, in prolegem. c. 2. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Paulus & Calid. apud Fest. sub voc. susces. (37) Joseph. cons. Apion. l. i. (38) Jud. ii. 18, 19. & iii, iv, vii, &c. Joseph. ubi supra.

Civil officers at Carthage.

THE principal, if not only, civil officers established at Carthage (besides the a suffectes) that have been remembered by the antients, were the prætor, the quæstor, and the censor.

The prator.

THE great Hannibal, who, by reason of his glorious atchievements, as well as noble extraction, was the most illustrious of the Carthaginians, had the prætorship a conferred upon him in the fifth year after the conclusion of the second Punic war; from whence it is evident, that this must have been one of the first imployments in The person invested with this high dignity had a vast influence, not only the state. in passing, but likewise in repealing of laws, as may be inferred from Hannibal's impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point against them, during his continuance o in this office. He moreover p received the tribute paid by the dif- b ferent nations under the Carthaginian power; collected the yearly taxes and subsidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public reve-It is remarkable, that a transition 9 from the office of sufferes (after it became annual) to the prætorship, was not uncommon in Carthage; of which Hannibal and Mago, not to mention other instances that might be produced, supply us with abundant proof. Whether there were more prætors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of business, besides those above-mentioned, pertained to the office, are points that, for want of sufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

The quaffor.

The quæstor was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, tho' subordinate to them, had a very considerable degree of power. He' likewise collected c and managed the public money, under the prætor; which induced Livy to give him the name of quæstor. This officer, in his double capacity, seems to have answered to the old Roman quæstors, who were introduced under the regal government, as well as those who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was sometimes at least, if not of course, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from Livy and Polybius; but as to any thing further, either concerning him or his function, we are intirely in the dark

The censor.

We find another civil officer established at Carthage, whose business it was to inspect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is styled by Cornelius d Nepos w, the præsect of manners, or the censor. Hamilcar x, the father of Hannibal, tho' the first man in the republic, could not escape this inspection; for the censor took from him a beautiful youth, named Asarbal, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty; from whence we may conclude,

n Idem ibid. & UB. Emm. ubi sup. Liv. ubi sup. P Idem ibid. UB. Emm. & Hendr. ubi sup. Hendr. ubi sup. Idem ibid. UB. Emm. & Hendr. ubi sup. Hendr. ubi sup. Idem ibid. Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi sup. Idem ibid. Ubivers. hist. vol. iv.p. 473. in not. W. Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamile. Idem ibid.

improbable, that one of the suffetes, even towards the decline of Carthage, had a greater share of power than the other; which is a fort of proof, that at first the power of the suffetes was lodged in a single hand. Fustin calls Hanno the prince, or principal person, of Carthage. Cornelius Nepos gives Hannibal the name of prætor; Livy and Gellius of dictator. 'Tis plain Hannibal was by far the greatest man in the city, because he over-ruled all the other magistrates, when he limited the power of the whole bench of judges. Festus says the sufes (or, according to the Carthaginian pronunciation, sufet, as appears from the genitive case sufetis) was the supreme magistrate of Carthage. And lastly, from some inscriptions in Gruter, it is clear, that several cities in the suprementations in Gruter, it is clear, that several cities in the suprementations in Gruter, it is clear, that several cities in the suprementations in Gruter, it is clear, that several cities in the suprementation of the suprem Africa had each of them a sufes (39). The old Archontic government, that took place at Athens after the death of Codrus, seems likewise to have been of this form. We find fome little variation in the Carthaginian word suffetes from the Hebrew sophetim, which is owing partly to the Latin termination, and partly to the affinity betwixt the Punic language and

the Syriac. That ES is a Latin plural termination, needs no proof; and that the Punic language was near akin to the Syriac, though it borrowed most of its words from the Hebrew, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but likewise from the authority of St. Ferom, St. Augustin (40), and Prifcian. What therefore the Hebrews wrote fophetim, the Carthaginians, in all probability, wrote suphetin, or emphatically suphete (NDDIW) & or E being the emphatical masculine plural termination in Syriac, as P or IN was the absolute one. The Hebrew vau cholem, or O, answered to the Syriac and Punic V (41); and though the MSS of Livy and Nepos have Suffeses with a double F, yet, from the authority of Festus, Calidius, and the above-mentioned inscriptions, they ought to be corrected, the true reading being undoubtedly sufetes with a single F. We have been a little more prolix than usual in this note, because we take the subject of it to be of a very curious nature, and fuch a one as may lead us to farther discoveries both in sacred and profane history.

(39) Justin. l. xxi. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxiii. & l. xxxiii. A. Gell. l. x. c. 52. Fest. sub voc. suites. Gruver. p. 470. inscript. 1, 2. edit. Grev. Amst. 1707. (40) D. Hieron. com. ad Jerem. v. D. Aug. l. iii. cont. lit. Petil. Donat. & Priscian. l. v. (41) Vide Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24. & fos. Scalig. in Fest. sub voc. suites.

a that the power of this magistrate extended to every subject of the state, even those of the greatest figure and distinction.

As for the Carthaginian laws, our readers must not expect any regular system of The Carthagithem. The utmost we can pretend to is, to give them a few fragments, or rather manlaws. traces of an inconfiderable part of these laws. They have all long since been buried in oblivion; nor have even the titles of any of them, but what we here produce,

escaped the general wreck of time.

1. THERE was a law of very long standing amongst the Carthaginians v, by which Children of the they were injoined to facrifice to Saturn only children nobly born. This, not being best families complied with for a certain period, grew into disuse, the children of slaves and facrificed to b foreigners being substituted in the room of the others. But when Agathocles 2 reduced Saturn. Carthage almost to the last extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of Saturn, who, as they imagined, was offended at the non-observance of this law. However, to arone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in the city were offered up to that deity.

2. By another law, Ceres and Proferpina were admitted into the number of the Ceres and Pro-Carthaginian deities 2. Magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priests were serpina admitfelected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their service; and ted into the number of the facrifices, after the Greek manner, were offered up to them. This happened during Carthaginian the consternation the people of Carthage were thrown into by the African insur-deities.

c rection, and the ill fuccess that attended them in their war with Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse. It was done in order to appease the anger of these goddesses, whose farther referement they feared, because Himilco, the Carthaginian general in Sicily,

had plundered their temples in the fuburb of Acradina.

3. ABOUT this time likewise a law was enacted at Carthage b, by which all the Greek laninhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or speak the Greek language. It sunge forbidwas hoped by this means to prevent for the future all treasonable correspondence with thage. The law was occasioned by a Carthaginian traitor, who, writing in Greek to Dionysius, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city (K). But this law was afterwards either repealed, d' or totally neglected; for we find, that the d great Hannibal himself understood this language so well, that he composed in it a history of the actions of Manlius Vulso during the time of his proconful ship in Asia e, having been taught it by Sosilus the Lacedæmonian (L).

4. It has been lately hinted, that a council was formed at Carthage f, confifting The centumviof an hundred persons taken out of the senate, whose province it was to inquire into rate instituted the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be supposed, to restrain the that this could any otherwise have been effected, than by a law passed for that pur-Carthaginian pose. The ends proposed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of Mago's generals. family within proper bounds, which, by ingroffing all the best imployments, was e become too overgrown for the state; and to secure the republic against the great authority of its generals in all succeeding ages, who, whilst in the field, were quite despotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the same with the centumvirate, or g tribunal of the hundred, which has been already described.

5. A fort of sumptuary law was made by the Carthaginian senate, to restrain all Expences at kinds of excesses at marriages. This was occasioned by a design of Hanno, the prin-marriages limited.

y Diodor. Sic. l. xx. Plut. de superstit. & de ser. vindic. deor. Herodot. l. vii. 2 I ubi sup. Pescen. Fest. apud Lactant. inst. l. i. c. 1. 2 Diod. Sic. l. xiv. 5 Just. l. xx. ibid. 4 Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. 4 Idem ibid. & Plut. in Scip. 5 Just. l. xix. DIODOR. Sic. ibid. & UB. EMM. ubi fup.

(K) This traitor's name was Suniator, Suniates, or Suniatus, a protessed enemy to Hanno the Carthaginian general, and who, in order to hurt him, did not scruple an attempt to facrifice his country. He was a citizen of the first rank, and wrote to Dionyfrus in Greek, giving him advice of the military preparations making against him, as weil as the inca-pacity of Hanno for the post he was in; but his letter being intercepted, he received the punishment due to his crime (42).

(L) This Sofilus, with Philenius or Silenus, another Lacedamonian, attended Hannibal in all his expeditions. That general fpoke Greek with a tolerable fluency, and is faid to have written other books in this language, besides the work here mentioned. Sosilus and Silenus undertook to write the history of their hero; but whether or no they executed that defign, is not known. If they did, we are never the better for it; fince not a fragment of either of their pieces has come down to us (43).

(43) Vide Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. (42) Justin. l. xx. Ubb. Emm. ubi sup. apud Gronov. p. 511. (43) Vide Corn. Nep. in vit. Hanniedit. Lugd. Bat. 1734. p. 604. not. c. Cie. de divin. l. xxiv. Liv. l. xxvi. Voss. de hist. Grac. l. iii. p. 413.

ripal person in the city, to make himself master of the commonwealth upon the day a of his daughter's marriage. In order to this, his intention was to keep open house for the populace that day, and to regale the senate in a most magnificent manner. All the members of this last were to have been taken off by poison at this entertainment, which would have enabled him to feize upon the government without oppo-Hanno, upon account of his great wealth and power, had such an influence in the city, that the senate, upon the discovery of this plot, did not think proper to punish him for it; but contented themselves with passing the law here mentioned b.

Defects in the Carthaginian constitution.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the political state of Carthage, it may not be amis to take notice of a few defects in that constitution, as Aristotle himself has pointed them out to us (M).

FIRST, The philosopher looked upon it as an imperfection in this commonwealth, that when the members of the fenate were not unanimous in their voices, the power of deciding thereby devolved on the people; for this he intimates to be contrary to the maxims of all well regulated states, as tending too much to popular government.

SECONDLY, He will have it, that the quinquevirate, or, as he terms it, the pentarchy, enjoyed a degree of power inconfishent with the nature of a true aristocracy, which either originally was, or at least was intended to have been, a principal ingredient in the Carthaginian constitution.

THIRDLY, He reckons it an evil, that merit and a conspicuous birth, without riches, were not sufficient qualifications for a man to fill the first posts; for this, in c his opinion, does not only oftentimes exclude persons of the most exalted merit from having any share in the government, but likewise opens a door to avarice, and all kinds of corruption, which, in the end, must ruin any state. The experience of after-ages shewed this reflection of his not to have been ill-grounded; for the Barcan faction, by the omnipotence of money, carried their point on all occasions for a confiderable time; others after them did the like, which at last proved the republic's

FOURTHLY, He will by no means allow, that the same person should assume to himself several imployments; than which no practice was more common at Carthage. The reasons he assigns for this are, that a man possessed but of one office, is much d more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; that public affairs are managed with more spirit and expedition, when the different branches of business are lodged in different hands; that different imployments frequently clash with one another; and lastly, that the welfare of every state is highly promoted by an equal distribution of its places amongst its members. All which reasons are indisputably just, especially the last; since nothing more strongly excites an emulation amongst men of merit, than an impartial disposal of the preferments in a state amongst them, nor more effectually prevents all those inconveniencies which must be the necessary consequence of one man's monopolizing the whole administration.

FIFTHLY, He blames the Carthaginian constitution in general, for not having a e fufficient provision made in it against all popular commotions, or acts of violence, that at any time might happen. Should a majority of the citizens at any time have

b Justin. l. xxi.

ARISTOT. ubi fupra.

(M) Since we follow Ariflotle here in reciting the defects of this state, it will be but just, by way of contrast, to touch upon two things, which may be confidered as excellencies in it.

1. The Carthaginians had public meals or enter-tainments, which feem to have been appointed at first in imitation of the Lacedamonian phiditia, and in order to serve the same ends (44). The phiditia were one of the most useful institutions of Lycurgus, which, 'tis imagined, he received from Crete, cause they went at first by the Cretan name Andria. They were intended to repress all kinds of luxury; to form the minds of the Lacedamonian youth, by inspiring them with virtuous sentiments; and to excite a noble emulation amongst them. At these meals young people were instructed by their seniors

in the art of conversation, heard the most useful topics frequently discussed, and had always before them shining examples of wisdom and virtue. But it is sufficient just to have hinted this here, since an ample account of the institution itself has been

given in its proper place (45).

2. The Carthaginians had a laudable custom amongst them, of sending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions (46). This procured a decent settlement for several citizens, for whom there was no room in the state; provided for the necessities of the poor; and carried off great numbers of people, who were always prepared for innovations. All which falutary precautions must not a little contribute to the preservation of the public tranquillity.

(44) Aristot. de repub. l. ii, c. 11. (45) Univers. hist. vol. ii, p. 562. Vide etiam foan. Meurs. miscel. Laconic. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg. Strab. l. x. Arist. ubi supra, c. 9, 10. Porphyr. de abst. l. iv. Macrob. sas. c. vii. c. 3. & Dicaarch. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. iv. (46) Aristot. ubi sup. c. 11. sub sin.

a taken it into their heads to revolt, or be angry with their governors, the laws (N), according to him, could not have afforded a fufficient relief on fuch an occasion. This constitution, indeed, as we have already observed from him, was at first excellently calculated to prevent or avoid all intestine disorders; but it was not so well contrived, at least in his time, to allay any heats that might break out in it. He therefore feems justly to conclude, that the tranquility and repose of the subjects of Carthage were not then settled upon a solid foundation.

THE Carthaginians being descended from the Tyrians, their religious worship must Religion of the of course have agreed in all points at first with that of the Phanicians, which has been Carthaginians.

already in some measure described k. In process of time, by their intercourse with the b Greeks, especially those of Sicily, they came to take a liking to the superstition of that nation, adopted several new deities before to them unknown, and intermixed some of the Greek religious ceremonies with the Tyrian m. But in this they copied after their ancestors the Phanicians, who gradually imbibed many superstitious notions prevailing amongst the greater states ", by reason of their vicinity to, and correspondence with them; and afterwards, upon their subjection to those states, had great alterations made in the whole system of their religion. The Carthaginians likewise, by reason of their extended commerce, must have been in some fort acquainted with the different kinds of superstition established in most nations, with which doubtless they tinctured their own; so that from hence, as well as from other considerac tions, it may appear, that the religion of Carthage was a very gross and multifarious idolatry.

THE knowledge we have of the Cartbaginian manner of worship, as well as the objects of that worship, is derived from the Greek and Roman writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods ot those of the Carthaginians. This has rendered their accounts and observations on this head more imperfect and less valuable; for though we are well affured, that the Egyptian, Phanician, Greek, Roman, and Carthaginian deities did in the main agree, yet we are as well affured, that each of those nations had not only some particular modes of worship, but likewise some particular deities peculiar to itself. Tis impossible therefore to come to an exact knowd ledge of the Carthaginian gods from what is delivered of them by the Greek and Roman authors. All that we can do is, to consider their different attributes, and the circumstances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the aforesaid authors. By comparing these with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the Canaanites, and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious customs and manners of those nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the Carthaginians.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Carthaginians, in a particular manner, adored Saturn the Chronus P; who, according to Quintus Curtius q, and an infinity of other authors, principal deity, was the Saturn of the Latins. The facrifices offered up to him were children of the e most distinguished families, as has been above observed. Upon the signal defeat of the Carthaginian army by Agathocles, three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. Diodorus sarther fays, that they had a brazen statue or colossus of him, the hands of which were

m Idem ibid.

P Diodor. Sic. th Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 397—404.

DIODOR. SIC. I. XIV. AA. CO.

HEROD. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. QUINT. CURT. aliiq; mult. l. xx. & alibi paff. Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 3. PESCENNIUS FESTUS apud LACTANT. divin. instit. i. c. 21. aliig; multi.

(N) In this respect it seems to have been the same form of government as that introduced by Phaleas Chalcedonius, which has induced a learned man to believe, that he was the legislator of the Carthaginians (47). When he lived, Aristotle (48), Carthaginians (+7). who mentions both him and his republic, informs us not; but he must have been much later than the first formation of the Carthaginian republic; for Chalcedon itself was built near three hundred years after Carthage. However, there feems to be some foundation for the above-mentioned conjecture, as will appear from comparing Hendreich with Ariflotle

(49). It is therefore probable, that the first commonwealth settled at Carthage, which took place immediately after the abolition of monarchy, was of a different form from that which existed in Aristotle's time. This, in all likelihood, nearly resembled (if it was not exactly upon the same model) the antient Tyrian or Hebrew republic, wherein one fupreme magistrate presided. What we have adsupreme magistrate presided. vanced in a former note (50) will strengthen this supposition, and likewise itself receive additional force from it.

(47) Hendr. in Carthag. p. 329. Vid. etiam Reineccii hist. Jul. in Carthag. t. ii. p. 460. p. l. ii. c. 7. (49) Hendr. uhi sup. Arist. uhi sup. & c. 2. (50) Vid. not. (I). (48) Arist. de Vol. VI. Nº 9. extended extended in act to receive, and bent downwards in such a manner, as that a the child laid thereon immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery surnace r.

The same author adds, that this inhuman practice seemed to him to confirm a tradition handed down to the Greeks from very early antiquity, viz. that Chronus devoured his own children. But in this we cannot agree with him; for it can scarce be doubted but that the sable itself owes its origin to this most execrable superstition, especially as the knowledge of it could not be hid from the antient Greeks, who received both their religion and theology from the Egyptians and Phanicians (O).

But though the Carthaginian god, to whom human victims were so agreeable, had the name of Chronus given him by Diodorus, yet we cannot certainly infer from be hence, that he was the same deity; because his Punic name is unknown, and therefore 'tis impossible to determine whether it was of the same import with Chronus, or no. However, we shall endeavour to supply this defect, by offering some reasons, which, if they will not absolutely evince the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

1. In the first place, the Carthaginian custom of giving up their offspring as an expiatory facrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the Greek tradition concerning Chronus, viz. that he devoured his own children. This seems to have been a great inducement to Diodorus himself to conclude, that he and Chronus were the same t.

2. BOTH the oblations offered to this Carthaginian deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewise the brazen statue mentioned by Dioderus, plainly enough shew, that he was Moloch or Milchom, the famous idol of the Ammonites, Canaanites, and neighbouring nations. The description already given of this false divinity, in conjunction with scripture, will remove all doubts as to this point. Now that Moloch or Milchom was the Chronus of Dioderus, seems clear from the following confiderations (P).

Chronns

T Diodor. Sic. ubi fup.

1 Idem ibid.

1 Idem ibid.

1 Idem ibid.

2 Univ. bift. vol. i. p. 293, 294. &c.

Lev. xviii, 21. xx, 2, 3, 4.

2 Kings, xxiii. 20.

Pfal. cvi. 37, &c.

Vid. etiam Grot. in Levit. Voss. de
idololat. Le Clerk com. in Levit. Saurin's diffeourfe, and Calmer's differention on that fubject.

(O) Bishop Cumberland proves from several authors, that human sacrifices were offered to the Cabini(\$1); and Sanchoniatho asserts(\$2), that Chranus or Saturn sacrificed his son to the manes of his father, whom he had before inhumanly murdered. From which source the learned bishop derives the unnatural practice here mentioned, which prevailed for many, ages over a great part both of the eastern and western world. But the fragment of Sanchoniatho, preserved by Philo Byhlius and Eusebius, notwithstanding all the learned bishop's endeavours, as well as those of M. Founnous, to reader it intelligible, is so dark and intricate, especially in this particular, that we cannot intirely depend upon it.

(P) Nothing can be more evident than that Moloch, Milcom, Baal, Bel, Chronus, &cc. are all words of the same signification. They denote a king or prince. Chronus, in particular, does so. The word IP keren or kren properly imports a horn, which was an emblem of power and dominion amongst the eastern nations. From theore undoubtedly our English word crown is to be deduced, or at least the Lasis cerona, if it should be thought more proper to derive the English word from this. It might likewise, for aught we know to the contrary, anticuly have signified a crown, since all the eastern princes were, from the earliest antiquity, adorned with that entign of royalty; and Tertullian (53) tells us, that Chronus was the first who wore it. Eupelsmus, as preserved to us by Alexander Polybistor in Eusebius, Theophilus Antiochenus, and Da-

mascius, compared with seripture, render it incontestably clear, that Chromus, Maloch, and Baal, were the same person (54). We shall beg leave here to consider a difficult passage of scripture, which is not at all foreign to our present subject (55). In the original it is; mid that we will not not a the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the series of the letter, is; But ye have born the tabernacle of your (god) Moloch, and (yo have likewise born) Chiun your likewesses, the slav of your god, which ye made to yourselves (56), St. Luke's (or rather the Septuagint) version of this into Greek, is; Kai dyelasses with year of your to make to be thus rendered; Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and Remphan the slave hat tabernacle of Moloch, and Remphan the slave to worship them. Our readers will observe, that this is different from the common English translation, which has it; Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, signess which ye made to worship them. Now surely no, one can helitate a moment in determining which of these is the most eligible. The first, in agreement with the original Hebrew, makes St. Luke to drelare, that Remphan is the name of the sar, not of the god. The second, in contradiction to the Hebrew, will have him to assert, that Remphan or Chium is the name of the star; which is itself a sufficient reason for our rejection of

(51) Cumberland in append. de Cabir. (52) Idem ibid. & in Sanchoniath. p. 134—157. (53) Tertul. de corona. (54) Apud Buseb. de prap. Evang. l. ix. Theoph. Antiochen. ad Antolyc. l. iii. Danascius in vit. Isidor. fer. vii. 31. & xix. 5. Isii. xxxvi. 19. & xxxvii. 12 & alibi. pass. (55) Amoi. v. 26. (56) Afb. vii. 43.

2 Chronus w had, for a considerable period, even amongst the old inhabitants of Latium, human victims offered up to him, as Moloch had in Palestine.

w Macrob. Saturn. I. i. c. 7. Ovid. in fast. Lactant. de sals. relig. k i; Seld. de diis Syt. Syntag. t. c. 6. Daw. Clasenius in theol. gent. I. iii. c. 4. Scherlog. antiq. bibl. de Moloch. Geus. de victim. human. p. m. 64. Ravanell. biblioth. sact. Buxtorf. lex. p. m. 108. Fag. annot. in targ. Onkel. Lev. xviii. 21. B. Salom. Glass. phil. s. p. m. 1617. Athanas. Kirch. in Oedip. Ægypt. I. i. s. 4. c. 15. p. 328. & in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 147.

Besides, the common translation infinuates, that Moloch and Remphan, or Chiun, were different deities: whereas, according to ours, they were the same; fince it makes Chiun and Remphan the names of that star, which the Arabians and Egyptians appropriated to the falle deity, called by the Ammo size, Canaanites, &c. by way of eminence, Moloch. And how confonant this is to the general voice of antiquity, may be seen from the plan we are now upon. The fun, moon and stars were the first objects of false worship; afterwards the deification of dead men took place (57). The Egyptians and Arabians adhered to the former species of false worship longer than the Canaanises and Phamicians. However, all those nations agreed in this, that, from very early antiquity, they formed a mixed kind of idolatry, made up of the worship of the stars and dead men. In consequence of which, they assigned a planet to each of the chief of their deified worthies, thinking this the greatest honour they could do them. highest and most remote of the planets is known to be Sasurn, whom the old Egyptians called either Remphan, Raphan, Ramphan, Rephan, Rempha or Repha; but the Arabians, Civan or Ciwan, (from whence the Habrew Chian) as the Turks, Arabs, and Persians, do at this day. The Ammonites, Idumaans, and Canaanies, though they had a knowledge of this planer, and confidered him as conjoined with a deified prince, yet they adored this prince under a bodily representation; whereas the Arabians and Egyptians paid divine honours to the star, with which they imagined him conjoined. Hence it came to pais, that the former addressed themselves to an image or flatue, and the latter to a flar, tho' they all of them intentionally pointed at the fame object. Now the If nelises had learned the Egyptian isolatry during their shode in Egyps, and that of the Arabinas while they were in Arabia Persas, or at least its neighbourhood, where they worshipped the false god at present under consideration; and so at the same time they were upon the borders of the Camanine, with whom doubless they had forme hind of intercourfe, 'tis natural to suppose, that shoy were likewise mitiated in their form of superthing. This will account for their having with them the Camanitife image of Molech, in a small portable temple, or tabornacle, carried either on mens shoulders, or by cosen; and a star painted on the inside of this tabernacle, or upon the idol itself, in compliance with the Egyptian and Arabian custom.

Mircher tells us, that the name of Saturn amongst
the modern Copas in Rophun; from whence Bochura infexs, that the Septuagine rendered Chins by Rephan, because they made their vertica in Egypt, where this would denoted the fame planet that Chins did in Arabis and Phomice (98). The same author likewife informs us, that Moloch fignified in the old Egypthen language Mars (59). But as Melech was a making, not an Egyptim word; as he proves his affertion only from a modern Copro-Arabi hay MS. purchased at Alexandria by Sig. Pietro della Walls in the year 1619, and by affirming, that the Egypsian Murs, Ofris, Typhon, the Persian Mithras, Stc. were the same deity, which is a palpable abfurdity, we think little regard in this last point is to be paid to him. Some will have the god of the Syrians, called by the Septengins and the Masorets, Rimmon, according to the Syriac form Remvan, to have been the Remphan of St. Luke, as well as the Rephan of the Septuagint (60). Now Saturn is the highest of the planets, as the name seems to import, and therefore might be Rimmon or Remvan.
This god was moreover, without dispute, the Moloch and Baal of the Ammonites, Canaanites, &cc. the Bel of the Babylonians, the Chronus of the Greeks, &c. and a deity very well known in the countries where both the Septuagint and St. Lake wrote. Bishop Cumberland imagines Saturn to have been called Rephas or Rephan, because he was of a healthful constitution, long life, large stature, and great strength, all which the Hebrew word MD7 includes in the idea it conveys to us (61). He farther observes, that all his descendants, who resembled him herein, were denominated Rephaim; which the Septuagint in fome measure confirm, by rendering Rephaim, vivailes, giants, alluding to the superiority of strength and constitution they enjoyed. We must not omit remarking, that, in conformity to our translation of the Greek passage in the Sepanagins and St Szephen's speech, the Syriac version in Ames v. 26. makes Moloch and Chinn to be the same; nor that Jonathan's targum expressy calls Chine a star. Some critics have derived China and Rephan or Remphan from two Orlental roots implying the fame thing, i. e. the great principle of life and exiftence; which is not very different from the notion of Sasura to be found in the verses of Orphens. Others have believed, that I'D before the time of the Majorites was read Chivan, and that the foot of the initial letter soph being defaced, it appeared to the LXX elders like refle, who therefore promounced it Rephan (62). But this is too bold a criticism, especially as St. Lake has so closely followed this aforesaid elders, and as Diodorne Sicusius mentions a most opulent king of Egypt named Bemphis, who Sourished in very early times (63). This last is a full proof, that Remphis or Remphis was an Egyptian proper name of very high antiquity; if not, that this king was the Egyptian Saturn, or at least was worshipped under the form of the planet so called. It likewise proves, that St. Luke's Rempha or Rem can is preferable to the Ropha of Rephan of the LXX. as alfo, that the modern Copis have borrowed their Rophan from the latter, since they have not the true Egyptian name, but one that is a corruption of it, taken from forme corrupted copy, which can be no other than one of the LXX. whose original reading, we doubt not, was Rempha or Remphan. Neither is it at all improbable, that the fame people have taken the name Moloch (a Phoenician or Hebren word) from the same passage of this version, and, through ignorance, applied is to the planet Mars. What gives great weight to this conjecture is, that the notion itself is intirely repagnant to the whole stream of antiquity; and that Vettius Valens Artio-chome and Julius Firmiens politicly declare, that the Egyptian or Coptic names of the planet Mars were Artes and Pyrois (64).

(57) Herod. Diod. Sic. Plata, Chron. Alex. Plut. Maimonides, Hyde, Prideaux, aliq; multi. (58) Athan.
Rircher in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 140. & in Oedip. Ægyptiac. tom. i. 6. 4. v. 25. Boch. phal. l. i. o. 15. (59) Ideau ibid. (60) Vid. synops. Criticor. in Am. v. 26. & Act. vii. 43. ut & Dan, Clasen. in theol. gent. l. ii. c. 4. (61) Cumberland on Sanchoniach. rem. 2. (62) Synops. criticor. abi sup. (63) Diod Sie. l. i. (64) Vertins, Valens Antioch. apud Seld; de dits Syr. syntag. 1. & Jul. Firmic. ibidem.

THE Cretans \*, in antient times, facrificed children to Chronus, as the Canaan- a ites and Phanicians did to Moloch.

Molocby was the principal god of the country in which his worship prevailed, as appears from his name, which implies fovereignty in it, from his having fuch particular notice taken of him in scripture, and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the Ammonites. Now Chronus was the chief object of adoration in Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him (Q).

LASTLY, to omit many other arguments that might be produced, both Moloch and Chronus were indisputably the great Baal, Bel a or Belus of the Sidonians, Baby-

lonians, and Assyrians, and consequently the same individual deity.

3. Baal b, Belus, Bal or Bel, (for he was known by all these names) was the great god of the Carthaginians. As it is therefore apparent from scripture', that he was delighted with human facrifices, and as he was the Chronus of the Greeks, 'tis evident from hence, that the Carthaginian divinity Diodorus had in view must have been really Chronus.

4. From feveral traces to be found in the proper names of Carthage, we may discover, that the deity under confideration was known there by the two appellations Baal and Moloch, as in the east. Hanni-bal, Asdru-bal, Maber-bal, &c. point out Baal or Bal; as Hi-milce, Hi-milco, Ha-milcar, Melicus e, Malchus f, &c. do Moloch or Mil-These therefore being different names of the same deity, who was the Chronus c of the Greeks, it must be allowed, that Chronus or Saturn was not only worshipped, but likewise looked upon as the principal god at Carthage (R).

The

y Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 293. \* Istrus in collect. sacrific. & DAN. CLASENIUS ubi sup. \* Vossius de idololat. Ovid. Macrob. Istr. Porphyr. Seld. Clasen. &c. ubi fup. a Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. Seld. de dis Syr. ubi fup. Vossius ubi fup. l. ii. c. 5. Vid. etiam Lud. Viv. ad D. August. de civ. Dei. l. vii. c. 9. Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 152. Suid. subvoc. Beél. hathor. supra laudat. & Serv. in Æn. i. Isidor. origin. l. viii. &c. g. Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. d. Vid. author. supra laudat. & Cumberland on Sanchoniath. Seld. de diis Syr. &c. Vid. & ipsum Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10, &c. SIL. Italic. l. 3. f. Gronov. thesaur. ant. Græc. tom. ii.

(Q) A strong argument in favour of what is here advanced may likewise be drawn from the general homage paid to Saturn, as the principal of the gods in most countries. He seems to have been known to the Gauls, Scythians, Celtes, Africans, and even the most barbarous nations. Human sacrifices were offered up to him where-ever his worship took place, tho' this did not continue long amongst the Greeks and Romans, whose natural sentiments of humanity and compassion soon became too strong to permit them to tolerate so infernal a practice. The solemnities observed at the offering up of human victims to the Carthaginian god (whose name we may reafonably suppose was either Baal or Moloch, or both) answered pretty nearly to those observed by the Canamites on the like dire occasion, as we learn from Plutarch (64). This is a further presumption, that the Phænician Moloch, and this deity, were the same. 'Tis an ingenious conjecture of Banier (65), that the Ammonises worshipped the seven planets in the idol of Moloch jointly, as well as Saturn, his proper star, and the fun fingly.

(R) It is believed by some, that Saturn or Baal was the fun, Baaltis or Astarte the moon, and that these were the only deities of the eastern nations. But this we cannot allow; for notwithstanding the fun and moon were two of the most noted objects of false worship, and possibly the first, yet we think it undeniable, that the Orientals had other false gods, in very antient times. From scripture we learn, that the nations bordering upon God's people worshipped the sun, moon, and other planets, in very early ages (66). Philip's treaty with the Carthagini-

ans, a copy of which is preserved to us by Polybius (67), renders it indisputable that this people had other deities besides the two luminaries above-mentioned, some of which were planets distinct from them. But we shall endeavour to trace up this planetary worship to its first source, or as near it as possible. God created the world, or this system, in fix days, and rested the seventh (68). This was the foundation of the Antediluvian as well as the Hebrem week; and seems to be the reason that the number feven was so remarkable both amongst the Antediluvians and the Hebrews. Vengeance seven-fold was denounced against any person that should slay Cain (69); Noah was commanded to take unto him the clean beafts by fevens (70); the fowls of the air also by fevens (71); God foretold to him the beginning of the deluge (72) feven days before it happened; the same patriarch sent a dove out of the ark a second time to explore feven days after the first (73), and a third time feven days after this; Abimelech received feven ewe-lambs of Abraham, as a testimony that a well belonged to him (74); Jacob served Laban for Rachel seven years (75); Pharach in his dream saw seven fat and seven lean kine come out of the river, portending (76) so many years of plenty and famine; Elijah fent his fervant feven times towards the fea, to discover the cloud that was forming itself for rain (77); his successor Elisha ordered Naaman the Syrian to wash himself seven times in the river fordan, in order to be cured of his leprosy (78), Oc. Now 'tis observable, that there is a surprising analogy betwirt the days of the original week, and the system then created.

(64) Plutarch de superstit. Seld. ubi sup. & Scalig. in epist. ad Casaub. (65) Vid. Fourmont ref. crit. \$\tilde{t}\$ i \$\tilde{t}\$ 357. & Banier in mythol. \$\tilde{t}\$, vii. \$\tilde{c}\$. (66) 2 Kings xxiii. \$\tilde{s}\$. (67) Polyb. \$\tilde{t}\$, vii. (68) Gen. i. ii. &c. (69) Gen. iv. 15. (70) Gen. vii. 2. (71) Gen. viii. 3. (72) Gen. vii. 4. (73) Gen. viii. 10, 12. (74) Gen. xxii. 28, 29, 30. (75) Gen. xxix. 18, 27. (76) Gen. xli. 2, 3. (77) 1 Kings xviii. 43. (78) 2 Kings v. 10, 14. (65) Vid. Fourmont ref. crit. (68) Gen.

THE goddes Calestis or Urania was held in the highest veneration by the Car- The goddess thaginians. The prophet Jeremiah & calls her Baaleth Shemain the queen of heaven, Shipped at Care i. e. Juno Olympia; Megasthenes, in Eusebius, Beltis of queen Beltis; Sanchoniatho, thage.

h MEGASTHENES & ABYDENUS apud Euseb. in chron. \* Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 17. & alibi. SANCHO-MIATH. & PHILO BYBL. apud Eusen. de præp. evang. 1. i.

The fix primary planets, for the moon is the fatellite of the earth, move round the fun, which is fixed, or at rest, and together they are in number feven; this answers exactly to the six days of work or motion, and one of rest, in all seven, of which the original week did consist. Thus the Mosaic account of the creation is a symbolical description of the world or system created; and such descriptions as these were perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Grientals, especially the Egyptians, in the sirst ages, and particularly in that wherein Moses lived, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Hence we have the greatest reason to imagine, that the Antediluvian as well as the Postdiluvian patriarchs, the first Egyp-sians, Chaldeans, &c. famed for their knowledge in aftronomy and aftrology, knew the number of the planets, and had names for them. Moses likewise, being learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, had undoubtedly a great share of knowledge in the celestial sciences (79). That the Egyptians had magicians and wife men, or aftrologers, amongst them a considerable, if not a long time before 'foseph's arrival in Egypt, appears from scripture, since it was a common practice in that country then to confult such persons (80) upon any extraordinary occafion; and the number feven feems likewise to have been fymbolical; from whence we may infer, that none of the planets were unknown to them, even from the first formation of their monarchy. The Chaldees or Chaldeans, Syrians, &c. agreed with the family of Abraham or Heber in the most early ages, in their computation of time by weeks, or periods of feven days (81), as well as in shewing regard to the number seven; they were likewise famed for their early application to the study of the celestial sciences, which is a good proof that they must have been acquainted with the seven planets, even from the beginning. According to Iamblichus and Syncellus, Pythagorus was taken prisoner by Cambyles in Egypt, in the first year of the fixty-fourth olympiad, i. e. about five hundred and twenty-four years before the birth of Christ. Now the learned are universally agreed, that this philosopher brought with him home from Egypt that antient system of the world which bears his name (82), and is generally believed to be the true one, and that he received this from the pillars of the first Hermes, who was almost as antient as the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy, and a most celebrated adept in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. We must therefore allow it probable, that these bodies, and the true system of the world, were known even from the first origin of things. In order to support farther what is here advanced, it may not be improper to observe, that from the most early antiquity the planets were imagined to bear a near relation to the days of the week, fince the custom of calling the latter by the names of the former is so antient, that the beginning of it cannot be discovered. 'Tis undoubtedly as antient as the division of the day into twenty-four hours, fince the great regard paid

to the planets, from a notion of their influence over all terrestrial bodies, was the cause of that division. as that division was of the order in which they succeeded one another in their government of the days of the week (83), which does not agree with their situation in our system. The case therefore feems to have been thus: There was a great ana'ogy between the days of the first, or original week, and the feven principal parts of the system then created; the former feem to have been a symbolical description of the latter. This occationed the number feven, common to both of them, to be taken great notice of by all the first inhabitants of the world. The knowledge of the planets, which was coeval with Adam, at first afforded many pleasing speculations to mankind; but afterwards became a fnare to them, and insensibly led them on to the worship of these heavenly bodies. After this took place, the same, if not a greater, regard was paid to the number feven, out of the high veneration the planets were held in amongst them. They allotted every particular hour, every particular day of the week, to the government of some one of them; and, in consequence of this, gave the name of the planet governing to the day governed. This we take to be the origin of the custom of denominating the days of the week after the planets; and confequently believe, that it was coeval, or nearly fo, with the first origin of idolatry. Alexander Aphrodiscensis affirms, that the number feven is perfect in its own nature, because God governs the earth by the feven planets (84); Pythagoras, according to Apulsius, revered it in an extraordinary manner (85), looking upon it as a number facred to religion, and pointing (86) out particularly to the feven planets; Apuleius judged it necessary, before he addressed himfelf to his most powerful god, to be immersed feven times in falt water (87), in conformity, no doubt, to the Pythagorean, i. e. the most antient Chalaean, Egyptian, &c. superstition; Aristotle infinuites, that feven is the number (88) of which the world, i. e. this system, is composed; Photius, Macrobius (89), and others, likewise declare, that seven is a religious number. From which testimonies, as well as an infinite number more that might be produced, it is abundantly evident, that the effects the antient pagan world shewed for the number seven was owing originally to the planets, and that these were adored from very remote antiquity.

As infinite power cannot be confined in its productions to any particular part of duration, and as the manner of every one of the divine operations must be calculated to serve some wise end, we may presume, that there was some final cause why the world, or this system, was created in precisely six days, which, in conjunction with a feventh, formed the first period of time. Now it will not be easy to assign a more rational one than we have hinted above, viz. that this was done with a defign to point out to the first inhabitants of the earth the principal parts of which the system then created did coulist; as likewise to remind them in a parti-

(81) Gen. xxix. 27. (82) Univ. hift (84) Alexander Aphrodif. in Ariflot. probl. l. 11. (82) Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 212. (80) Gen. xli. 8. (79) Att. 22. (83) Idem, p. 730. note (L). (84) Alexander Aphrodif. in Ariflot. probl. l. ii. (85) Apul. Milef. 11. (86) Vid. Joan. Meurf. Denar. Pythagor. c. 9. (87) Apul. ubi fup. (88) Ariflot. maj. me:aphyf. c. 7. & Alex. Aphrodif. in loc. (89) Photius in excerpt. e Nicom. Macrob. in fomn Scip. li. c. 6. Etymolog. magn. &c. Vide etiam Procl. in Time. l. iii. Plutarch. sympof. l. viii. c. 1. & l. ix. c. 4. Diog. Laert. in Platon. l. iii. & Jof. Laurent. de fift. & tintinnab. c. 3. apud Gronov. thef. ant. Grac. c. viii. p. 1467. Vol. VI. Nº 9.

in Philo Byblius, Dione and Baaltis; Hesychiusk, Belthes. According to this last author, the word was applied both to Juno and Venus; and indeed in the Phanician theology, we scarce find any distinction betwirt these two deities. St. Augustin says, that Carthage was the place where Venus had established her reign ; and Virgil informs us, that Juno preferred that spot to all others, even to Samos usels m. As therefore both the Greeks and Romans had, generally speaking, one single chief divinity to preside over every particular city, country, and district, this double one must have been owing to the *Phanician* or *Punic* word above-mentioned, which included both of the aforesaid goddesses. Ashteroth and Astarte were synonymous to Urania and Baaltis, and denoted the moon as well as Venus and Juno, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly in droughts to obtain rain. The antient Greeks b frequently confound Juno, Venus, and Diana, or the moon, which is to be attributed to the Egyptians and Phænicians, from whom they received their system of religion, who seem in the most antient times to have had but one name for them all. In fuch a perplexed point as this, we shall expatiate no farther, fince it would be both fruitless and unnecessary; besides, it would carry us from our subject. Our readers will find as distinct and particular an account of the goddess or goddesses here mentioned, as they can with reason expect, in the first volume of this history. To that part therefore we refer them (S).

Many deities wens antiently by the name of Belus. Besides the first Belus already taken notice of, there were several others of a later date in great repute amongst the Phanicians, particularly those of Tyre, and c of course amongst the Carthaginians. Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, or the sun, &c. were all of them so styled, according to the most celebrated authors who have treated of this subject. That Jupiter was worshipped by this people under the denomination of Belus or Baal, is notorious from Polybius, Menander Ephesius, and Dius P. To him they addressed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reason to believe, for the most part, at the head of their treaties. For which reason some have not scrupled to affirm, that he was the Baal Berith of Phanice; but we are rather inclined to suppose, with bishop Cumberland, that this last deity was Chronus. Mars, according to the chronicon Alexandrinum, compared with Homer and Hestiaus, an antient author cited by Eusebius; was dignified with the title of Belus by the Persians, Assyrians, and doubtless by the Carthaginians also, since he was a favourite divinity in their state, especially amongst their generals. Bacchus was called Belus by the poet Nonnus w,

\* Hesych. sub voc. Βήλθης. 1 D. August. in psal. xcviii. \*\* Virg. Æn. i. \*\* Tertul. ápolog. c. 23. ° Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 397—404. P Polyb. l. vii. & alibi pas. Menander Ephesius & Dius apud Joseph. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. \*\* M. Banier. in mythol. vol. i. \*\* Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 152. \*\* Homer. pas. Hestlæus apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. ix. & apud Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 6. Vid. etiam Selden. de diis Syr. syntag. 2. \*\* Polyb. ubi sup. & alibi pas. Sillatatic. l. i. \*\* Nonnus in Dionysiac. apud Seld. de diis Syr. synt. 2.

cular manner every feventh day, that these feven heavenly bodies were created by God, intirely dependent upon him, and therefore ought not to be esteemed as objects of adoration. The great propensity of mankind in after-ages, particularly the Hebrews, God's own people, to this species of false worship, adds no small weight to our hypothes... That the primitive week, long before the law was in being, consisted of feven days, is clear from scripture (90); as likewise, that every one of those days, in the symbolical language of the most early ages, shood for a year (91). We could pursue this point much farther, would the subject we are upon permit; but as it will not, we hope to be able to give our readers a full discussion of it in some surure part of this work; and in the mean time shall content ourselves with having suggested a sew remarkable hints in this place.

(S) Urania, Baaltis, Aflarte, &c. is by some taken to be the Isis (92) of the Egyptians; as Baal, Belus,

&c. their Osiris. The Carthaginian Juno, according to Virgil (93), had armour and a chariot, though of what form he tells us not. Servius says (94) she had a buckler as well as a chariot, and was invoked by the name of Juno Curulis. Plutarch feems to give her a spear, since he calls her Juno Curitis, curis in the Sabine language fignifying that weapon. Some are of opinion, that her chariot was a small portable tabernacle, in which her image was carried either from place to place, or in procession. 'Tis certain such tabernacles as these were in use amongst the Carthaginians. As for the etymon of Ashtaroth, Ashtoreth, or Astarte, we must refer our readers to the Phænician history (95). According to Scaliger (96), Juno was represented at Carthage sitting upon a lion, with thunder in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. No wonder she should have been so much revered by the Carthaginians, fince she was in a particular manner the goddess of the Sidonians, their ancestors (97).

(90) Gen. xxix. 27. (91) Ibid. (92) Bishop Cumberland on Sanchoniath. & in orig. gent. ant. See also the first vol. of this hist. p. 205, 398, &c. (93) Virg. An. i. (94) Serv. in An. i. (95) Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 398. (96) Fos. Scalig. de emend. temp. (97) Univ. hist. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Apul. metam. vi. Cyprian. in lib. de idol. Solin. c. 20. Tertul. apol. c. 24. Sil. Ital. l. i. Herodian. l. v. Vost. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 21. August. in Judic. c. 7. Vost. abi sup. c. 25, 26, &c. Francisc. Florid. Sabin. in lect. subsc. l. ii. c. 7. & Herodot. l. iv.

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and no wonder, since he is often taken to be the same with Jupiler (T). The nation we are discoursing of had, in all probability, some knowledge of him. Apollo, or the sun, went frequently either by this name simply, or by others, in which this made one part of the composition. Though sometimes the people of Carthage reposed great considence in him, yet we find their ancestors, the Tyrians, in a case of extremity, were dubious of him; for being apprehensive, that he intended to forsake them, and go over to Alexander, then vigorously pushing on the siege of their city, they sastened his statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules. Neptune was likewise one of the Dis majorum gentium, or gods of the first class, of the Carthaginians. It cannot well be doubted, but that he was the Baal of Sidon, called Thablassius, or the Sea Baal, taken notice of in a former part of this history b.

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\* Compare Nonnus, Seld. & Bochart. with Sir Isaac Newton in his chronol. p. 23, 24, 97, 98, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, &c. 

\* Polyb. l. vii. Diod. Sic. l. xiii.

\* Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 397.

(T) In a former part of this work we observed, that Pezron derived Jupiter from the Celtic Jou, young, because the deity so called was supposed to have been the youngest son of Saturn (98). But the regard we bear to truth obliges us now to declare, that we dissent from that learned man in this particular, as well as in all the points depending upon it. We are fully satisfied, that this name is formed of the word pater, father, in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton or Jehovah, as will most evidently appear from the sollowing observations.

1. There can scarce an instance be found in all

antiquity of any prince's receiving his true and proper name from so slight a circumstance as that mentioned by Pezron. That Jupiter therefore, who was so potent a prince, or rather so celebrated a deity; that he who was so frequently styled by the most antient writers the father of gods and men, should be so called, because he was his father's youngest son, is utterly improbable (99). We may therefore, after the best writers, venture to affert, that the antient Latins either took Jupiter to be a term equivalent to Baal, Deus, &c. i. e. God, Lord, &c. as Neptune was the sea Jupiter, Pluto the infernal Jupiter, &c. or by it understood the great governor of the universe himself, as the wisest of them most certainly did (100). In either of which cases it can satisfactorily be derived from no other source than the Tetragrammaton.

2. Diodorus Siculus, a very good author, where he does not too closely copy after Ctesias, as he cannot in the point before us, calls the God of Moses, the legislator of the Jews, Iao(1). This is a clear proof, that the God of Moses, or Jehova, was known to the Greeks by the name Iao, which was their pronunciation, though a corrupt one, of the Tetragrammaton. Add to this pater or father, a word which both the Greeks and Lasins affixed to Zeus and Jovis (2), and it becomes Iao-pater, which is evidently the Jupiter of the Latins. As therefore the Iao of Diodorus cannot be derived from the Celtic word Jon, so neither can Iao-pater, Iaopiter, or Jupiter, as Pezron thinks; being made up of pater and Iao, that is, of pater and the Tetragrammaton.

3. We are told by Macrobius (3), that the oracle of Apollo Clarius affirmed Iao to be the greatest of the gods, or rather the supreme God. Now this oracle was of a very high antiquity, as we learn from Strabo (4), who makes Mopsus, a samous soothsayer in the time of the Trojan war, to have lived with-

in the verge of it. Nay, it may be collected from Macrobius (5), that it was superior in point of antiquity to Orpheus himself, which will carry us a vast way back into the mythic period of time. Æschylus also intimates, that there was a Zeus (6), or fupiter Clavius, which must undoubtedly have been the great God Iao above-mentioned. Since therefore Zeus and Iao are terms synonymous, as we have before proved Iao and Jupiter to be; this is a further argument, that these all must have had the same original, and consequently that Jupiter is not of Celtic extraction.

4. In a fragment of Philo Byblius taken from Sanchoniatho, and handed down to us by Eusebius (7), mention is made of the God levo, and of his priest ferombalus, which can have no manner of relation to the Celtic fou, because Sanchoniatho was a Phonician. Irenaus, Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, also evince, that the Tetragrammaton or Jehovah was written in Greek Iaou or Iau (8). Drusius moreover remarks from Porphyry, that the Ieuo of Sanchoniatho was Iao or Jehovah (9). From all which authors it appears, that the Greeks, in all probability, received this great Name from the Phonicians. As therefore the Phonician Ievo, the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter, were all the same with Iao, that is, the Tetragrammaton, it can by no means be admitted, that the name Jupiter is to be deduced from the Celtic.

But it is urged in defence of this notion, that Thursday, or the day of Jove, is still called in the remains of the Celtic language Diz-Jov (10). Be it so; yet this will not come up to the point. For Diz-Jov is so very near the Lasin Dies Jovis, that every one will be apt to believe the former to have been taken from the latter, and not the latter from the former. And why may not this be the case? If the Romans made it a maxim to propagate their language where-ever they came, and even tinctured with it the languages of most countries they obliged to submit to their arms, why should it appear incredible, that several, nay, many Roman terms should have been transplanted into the old British and Armorican tongues, since the Romans were masters of the countries where they were used for several centuries, and some of their emperors were either born, resided, or died in these parts of their dominions? This is by no means improbable; especially as the word Jon in Diz-Jon bears not the least resemblance to the name of that day in the Hibernian dialect of the Celtic (11), which was unknown

(98) Univ. hift. vol. ii. p. 261. (99) Hesiod. theogon. Hom. in Iliad. pas. (100) Virg. Hor. Senec. aliiq; (1) Diod. Sic. hibliothec. hift. l. i. c. 7. (2) Homer. & Hesiod. ubi sup. & Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 12. (3) Macrob. Saturn. l. i. cap. 18. (4) Strab. l. xiii. (5) Macrob. ubi sup. (6) Æschylus in supplic. (7) Sanchoniatho apud Euseb. de prap. evang. l. i. (8) Iren. l. i. Epiphan. hares. 26. Euseb. de prap. evang. l. iv. Clem. Alexandr. strom. 5. (9) Drussus in lib. de Tetragram. Vid. & Theodoret. quast. 15. in Exod. (10) Pezron ant. nat. Celt. c. 12. (11) Lhuyd in primar. Britan. & Hibern. ling. harmonic. p. 54.

THE word Baal, in itself an appellative, at first served to denote the true God, & Baal, at first a among those who adhered to the true religion; though afterwards, when it became true God.

> to the Romans. The argument therefore would have been but of little force, even supposing the opposite opinion had been supported by no reasons at all; but as the reverse is true, as moreover we find not the least intimation of any divinity going by the name fon in any of those authors who have treated of the Druidical religion, which prevailed amongst the Celtes, it scarce deserves to be mentioned. But to proceed:

5. According to Plato, the Greek name Zens imported properly the same thing that Jehovah did, i.e. the Being of Beings, the principle of life and existence (12). This is a farther proof, nay, a most strong presumption, that these two names were originally applied to the same being.

6. Gellius affirms, that the antient Latin name of Jupiter was Jovis (13), which, supposing is to be a Latin termination, as it really is, comes very near the Tetragrammaton. This will appear to be ex-

actly true from what follows.

7. The old Etruscans (14), who were the descendants of the most antient Pelasgi, Phanicians, and Lydians (15), called Jupiter Juve or Jove. All the earliest literary monuments of this nation now remaining have their letters drawn from the righthand to the left, after the Oriental manner (16), which is a convincing evidence of their high antiquity. Every thing considered, we look upon this as a decilive argument in favour of our opinion; and not only so, but are fully persuaded, that the true pronunciation of the Tetragammaton is hereby The Majoretical pronunciation indeed discovered. differs something from it; but undoubtedly the Etruscan Juve or Jove is many centuries older that the very being of the Masorets. Besides, as the Phænician U answered to the Hebrew O, and the Masoretical scheva is a vowel of a most rapid pronunciation, we may take for granted, that Juve or Jove, and Jehovah, are the same.

8. Seneca affures us, that the Etruscan Juve or Fove was the cause of causes, the great governor and director of the world, the principle of life and motion, and, in thort, the Deity himself (17); and that the Etruscans themselves considered him in all these views. After this, what can be offered further in support of what we advance? or indeed, what can be required of us further to offer?

But notwithstanding Jupiter was the same with the Etruscan Juve or Jehovah, and even at first, as the word (18) itself implies, the name of the supreme God in most nations; yet we pretend not to deny, that there was a king of Crete, who being, by reason of his heroic actions, deified after his death, received this name as a title the most illustrious of any that could be conferred upon him. This notion, and what we have advanced, are by no means incompatible. But still we must insist, that it ought to be considered as a title only, and not as his proper name, of which we are intirely ignorant. 'Tis evident to all persons who have made any researches into antiquity, that the neighbouring idolatrous nations did not only imitate the Hebrews in those rites

which were originally of divine institution, but likewife gave several appellations to their fictitious deities, which the Hebrews, and even they themselves, whilst they remained in the true religion, appro-priated to the true God. Of this El, Baal, Adonai, and even fehovah itself, are pregnant instances. One of their false gods the Greeks called Zens, and the Latins Jupiter, whose worship was established at Carthage by Dido herself, as Justin relates (19); for which end the carried one of his priefts with her from Cyprus to Africa. Under what form the Carthaginians exhibited Saturn and Jupiter to public adoration, is no-where faid; but the manner in which Baal was represented in the east, has been already touched upon (20).

Mars, called by the Sabines Mamers, was the god of war, and, according to Vossius (21), of Oriental extraction. Sir Isaac Newton says matters (12) of ma-fors was a Phrygian word, fignifying valiant. It appears from Silius, that the Carthaginians (23) addressed their oaths to Mars as well as to Jupiter. Hannibal facrificed to this god with great folemnity, before he fet out upon the Italian expedition (24); from whence we may infer, that he was greatly reverenced by the Carthaginian generals.

Bacchus was undoubtedly in Africa, and, without question, known in Carthage; but as he was more famous in Libys, we shall deter what we have to fay of him, 'till we come to the history of that

Bochart feems to think, that Apollo was originally an African deity (25). He takes him to have been the Phut of Moses, known among the Greeks by the name Pythius. The Carthaginians, when they took the city of Gela in Sicily, found a statue of Apollo of an extraordinary size (26), which they sent to their mother city Tyre; and this was the statue which the Tyrians fastened with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, when they were under an apprehenfion, that he was going over to Alexander, then besseging their city. Besides this, there was another at Carthage of an immense value, taken by Scipio at the conclution of the last siege, and, as Plutarch (27) intimates, sent to Rome. The temple of Apollo, as described by Appian, was the richest and most superbedifice at Carthage, of which we have given an account above. count above. It was placed in the forum. Valerius Maximus relates, that the hand of one who came to strip him of his golden garments was found amongst the pieces of gold cut off from him, which he mentions as an instance of his resenting sacrilege in a high manner (28). If we consider him as the fun, he was the Osiris of the Egyptians, and the Mithras of the Persians (19), and consequently the great god of all the east. The Apollo Libyous (30) will be fully confidered in a proper place.

Neptune some take to have been Japhet, the king of the isles (31), as they think appears not only from the office antiquity affigned him, but likewise from his name. He presided over earthquakes, plagues, and inundations (32); and, in order to render him propitious, the Carthaginians threw victims

(12) Conf. Hieron. Column. & G. J. Vossii not. in Enn. p. 289. ed. Hesselii Amst. 1707. cum Plat. in Cratylo. (13) Aul. Gell. l.v. c. 12. (14) Vid. suite de l'extrait de l'histoire diclomatique de M. Massei, in bibliotheque Italique, tom. troissem. art. 1. à Geneve, 1728. (15) Tab. Euzubin. 5. l. v. & alib. Vid. & tab. Eugubin. 6. apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. i. (16) Vid. moniment. & inscript. Etrusc. apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. & P. Bonarota additament. ed. Florent. 1716. (17) Senec. natural. quest. l. ii. c. 45, 46. (18) Shuckford's connect. of the facr. and prof. bist. (19) Justin 1. xviii. (20) Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 398. not. (E). (21) Vossius in theol. gent. (22) Sir Isac Newton chronol. p. 23. (23) Sil. Italic. l. i. (24) Idem ibid. (25) Both. Phal. l. i. c. 2. (26) Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 429. (27) Plutar: h. in Flamin. (28) Val. Max (20) Strab. Suid. Hesch. Univ. hist. (20) Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 298. not. (E). (21) Vossius in theol. gent. (22) Sir Isac Newton chronol. p. 23. (23) Sil. Italic. l.i. (24) Idem ibid. (25) Boch. Phal. l.i. c. 2. (26) Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 420. (27) Plutarch. in Flamin. (28) Val. Max. (29) Strab. Suid. Helych. Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 204, 205. vol. ii. p. 291. (30) Vid. Lucium Ampelium apud Bochart, ubi sup. (31) Boch. Phal. l.i. c. 1. (32) Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 6.

a common amongst the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their respective idols, he rejected it b. The sale god to whom they first appropriated it, was Chronus or Saturn, as intimated above. In process of time it became a title, or mark of distinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the Baal-Peor, Baal-Zebub, Baal-Moloch, &c. of the Syrians and Phanicians . The term imported god or lord amongst the Orientals, as zeus did amongst the Greeks d. The plural Baalim in scripture fignifies gods, lords, masters, sovereigns, &c. correspondent to the sense of Bel in the Chaldee tongue. According to Servius e, who is followed by Vossius herein, Bal in the Punic language had two significations; it either specified Saturn, or was equivalent to the Latin deus, or god. Xenophon finsinuates, that, in b the earliest times, every head of one of the most illustrious families in all countries was called Chronus or Saturn; every first-born fon or daughter of such families Jupiter or Juno; and the most valiant of their offspring Hercules. Theodoret seems to apply this to the Phanicians in particular 8; adding, that such noble personages were deified, on account of some signal service they did to their country. As we have made Baal and Zeus or Jupiter words of the same import in different languages, we may say of the former what Varro in Tertullian says of the latter, viz. that the number of those so styled amounted to three hundred. Notwithstanding which, some will have it, that there were originally but two gods of the Phanicians, and confequently of the Carthaginians, or, what is the same thing, that all the other deities were resolvable into c these two, viz. Baal and Ashtoreth, or Belus and Astarte.

Baalfamen, or, as the Hebrews would have written it, Baal shemaim, i. e. the lord The sun worof heaven, seems to have been the sun, as Belisama, or the queen of heaven, above-shipped at Carmentioned, the moon. According to St. Austin, he had religious honours paid him
thage.
by the Carthaginians. It is probable they had no representation of him at all,
because they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory. Damaseius calls
him El, Bolathes, &c. and makes him to have been the same with Saturn k.

THE Carthaginians introduced Ceres and Proferpina as Greek deities, when ill suc-As likewife cess attended their arms in the war with Dionysius of Syracuse. This Diodorus tells us. Ceres and But Virgil afferts, that Dido herself sacrificed to Ceres m. The poet here, we think, Proserpina.

d ought to give way to the historian; for it is much more probable, that the Carthaginians should receive a Greek or Roman deity from the Greeks or Romans, than from the Phanicians. The statues of these two goddesses stood in the temple of Dido, who was likewise deisted by those idolaters, together with her sister Anna. We find on the reverses of several Carthaginian coins an ear or ears of corn, either in allusion to the goddess Ceres, or as a symbol of the fruitfulness of the country.

As the Carthaginians were a people who supported themselves chiefly by com-And Mercury. merce, it cannot be supposed that they neglected the worship of the god of genius, industry, and traffic. Mercury the antients allotted this province to; and accordingly we find the Carthaginians paid divine honours to him, under the name of Asumes or e Asoumes 1 (U).

NoTHING

b Seld. de dis Syr. c. 1. sub init. & Hos. ii. 16, 17. Seld. ubi supra. d Idem ibid. Serv. in Æn. 1. Voss. theol. gent. l. ii c. 4. f Xenoph. in æquiv. E Theodoret. de Græc. affect. l. iii. h Seld. de dis Syr. synt. 2. c. 2. p. 145. Shuckford in his connect. b.v. l August. in Jud. quæst. 16. k Damasc. in vit. Isidor. l Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7. m Virg. Æn. 4. ver. 58. Plin. nat. hist. l. xxv. c. 5. & Bochart. ex auctario Dioscorid. Chan. l. ii. c. 15.

into the sea as offerings to him. Of this we have a remarkable instance during Hannibal's siege of Agrigentum (33), when a number of priests were in this manner offered. The antients attributed to him every thing that related to the management of horses; and from the rock out of which the first horse is supposed to have sprung, he had the denomination of Scyphius given him (34), scyph in Punic signifying a rock or slone. Bochart makes his name Posidon to be a Punic term, importing broad or expanded (35). His name Neptune shall be accounted for, when we come to visit Libya; for, according to Herodotus, he was originally a Libyan (36).

Our readers will not be surprised, that we have passed over in silence the Carthaginian images or representations of these sour last deities, since we are intirely in the dark as to the manner in which they were sigured at Carthage. Possibly in the main the Carthaginians might agree with the Greeks and Romans in this particular; and if so, no piece so proper can be recommended to the perusal of the curious, as that of Albricus upon this subject (37).

(U) Mercury was the minister of the gods, and presided over the roads or highways, as well as traffic and commerce (38). The old Etruscans named him Camillus, Casmillus, or Cadmilus, i. e. a servant

(33) Idem, l. Xiii. c. 12. (34) Pind. scholiast. in Pyth. od. 4. (35) Bochart. ubi surra. (36) He rodot. in Euterp. (37) Albric. de deor. imag. Bas. 1570. (38) Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 32.

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Divine honours

NOTHING is more celebrated in antient history than the Tyrian Hercules, whose a paid also there worship was brought to Carthage by Dido, and diffused itself afterwards over all the coasts of Africa, and as far as Gades or Cadiz, where he had a magnificent temple. The reason of his name Melcartus has been already assigned . The Tyrians and Carthaginians supposed him to preside over gold, silver, and all forts of treasures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the island of Thasus P, where a Phx-nician colony being planted, discovered some gold mines. The Thasians adored him with the same solemnity as the people of Tyre, and had a brazen statue of him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand, and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly represented him both at Tyre and Carthage 9. The Pelasgir, originally Phanicians, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had, on account of b a great scarcity of grain they once laboured under. The Carthaginians for a considerable time never failed sending to Tyre the first fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, the protector of Tyre and Carthage'. Public diversions were instituted in honour of him at Tyre, which they celebrated every four years ". At Carthage, no doubt, the same custom prevailed, as likewise that of offering wannually human victims up to him. Varro mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldest of them seems to have been the Tyrian or Carthaginian Hercules (W).

Iolaus comes next to Hercules, as being either related to him, or one that introduced some of his relations into the island of Sardinia x. The natives of that island, c at his arrival, were Tyrrhenians or Etruscans v. Those people inhabiting the mountainous parts of Sardinia, received from him the appellation of Iolaenses; and even the most fruitful provinces had the name of campi Iolei, the Iolean or Iolaan fields z. Hercules and Iolaus, according to Vossius a, had jointly divine honours paid them here, either because he was Hercules's near relation, or affisted him in destroying the Hydra,

P Vide Wolfgang. Lazium in Græc. ant. l. i. c. 2. O Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 400. not. (P). ibid. & Bunchard. Niderst. Melita vetus & nov. l. ii. c. 6. F STRAB. HERODOT. DIONYS. Halicarn. EPIPHAN. BOCH. SALMAS. GROT. & Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 345. not. (D). Dion. Halicarn. l. i. t Polyb. in excerpt. legat.
l. xxxvi. c. 6. \* STRAB. l. v. Maccab. & Theodorer. lib. semest. serm. iii. c. 2. 2 DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. ubi fupra. \* Idem ibid. theol. gent. l. i. c. 40.

or minister of the gods (39); and the Carthaginians Asumes or Hassumes, which imports a servant (40). Bochart thinks he was Canaan, because that word properly denotes a merchant, and in some respect aniwers to the name Mercury (41); which conjecture he farther confirms by observing, that, in consomity to Mercury's office, Noah predicted, that Canaan should ferve his brethren (42). His pileus and caduceus being winged, feem to allude to the fails of ships, and remotely to the long voyages the Phænicians made, and the farthest parts of the world they were acquainted with, as doth likewise his government Bochart and of the highways above-mentioned.

Vossisian Hercules, as well as the Theban, i.e. the Phanician, were worshipped in the same temple at Gadira or Gades; that there were no statues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules finely wrought; which must naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of Pygma-lion king of Tyre (a Phomician) bearing smaragdine fruit, of wonderous workmanship, was kept in this temple. Bishop Cumberland proves (45), that the

Phoenician Hercules was a Phoenician king in Egypt; that he found out the purple dye, which is of Phanician extraction; and that he built the temple on the island near the Streights, to which he gave the Phoenician name Gadira. Lastly, Sir Isaac Nemton makes it evident (46), that the Hercules called Mel-cartus, who was king of Carteia, had the temple at Gades consecrated to him, as Philostratus intimates the Egyptian Hercules had (47); and that this Hercules was a Phoenician. From whence it may rationally be supposed, that the Phanician Hercules and that of Egypt were the same.

The word itself is to be sought for from the east, undoubtedly y yercol of ercol, fignifying swift and smeary, or strong, was the original. This Hercules was likewise upon the coast of Africa, and, according to Orosius, built Caps there (48). Bishop Cumberland in the coast of the coast of Africa, and according to Orosius, built Caps there (48). Bishop Cumberland in the coast of Aziz, i. e. the strong, as well as Ercol or Hercules (49).

Africanus and Eusebius give him the name of Archles (50). It is probable he was elected king or general of the Phoenicians, on account of the great glory he had acquired (51). Some believe, that he, in a manner, traversed the then known world; but the relations given us of his atchievements are fo interlarded with fable, that we know not well what to make of them.

(39) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12, 33, & alib. (40) Idem ibid. l. ii. c. 15. (41) Boch. Phal. l. i. (42) Gen. ix. 25, 26. Vide esiam Var. Plut. in num. Fest. & vet. auth. apud Phavorin. &c. (43) Voss. & Bochart. ubi supra. Vide Isai. xviii. (44) Philost. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. v. c. 1. p. 211. (45) Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 159, 160. in orig. p. 113, 114, &c. Vide Palaphatum Egyptium apud chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euseb. in chronic. p. 352. (46) Newton's chronol. p. 111, 112, 113, 114, &c. (47) Philostrat. ubi supra. (48) Oros. l. v. c. 15. Flor. l. iii. c. 1. Sallust. in Jugurth. (49) Cumberland. in orig. p. 113. & Maneth. apud Joseph. cont. Apion. (50) African. & Euseb. in chronic. Herodot. in Euterp. &c. (51) Newton's chronol. p. 111.

a which he did by drying up the gore with a red hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from sprouting out in its room. Ovid b pretends, that, at the intercession of Hercules, Hebe restored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the Carthaginians had this island in possession a considerable time, it is supposed they borrowed him from the Sardi; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are given to understand by Polybius c. The rites and ceremonies observed at his public worship are fully described by Vossius out of Pausanias d.

Hendreich intimates, that the Dea Syria, or Syrian godde/s, was a deity of the Car- Dea Syria. thaginians e; but who she was, authors are not agreed. By the description of her temple already given f, and the statue in it, she must either have been Juno, or a b group of all the goddesses; which last opinion seems most probable. The curious may find further satisfaction on this head, by consulting Tertullian and Lipsius, as

well as the first volume of this history 5.

THE people of Carthage likewise addressed themselves to Æsculapius, whom Servius Æsculapius. calls Panigena, because he supposes his mother to have been a Carthaginian. The place more particularly facred to him was Byrsa, or rather the top of that fortress, famous for his spacious temple there situated i. We have already observed, that Asdrubal's wife, at the final destruction of Carthage, burnt this edifice, together with hertelf, her family, and nine hundred Roman deserters. Considerable quantities of vervain, a herb facred to him, were preserved in this place. The best authors take him c to have been originally a Messenian, or an Egyptian; yet, according to Vossius, the Carthaginians received him immediately from the Tyrians, to whom either the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians & communicated him. Alexander took Tyre in the first year of the hundred and twelfth olympiad; and Carthage was finally destroyed by Scipio in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worship of Æsculapius passed from the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians to the Tyrians, and from them to the Carthaginians. Toforthrus, or Seforthrus, a king of Memphis, and the second of the third dynasty of Manethe, for his great skill in the art of physic, is generally allowed to have been the first Esculapius. He preceded many ages the Messenian 1.

Herebus, another Carthaginian deity mentioned by Silius and Polybius, seems to Herebus. have been Pluto, or Dis. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and represented under a human shape, with long loose hair. Vossius

and Hendreich both take notice of him m.

Triton, the sea god, had a place amongst the deities of Carthage, as we learn from Triton. the treaty concluded betwixt Philip the fon of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians . Some authors have told us, that he was so called from Terra, a Greek word, fignifying a wave o. It appears from Virgil, that the province of Triton and Cymothoë was to release or heave off vessels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The antient mythologists make the nymph Cymothoë to have been the daughter of Nereus and Doris; but Triton the son of Neptune and Amphitrite P.

Mopfus, a famous augur or foothfayer, after his death, became a fort of oracle 9 at Mopfus. Carthage. The memory of this deified fage has been transmitted down to posterity by Luctatius Placidus and Apuleius. Strabe takes notice of one Mopsus the son of Manto the daughter of Tiresias. But, according to Vossius, this was the son of Ampyous an Argonaut, mentioned by Apollonius and Valerius Flacous. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to him by this nation, from whence responses were given, as from so many oracles.

RIVERS, meads, waters, &c. or rather the supposed genii of all these inanimate Rivers, meads, parts of the creation, were a esteemed as objects of adoration. This humour likewise maters, &c. prevailed amongst the Greeks, Romans, and most other nations, from very antient gods. times. No one has handled this subject better than Vossius w, whose writings our learned readers will peruse with great pleasure. Some maintain, that the worship of

POLYB. l. vii.

d Voss. ubi supra.

e Hendr. l. ii. sect. 1. c. 4.

22, 373.

B Tertul. apol. c. 24. Lips. elect. l. ii. c. 21. epist. quæst.

ubi supra.

h Serv. in Æn. 7.

Appian. in Libyc.

h Voss. ubi

Jnivers. hist. vol. i. p. 218.

B Sil. Ital. l. i. Polyb. l. vii. Voss. theol.

d Hend. ubi supra.

P Virg. Æn. 1.

T Sil. Plac. in Stat. Thebaid. iii.

Apul.

 Ovid. met. ix. C Polyb...

f Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 372, 373.
l. ii. c. 22. & Univers. hist. ubi supra.

b Serv. in Æn. 7.
b Serv. in Æn. 7.
c Appian. in Polyb. l. vii.
c 32.
c Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
c Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
c Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
c Polyb. l. vii.
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c Polyb. l. vii.
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d Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
d Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
d Polyb. l. vii.
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d Hend. ubi supra.
d Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
d Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
d Polyb. l. vii.
d Hend. ubi supra.
d Polyb. l. vii. l. ii. c. 22. & DEIVEL.

fupra, l. i. c. 32.

1 Univers. hist. vol. i.
gent. l. ii. c. 60. & Hendr. ubi supra.

1 Polyb. l. vii.
ver. 148.

1 Apul. de deo Socrat. & Hendr. ubi supra.
ver. 148.

1 Apul. de deo Socrat. & Hendr. ubi supra.
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1 Apul. de deo Socrat. & Hendr. ubi supra.
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voyid. ubi supra.

b Sil. Ital. l. i.

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k Lapsius de cruc. l. i.

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1 Ovid. heroid. 7.

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addresses to them. We hope to give our readers a full and particular account of these a inferior deities, when we come to the Arabic history.

The Cabiri adored there. So full an account has already been given of the Cabiri, that there is neither room nor occasion to be prolix here. To what has been already said we shall however add, that the Pelasgi introduced the worship of these gods into Samothrace, Greece, and all other countries where they seated themselves; that men and all animals, without diltinction, nay, even all kinds of inanimate facrifices, were offered up to them; that they had at first no proper names, but were worshipped under the general denomination of gods; that the word Cabiri either fignified certain anonymous divinities, or their priests, known by the name Corybantes; that from an antient inscription mentioned by Astorius, it is manifest the Cabiri were likewise called Dioscuri; that b the Phanicians first paid them divine honours, afterwards the Egyptians, who built them a magnificent temple at Memphis in the earliest ages, which continued to the time of Achilles Tatius; that the Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Cypriots, Phrygians, Elruscans, Latins, Carthaginians, and almost all the antient pagans, had the most profound reverence for the Cabiric or Samothracian mysteries; that the vulgar believed all initiated into these mysteries could not fail of being happy both here and hereaster; that, according to Sanchoniatho, the Dii Cabiri were eight in number, being the fons of Sydik; that the inhabitants of Samothrace, facrificed dogs to Hecate in the cave Zerintbus, sacred to the Cabiri; that the Pelasgi, Samothracians, &c. celebrated the Cabiric mysteries in the night-time, with great indecency; and that this was the prin- c cipal motive with the antients not to transmit them down in writing to posterity. Bishop Cumberland, the abbé Banier, and Astorius, have, in a manner, exhausted this subject. A catalogue of the authors who have supplied them with materials, our readers • will find here inserted, to whom they may have recourse at their leisure (Y).

And the Ana-

THE Anaces, Anactes, or Dioscuri, are by some thought to have been the same with ces or Anactes, the Cabiri, by others different from them. However this may be, they were undoubtedly descended from the Anakims of Moses. It can scarce be questioned but Inachus himself was of this race, as his name plainly imports f. Some believe, that the word Anastes was a title given to those princes of Inachus's line, who had distinguished themselves by their heroic actions; which evidently alludes to the name of & that family, so eminent in scripture for its gigantic stature 8; and we own ourselves inclinable to fall in with this sentiment. Pausanias, Pliny, Philostratus, and Julius Pollux, not to mention many other authors that occur, render it probable, that h in antient times there were not wanting instances of persons of a monstrous size of body.

> Cumberland in append. de Cabir. Herodot, in Euterp. Dionys. Halicar. l. i. Lucian, de des Syr. Pausan, in Bosotic, Heliac. & alib. Achilles Tatius apud Cumberland, in append. de Cabir. Sancho-PAUSAN. in Boedic. Heliac. & alib. Achilles Tatius apud Cumberland. in append. de Cadir. Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. ubi supra. Damasc. apud Phot. Pherecyd. Syr. Nonnus, & Herodot. 12ss. Acesilaus Arg. apud Stradon. l. x. Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & aiib. pass. Tertula de spect. Orpheus. in Hym. Curet. Seld. de diis Syr. synt. ii. c. 4. Horn. hist. Phil. l. ii. c. 4. Schol. vet. in Apollon. Arg. l. i. Dionysiod. apud eund. Strab. l. x. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. v. & alib. Plut. in Alexandr. & alib. Suid. &c. Macrob. Plat. Dion. Chrysost. Procl. Clem. Alexand. Lycophre. Stephan. Hesych. Cic. Lactant. Arnob. Firmic. Meurs. aliiq; pass. Vide Joan. Astor dissert. de Cadir. Banier. in mythol. l. vii. c. 8, &c.
>
> \*\*Cumberland. in append. de Cadir. & Banier. ubi supra. \*\*Pausan. in At. Plin. l. vii. c. 16. Philost. Heroic. Jul. The Cadir. Accord. Pausan. in At. Plin. l. vii. c. 16. Philost. Heroic. Jul. Pol. in Onomast.

(Y) Reland, who has favoured the learned world with a differtation upon the Cabiri, concludes, that they were the gods of the dead; that Ceres was the earth which received them; Pluto and Proferpina the infernal regions where they came to dwell; and Ca. millus or Meercury the god who conducted them thither (57).

The mysterious names Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and Casmilos, Bochare has happily interpreted, and proved, that, in the Phoenician language, they denoted Ceres, Proferpina, Pluto, and Mercury. Princes, and persons of the first distinction, were ambitious of being initiated into the awful mysteries of these great gods, upon account of the high reputation they were in. Vossius thinks, that we are to understand by the name Cabiri only the ministers of the gods, as the Curetes and Dallyli of Crete, and the Corybantes of Phrygia; but this, as running counter to all antiquity, can by no means be admitted (58).

Arnobius afferts, that, in the celebration of those mysteries, they slew one of the initiated, and is followed herein by Firmicus; but this feems rather to refer to an accident that once happened, than to prove, that such a practice was authorized by cuftom (59).

The priests of the Cabiri, according to Helychius, were called Coes, a word manifestly derived from the Hebrew cohen, i.e. a priest; a further proof this, that the old obselete language used by the priests in their ceremonies, was the Hebrew or Phani-cian (60).

(57) Reland. in disser. miscel. (58) Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Apollon. Arg. Plus: in Alexand. Suid. &c. (59) Arneb. I. v. Jul. Firmie, de cor. prof. rel. (60) Hefych, in voce Kons.

a However, many of these relations, particularly those of Phlegon, Abydenus, Solinus, and others, must be allowed to be fabulous (Z).

To what has been observed of the Pataici, or Patæci, in the first volume of this And Pataici or history, we shall only subjoin, that the statues of these gods, of the Cabiri, and of the Patzen. Egyptian Vulcan, had a great refemblance to one another; that therefore, fince Vulcan was esteemed the most antient of the gods, the Patæci must have been of great antiquity; that, in after-ages, the Penates had the same respect paid them by the Romans, as these received from their votaries the Phanicians and Carthaginians; and lastly, that the word, according to Scaliger, is to be deduced from the Hebrew satach, be engraved, or, as Bochart will have it, from batach, be confided in; either of which b etymologies very well quadrates with the use the Phanicians, and after them the Greeks, made of the gods, Patæci k.

As the Palici were Sicilian deities 1, of eastern extraction, it is reasonable to sup- The Palici. pase, that they owed their origin in Sicily to the Carthaginians, who got a sooting in that island in very antient times, and therefore may justly be looked upon as some of its most antient inhabitants. This, we say, is probable; but as there is not the express testimony of any good author to support it, we shall drop all further particulars concerning them; and conclude here what we have to fay of the gods of the

Carthaginians.

THE barbarous custom of offering up human sacrifices did not expire with the city The custom of c of Carthage, but continued amongst the Africans, even till the time of Tiberius. That facrificing men prince, tho' none of the most humane and compassionate, was so shocked at the unna- Africa till the tural practice of offering up children to Saturn, that, in his proconfulfhip, according time of Tibeto Tertullian m, he ordered the priests concerned in that horrid impiety to be hanged, rius. and committed the care of the execution to the African militia. This practice had been retained, with little or no intermission, from the foundation of the city; for notwithstanding the Carthaginians, to avoid drawing upon themselves the indignation of Darius Hystaspis a, might, for a few years, suspend it, or at least pretend so to do, yet it is certain, that, in his successor Xerxes's time, they had resumed it. This appears from history; for Gelon, after he had vanquished them in the reign of that d prince, concluded a treaty of peace with them, of which this was one article, that no more buman facrifices should be offered to Saturn o; nay, to such a pitch of frenzy, or rather savage barbarity, were they come, that mothers, who are naturally the most fusceptible of tender impressions, made it a merit to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring slames, without so much as a groan? They even, by kisses and embraces, hushed the cries of their children, before they were cast into the slaming statue of Saturn above-mentioned, imagining the efficacy of the facrifice would have

PHLEG. TRAL. de mir. c. 14. ABYDEN. & EUPOLEM. apud Eufeb. Solin. Beros. Plut. &c. \*\* Æschylus, Callias, Polemon, & Xenaguras apud Macrob. Satura. l. v. c. 19. Sil. Italic. Diodor. Sic. l. ii. Ovid, metam. l. v. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 28. \*\* Bochart. ubi fupra. \*\*\* Tertul. apolog. c. 9. \*\* Just. l. xix. \*\* Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Plut. de fer. vind. deor. \*\*\* Plut. de fuperft.

been intirely lost, if any thing that might have been interpreted as a mark of the least

(Z) Vossius is of opinion, that the name of the gods Anactes was originally from Phanice; but he thinks it had been brought into the west by Cadmus, or by the Canaanites, whom Joshua, by his conquests, had obliged to quit Phanice, and who had retired into Greece. He farther thinks, that the Sparane who called themselves allies of Israel as we cans, who called themselves allies of Israel, as we learn from Josephus, were a colony of the Canaanites, who were mostly descended from Abraham by Hagar and Keturah; and this is the reason why the most famous of the Greek Anastes were Castor and Pollux, natives of Sparra, the Lacedamonians having given them that name to honour the memory of Anak's defcendants, of whom they had heard so many wonderful flories. We shall only add, that it was a common thing with the Greeks to call those persons the fons of the Earth, who were so antient, that they had but a very imperfect account of their original; for this reason they called Anax or Anak the son of

the Earth, as we have observed above from Pan-

Pausanias infinuates, that the Dioscuri were to be distinguished from the Cabiri; but that the Anades were the same with them (61). His words are to this effect: "With regard to the Anactes, men are " divided in their sentiments about them; some will "have them to be the same with the Dioscuri; 
"others with the Curetes; but the most intelligent 
persons take them to be the Cabiri." Suidas intitimates, that the word was applied both to kings and gods (62). Pindar, Cicero, and Tzetzes all take particular notice of them (63).

The account published by Sir Hans Sloane in the philosophical transactions, of the fossil teeth and the bones of elephants, which falls in with this subject, is very well worth the perulal of our curious readers (64),

(63) Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. Pind. Pyth. (61) Pausan. in Phocic. (62) Suid. in voc. Avanos. ii. epod. ult. Tzetzes in Lycophron. (64) Philosophical transact. numb. 403, 404.

reluctancy or regret had been shewn q. They used a drum or a tabret, among other a instruments, to drown the shrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims. Some authors believe, that the Phanicians, from whom the Carthaginians derived this detestable custom, contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, without burning them; but Selden, and others, evince this to be a mistakes. Plutarch tells us, that the mothers were, in some measure, obliged to stand by as unconcerned spectators; since a groan or tear falling from them would have been punished by a fine, and still the child must have been sacrificed. In times of pestilence, or other public calamities, the Carthaginians endeavoured to appease their offended gods by vast numbers of such oblations; of which we have given an instance or two above a (A).

The Carthaginians exrremely addicted to superslition. FROM many authors it appears, that the Carthaginians were extremely addicted to superstition. They had however, in general, some good notions: they addressed themselves to the gods, before they attempted to put in execution any enterprize by them formed; and after any advantage gained, they were not slack in making proper returns w to the powers above for it. Temples very magnificent they abounded with at Carthage, and took care to have no deficiency of them in any part of the Carthaginian dominions. One samous temple, sacred to Baal or Balis, in a city of that name on the borders of Cyrenaica, we find taken notice of by Stephanus, who intimates, that the city received its appellation from that deity. There is great reason to believe, that El, Il, Bel, Bal, Baal, Belus, Balis, Helius, &c. were different names c of the same pagan divinity.

Carthaginian women profittute themselves for gain in the temple of Assatte.

We have already described the manner in which the Babylonian women prostituted themselves y to strangers at the temple of Mylitta, as likewise the same custom prevailing amongst the Phanicians 2, whose women, for this end, repaired to the great temple of Astarte at Byblus. We have now to add, that the same thing, in all respects, was practised at Carthage; excepting that the money got by this insamous commerce amongst the Babylonians and Phanicians was presented to Mylitta or Astarte, i. e. Venus, whereas the Carthaginian women applied the wages of their prostitution to their own use 2. This indeed savoured something more of the common harlot than the other; but all these nations were arrived at such a height of insatuation and impiety, on account do their gross idolatry, and variety of pollutions attending it, that it is hard to say which of them was the worst (B).

T Idem ibid. & Tertul. in apol.

\* Plut. ubi sup.

\* Plut. ubi sup.

\* Vide etiam Diodor. Sic l. xx.

w Liv. l. xxi, xxiii, &c.

\* Stephan. περί εθνικών.

\* Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 918.

\* Idem ibid. p. 401, 402.

\* Vide

Valer. Max. l. ii. & Hendr. ubi supra.

(A) Those persons who are not disposed to give over-much credit to the fragment of Sanchoniatho's history still extant, think human facrifices can be traced up no higher than Abraham. The Canaanises and Phanicians (65), in whose country that patriarch attempted to offer up his son Isaac, in obedience to the divine command, imitated the fews in many particulars, and derived many of their in-flitutions from those of that nation, which were of divine origin, as has been before observed. It is probable therefore, that they might reason with themselves after this manner: "If God was so " highly pleased with Abraham's bare intention of " offering up his fon Isaac, that he showered down " bleflings upon his posterity in a most extraordi-" nary manner, what marks of the divine favour " may not those persons expect, who actually do sacrifice their children?" Thus the highest instance of obedience upon record might, through the depraved imaginations, and blinded understandings, of a great part of mankind, together with the sugge-ftions of their grand enemy, become the accidental cause of one of the most enormous and unnatural kinds of wickedness that could be committed.

(B) Canaan's posterity were a most profligate and abandoned race of men, addicted to all, even the most unnatural, kinds of lust, as the scripture gives us good reason to apprehend. Now, it is worthy admiration, that Noah cursed Canaan only of Ham's fons (66), on account of Ham's breach of modelty in expoling his father's nakedness, which was both unchaste and unnatural. This is a strong intimation, that Canaan only was an accomplice of his father Ham in this wickedness, which was an evident token of a most dissolute and vitious turn of mind. This vile disposition exerted itself in his posterity, and vastly contributed towards drawing down those heavy divine judgments, which, in process of time, fell upon them. Hence it appears, that, in conformity to the patriarch's prediction, Canaan's descendants were subject to the posterity of Shem, i. e. the Jews; and that this very judgment was, in a great measure, occasioned by the effects of that vile disposition inherent in them, which so eminently displayed itself in Ham, and, as is probable, in Canaan also, and which immediately drew upon them all the curse of their great ancestor Noah. So true is that observation of the pfalmist, Righteons are thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments (67).

(65) Vide Bochars, in Phal. & Chan. Hyde de relig. vet. Perf. aliosq, scriptor, quamplurim. (66) Gen. ix. 22, 25, 26, 27. (67) Psal. cxix. 137.

A very learned author of our own nation imagines, that some traces of the Suc-Some traces of coth Benoth b, mentioned in scripture; may be found in Sicca Venerea, the name of a Succoth Becity in Numidia, not far from the borders of Africa Propria. The name itself bears found in Sicca a near allusion to the obscene custom above taken notice of, and seems to have been venerea. transported from Phanice. This cannot well be disputed, when we consider, that in this very city there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the profitution of their bodies. The author of the itinerary fometimes calls it fimply Sicca, and Solinus Venerea. Sicca fignifies a tabernacle, as well as Succa; and therefore probably this was what it imported in the Punic tongue. Proceedius, Victor Uticensis, and others, in conjunction with our author, render this **b** opinion almost incontestable 4.

Ir any points of consequence relating to the worship of the people at present under consideration should have hitherto escaped us, they will be occasionally touched upon

hereafter, as they offer themselves in the course of this history.

THE Hebrew and Phanician languages were in a manner the same, as has been Punic torque observed in several places of this history; and is apparent, not only from the nature at first the of the thing, but from the concurrent testimony of learned men, who, generally same with the speaking, agree in this particular. The Pani or Carthaginians therefore having been proceed to the process of the process of the particular of the partic speaking, agree in this particular. The Pani or Carthaginians therefore having been originally Phanicians, 'tis undeniable, that their language must at first have been the Phanician. However, Scaliger f believes, that the Punic, (he must mean that of afterc ages) in some respects, deviated from the Hebrew and Phanician, which, considering how distant the Carthaginians were from their mother-country Phanice, and the people they were incorporated with, is not to be wondered at. 'Tis much more wonderful, that they should have retained so much, nay, in a manner the whole of their original tongue; for that they did fo, after what has been advanced by Scaliger, Petit, Bochart, and others, will scarce admit of a dispute.

OUR great Selden, next to Scaliger 8, seems to have been the first who endeavoured This fully in earnest to settle this point; which, from the authority of St. Jerom, St. Austin, proved by Sca-and many other writers, he likewise seems to have done effectually. He has more-petit, and over given us a specimen of an interpretation of the remains of the Punic language Bochart. d to be found in Plautush. Petit and Bochart have been much more copious on this head; but what they have advanced has not met with universal applause, which the last of these seems to have been beforehand apprehensive of k; in short, there is

room enough left for any learned man to exercise his wit and talents on this subject. Bochart has produced a vast collection of Punic words from different authors, and Agreed in subtraced them all up to the Hebrew or Phanician: all which will ferve as so many proofs, flance with the that the Carthaginian language agreed in the main with these; that, notwithstanding the small variations from them discernable in it; it ever continued to be the same in

lubstance with them. FROM what has been offered in the first section of the history we are now upon, Hebrew, Phoee it appears m, that the word Carthago or Cartaco itself was of Hebrew or Phanician nician and Puextraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the lan-names nearly

guages to which they belong, the following short catalogue of Hebrew or Phanician the same. and Punic proper names, by demonstrating the harmony betwirt these languages, will not a little contribute to confirm the fentiment which we, in common with fo many others, have espoused.

HEBREW OF PHOENICIAN.	Punic.
Zachæus.	Sichæus.
Michæas.	Machæus.
Amalec.	{ Amilco, or Himilco.
Melchior.	Amilcar
Jesche, or	Gifgo, or
Jesse.	Gesco.

b Selden. de diis Syr. fyntag. ii. c. 6. C Val. Max. l. ii. Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 918. Decop. Vict. Uticens. Athanas. &c. apud Seld. ubi fup. Vid. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5. Univ. hift. vol. i. p. 129—717. Vid. & Seld. de diis Syr. prolegom. c. 2. Scalig. ad Ubert. p. 362. S Seld. ubi fup. Dechart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 6. Bochart. ubi fup. Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. paffim. See before, fect. 1.

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HEBREW

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SOME of these names we have been supplied with by Reineccius ; but the sollowing we remember not to have seen compared by any author whatsoever.

Punic.	
} Anna.	c
} Jachon.	
Adberbal.	
Bal.	
Muthumbal.	
Maberbal.	
<b>)</b> .	4
1	
Sappho.	
1	
J	
	Anna.  Jachon.  Adherbal.  Bal.  Muthumbal.

We have chosen to compare the *Punic* proper names in this place with the *Hebrew* or Phanician, to which they undoubtedly answer, rather than produce their etymons, as Bochart does; fince in our opinion this more clearly exhibits the very great agreement betwixt them, and renders the near relation they bore to one another obvious to all capacities.

Punic tongue Chaldee or Syriac.

THE Punic tongue had likewise a tincture of the Chaldee and Syriac, as we learn tinged with the from Prijcian and St. Austin. But as this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded St. Austin, or even that in which he lived; and as the Chaldee and Syriac languages themselves were, in all probability, nearly allied to the Hebrew, nay, almost the fame with it, in early times, we shall infer nothing from this observation, but leave it to our readers to make what use of it they please.

to Saimalius.

According to Salmasius P there have been some persons who have believed, the old Egyptian, were the same; but as neither argutian, according ments nor sufficient authorities are produced to support this hypothesis, we shall f make no scruple to reject it.

Some remains of it to be found in the present Miltele language.

M. Maius, professor of the Greek and Oriental languages in the Ludovician university of Giesson, published a small piece in the year 1718, wherein he proves, that the present language of the Maltese contains a great deal of the old Punic in it. The materials of which this tract confifts, he was supplied with by one father James Stanislaus John Baptist Ribier de Gattis, a missionary Jesuit, and native of Malta,

\* Reineccii hist. Jul. in rep. Carth. vol. ii. p. 464. ed. Helm. 1595. P SALMASIUS in Tertul. de Pal. fuper Joan, tract. 15. tom. ix. ipecim. ling. Punic. in hodiern. Melitent. Superst. Marpurg. 1718.

O PRISCIAN. I. V. P. 123. AUGUST. 9 JOANNES HENRICUS MATUS IG

who very well understood the language (C) of the Maltese, having resided many years amongst them. The piece is very curious, containing proofs that this island was, for a considerable period of time, subject to the Carthaginians; and that the Punic tongue was planted and continued in it, as likewise a large collection of Maltese words more remote from the Arabic than from the Phanician, Chaldee, or Syriac. We cannot pretend to transcribe the whole treatise, though it is but a short one; but as the Maltese names of the cardinal numbers differ pretty much from those of other living languages, except the Arabic; as they come nearer the terms expressing those numbers in the Phanician or Chaldee, than any other tongue; and consequently furnish us with a strong argument, that the Maltese tongue has much of the old Punic b in it; and at the same time improve our idea of this last; we think we cannot do our curious readers a greater pleasure than by inserting them.

	MALTESE.	CHALDEE.		English.	
	Huebet.	חר	Heb. nnn	One.	ı.
	Tnei.	תרין תרי	Heb. שני	Two.	2.
	Tlieta.	תלתא	,,,	Tbree.	3.
	Herbba.	ארבעא		Four.	4.
	Chamsa.	חמשא		Five.	
	Sitta.	שחש		Six.	5. 6.
C	Seba.	שבעא		Seven.	7.
	Imiena.	תמניא		Eight.	8.
	Disha.	משעא		Nine.	9.
	Hashra.	עסרא		Ten.	10.
	Chaddas.	חד עסר	•	Eleven.	II.
	Tnàs.	חרי עסר		Twelve.	12.
	Tlittàs.	תלתא עסר		Thirteen.	13.
	Herbahtas, or } Erbatas.	ארבעא עסר		Fourteen.	14.
	Chmistàs.	חמשא עסר		Fisteen.	15.
d	Sittàs.	שתא עסר		Sixteen.	16.
_	Sebatàs.	שבעא עסר		Seventeen.	17.
	Imientàs.	תמני עסר		Eighteen.	18.
	Dschiatàs.	תשעא עסר		Nineteen.	19.
	Hashrin.	עסרין		Twenty.	20.
	Tlietin.	תלתין		Thirty.	30.
	Erbbin.	ארבעיז		Forty.	40.
	Chamsin.	חמשין		Fifty.	50.
	Sittin.	שתין		Sixty.	60.
	Sebibin.	שבעין		Seventy.	70.
c	Imienin.	תמנין		Eighty.	80.
	Dischin.	תשעין		Ninety.	90.
	Mia.	מאה		An bundred.	100.
	Elf.	אלפא	Heb. אלפ	A thousand.	1000.
	Elfein.	תרין אלפין		Two thousand.	2000.
	Tlietelef.	חלתא אלפין		Three thousand.	30004
	Erbatelef.	ארבעא אלפין		Four thousand.	4000.
	•	1 -2 -1 -17	•	•	•

1. Our readers will at first sight discover, that the Maltese words in general here are almost the same with the Chaldee; which seems to be a confirmation of what f Priscian and St. Austin affert, viz. that about their time the Punic language, notwithstanding it agreed in the main with the Hebrew, was tinged with the Chaldee.

(C) One of the authors of this history was very well acquainted with this father Ribier, or, as he called himself, Riviere, at Oxford, where he died in the year 1736. He confirmed to this person by word of mouth every particular he had communicated to M. Maiss, and added some others; viz. that he had carefully examined most of the Oriental words in the Maltese tongue, and sound they

approached much nearer the Hebrew and Chaldee than the Arabic; that the natives had a fort of tradition, that they were descended from the Carthaginians, &c. He was a very good Orientalist, and had his education, as he related, in the Jesuits college at Ingoldsiat in Bavaria. Some small MSS. pieces he left in the hands of the person above-mentioned.

PRISCIAN. & D. AUGUST. ubi sup.

2. It ought to be observed, that thei two borrows that from the Chaldee, and a nun from the Hebrew; that huebet, one, and elf, a thousand, are the Hebrew number and Din; that the numerals from ten to twenty end in as, like the Greek words, duas, reads, reads, teres, Sc. and that the rest are Punic or Phanician (D).

3. From the numerals ending in in from twenty to an hundred, and those ending in a from two to eleven, 'tis evident, that the language of Malta even still follows the Chaldee and Syriac form; and that the Punic did so in St. Austin's time, and much higher, is plain from several Punic words that might be produced, though 'tis probable, that in very early times it nearly resembled the Hebrew or Phanician.

4. In support of what has been advanced by Maius, it may be surther considered, that Joannes Quintinus Heduus, an author who lived in Malta about the middle of be the sixteenth century, was of the same opinion, affirming, that the island of Malta was formerly subject to the Carthaginians; that the African, i. e. Punic, tongue was spoken there in his time; that there were then extant some pillars in the island, that had Punic inscriptions upon them; and that the Punic words to be found in Plautus, Avicenna, &c. were perfectly understood by the Maltese' (which he urges as an argument, that the old Punic tongue was not even then much corrupted). All which is consirmed by Fazellus' in his curious history of Sicily; and this gives a great sanction to the other's authority.

5. According to father Ribier de Gattis", the Maltese have the following proverb amongst them at this day: Il stus iffitiech pest; thei attieb, li iehdoc inkella, i.e. the plague wants a piece of money; give it two, if it will withdraw itself from you. Now this very proverb was a Punic one in St. Austin's days, as he himself assures

us. This greatly contributes to evince what M. Maius had in view.

From the whole we may conclude, that Postellus, Schindler, and Drusius, have not that soundation for maintaining the Arabic and Punic tongues to have been the same, as Selden, Scaliger, Bochart, Reinesius, and others, have for supposing, that the Hebrew, Chaldee, Phanician, and Punic, were always most nearly related, and even

originally the same (E).

Punic letters originally the fame with the Phoenician.

The Punic letters, as well as language, at first must certainly have been the Phanician, for the reason above assigned; and though they were considerably altered by dength of time, yet 'tis certain they always retained a great similitude to their originals, as will appear from a nice inspection into the characters upon the most elegant Phanician and Punic coins. The character however upon the Punic coins is various, many of those found in Spain, as well as Sicily, having letters intirely rude and barbarous, whilst the better sort exhibit a character resembling the Phanician, and even

5 JOANNES QUINTINUS HEDUUS in epift. ad Soph, in thefaur, ant. & hist. Sic. vol. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1723. Gattis agud Joan. Henr. Maium, ubi sup.

Tho. Fazel. de reb. Sic. pri. decad. sub init.

P. Stanisl. Jac. Joan. Bapt. Ribier de

(D) And so are those that end in as, which is evidently the first syllable of TWY afar, the Hebrew numeral; if so, the numbers from ten to twenty are nearer the Hebrew than the Chaldee. Perhaps the Greek words here mentioned ending in as derive that termination from the same original.

(E) In Arnobius's time the Punic language (4) was still spoken in that part of the country bordering upon the Garamantes; but more northerly the Latin tongue was used: besides these, in the Mediterranean parts, no less than twenty-two languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. Bochare thinks (5), that the six last verses of the unknown language in Plautus were Libyan, because they are intirely different from the other. 'Tis certain the Carthaginians spoke both Punic and Libyan; for which reason they were called Migdilybes, Bilingues, and Bisuscilingues (6).

Lastanosa (7), a curious Spanish author, affirms many of those coins that Aldrese, and others, took to be Carthaginian, to have been old Spanish medals.

He afferts further, that the character on these coins is different from the Carthaginian. This he in some measure proves by observing, that the characters on the pieces dug up about Cadiz and in Andalusia, with which parts the Carthaginians had a more immediate communication, were very different from those sound on others discovered in places not so well known to that people. "Tis certain one of the Spanish medals given us by Aldrete(8), as well as the greatest part of those collected by this author, has characters upon it bearing little or no resemblance to the Punic. This author's work was printed at Huesea in 1645, and contains a handsome collection of Spanish medals, which we may possibly have occasion to consider more fully when we come to the history of Spain. Aldrete, and others, believe many Punic pieces had Libyan letters upon them; which may possibly be true; but that it really is so, we must not presume to affert.

(4) Arnob. in Pfal. civ. (5) Bochart. l. ii. c. 6. (6) Plaut. in Pan. Virg. En. 1. Sil. Italic. l. ii. 16. (7) Don Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa en Museo de las Medullas desconocidas Españolas, p. 15, 16. This piece was dedicated to Don Bern. Fernandez de Velasco, constable of Cassille, and is now extremely scarce, though very curious. (8) Bern. Aldret. varias antiguedad. de Espana, l. ii. c. 1. en Ambr. 1614.

a the Affyrian or Hebrew letters. Two questions here arise, which we shall beg leave to confider.

FIRST, whether the Samaritan character, which is by many persons believed, be the same with the antient Phanician? And

SECONDLY, whether the Samaritan or the Affyrian, commonly called the square letters, were the antient character of the Hebrews?

As to the first, in order to determine the point couched in it, we must diligently Samaritan compare the letters of the Samaritan Pentateuch with those of the legends found upon characters dif-the Samaritan and Phanician coins. This has been done with the utmost accuracy ferent from that on the by Reland and Loescher w; from whom it appears, that there is a very considerable Phoenician b discrepancy betwixt them; almost, if not intirely, as considerable as that betwixt coins. the old Affyrian, or Hebrew alphabet, and the character found on these coins. This is rendered evident beyond dispute by the two learned men aforesaid, who have obliged the world with an exact and just delineation of all the principal Samaritan and Phanician coins. From whence we cannot but infer, that the antient Phanician character was different from the present Samaritan.

WITH regard to the second question, it must be owned, that the greatest part of Most of the the learned world, for above a century, have held it in the affirmative. But it learned imamust likewise be owned, that no number of great names can give a fanction to gine the Samaerror, and that this point has not been considered thoroughly till of late. The to have been c main argument all along infifted upon in defence of this opinion has been taken prior to the

from the legends found upon some coins, said to have been dug up in Judæa; Assyrian. wherein are discovered these words, Jerusalem the boly, and the shekel of Israel. The letters of these legends are afferted to be the Samaritan; and since neither the Samaritans, by reason of their known aversion to the Jews, nor the ten tribes after their separation from the other two, because from that period they had nothing to do at Jerusalem, could possibly have struck these pieces, 'tis from hence inferred, that they must have belonged to the Jews before the captivity, or even to the Israelites, before the separation of the ten tribes x; and consequently, that the Samaritan letters, supposed to be the same with those on these coins, were the Hebrew chad racter in the most early times, and that in which the facred books of the old testa-

ment were originally written.

This is the argument which has all along been deemed sufficient to overthrow Chief arguall the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other side of ment in favour all the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other fide of this taken the question; and which the learned Dr. Prideaux y has not scrupled to pronounce from some unanswerable. But whether or no it really is so, we shall be the better able to judge, coins with Sawhen we have maturely weighed the following confiderations: 1. M. Ottius, who applied himself closely to the study of these coins, intimates, upon them.

that those which are genuine 2, if any such there be, bear a small proportion to the This examined. number of the counterfeits; and that he found it a difficult matter to meet with any e of them. How then can we be affured, that those mentioned by bishop Walton and Dr. Prideaux are genuine? 'Tis not sufficient to say, there were some of them in Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman's days, above five hundred years ago; for how can we be affured, that any of those now extant were then in being? or if we could, what. is this to the purpose, since his age is modern, in comparison of the supposed anti-quity of these coins? But, (F)

2. Admitting them all to be genuine, yet the letters on them are most certainly not the same with those of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This clearly appears from Reland and Loescher above-mentioned, who have given us an accurate plate of all these pieces, as well as a complete alphabet of the letters they exhibit. Nay, f 'tis evident from them, that these letters resemble the old Assyrian or Hebrew almost

as much as they do the Samaritan b.

W ADRIAN. RELAND. de vet. Hebræor. num. dissert. pass. & Val. Ern. Loescher. de causis ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224. ed. Francos. & Lipsiæ, 1706. \* Walton. in prolegom. 3. Prideaux in connect. l. v. Prideaux ubi sup. \* Jo. Bapt. Ottis epist. apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert. 3. Adr. Reland. & Val. Ern. Loescher, ubi sup. \* Idem ibid.

(F) There is great reason to believe, that not one good as confess it; and from what Spanhelm has the Samarican coins is genuine, at least not one declared on this head, we may find, that he was in of the Samaritan coins is genuine, at least not one declared on this head, we may of them is indisputably so. Reland and Ottins as a very great doubt about it (9).

(9) To Bapt. Ottius apud Adr. Re'and. de vet. Hebr. num. differt. 3. Adr. Reland. ubi sup. dissert. 9. Ez. Spanhem. ubi sup. Vol. VI. Nº 9. 8 Q\_ 3. SUP-

3. Supposing the character on these shekels had been the Samaritan, yet nothing a could have been from thence collected in favour of so remote an antiquity of this character as they are brought to prove. For 'tis now univerfally received amongst the learned, and the dates on the pieces themselves clearly evince it, that the oldest of these coins, with legends upon them, do not precede the settlement of the highpriesthood in the Asmonean family, which happened not much above a hundred and fifty years before the christian æra, and some of them are much later . This single observation, which is supported by the strongest proofs, seems to render all conclusions, drawn from the supposed high antiquity of these coins, perfectly chime-

THE main difficulty being thus removed, the arguments offered in favour of the b contrary opinion cannot fail of having great weight with all persons of penetration

and impartiality. The principal of them are the following:

Arguments in contrary opinion.

- 1. THERE cannot be conceived a greater antipathy between any two nations, than favour of the that which subsisted between the Jews and Chaldwans or Babylonians, especially after the captivity. The former had the latter, and every thing belonging to them, in the utmost abhorrence and detestation. 'Tis morally impossible therefore, that they should have forsaken their own character, after their return from Babylon, to adopt that of the others.
  - 2. THE Phanicians received their alphabet from the d Affyrians; of course, therefore, the Assyrian letters must have been prior to the Phanician. If, therefore, the c Affyrian and Phanician alphabets were different, the square or Chaldee letters are prior to the Phanician; if the fame, as we are inclined to believe, the square or Chaldee letters are the true old Hebrew character, and the original letters of the east.
  - 3. FROM a diligent comparison of the Phanician, Samaritan, Syriac, old Arabic or Cupbic, &c. with the antient Affyrian or Hebrew letters, it will appear, that all the others were derived from the Affyrian. The ducts of these letters are plain, easy, and simple, such as 'tis natural to suppose the first letters were; the letters on the Phanician coins are the next to these in plainness, ease, and simplicity, and bear a great analogy to them; and lastly, the Samaritan letters are the others, with some additional strokes and lines intermixed, which, at first sight, carry with them the d air of novelty in respect of the Assyrian. This has been set in so strong a light by two or three eminent hands, that it will be a great pleasure to our learned readers to confult them .
  - 4. THE Septuagint version is of higher antiquity than any of those coins, which are supposed to have the Samaritan character upon them. Now 'tis certain the authors of this version have frequently differed from the Hebrew, by their mistaking one similar Assyrian letter for another f. This is an undeniable argument, that the individual Hebrew copy they translated was written, not in the Samaritan, but the Affyrian character; and consequently, that the Hebrew text of the old testament was written in that character, before any of those shekels brought to prove the antiquity e of the Samaritan letters were in being.
  - 5. THE Samaritan Pentateuch itself differs in several places from the Hebrew. Many of these differences arise & from a confusion of similar letters, not Samaritan, but Affyrian; as namely, the with the , the with the , the with the , the n with the n, the w with the y, &c. This must be owned to be the strongest proof imaginable, that the Samaritan was posterior to, and even taken from the Pentateuch written in the Affyrian character; and of course bids fair to put an end to this famous dispute (G).
  - \* Idem ibid. Ez. Spannem. de ul. & præst. num. ant. dissert. 2. & Conringius de num. Hebrzor. Plin. l.vii. c. 56. 
    \* Spannem. & Loesch. ubi sup. Schultens. in institut. ad sund. ling. Hebr. p. 20. PLIN, I.vii. c. 56. SPANHEM. & LOESCH. ubi sup. Schultens. in institut. ad fund. ling. Hebr. p. 20. & alibi.

    Engelbert. Engels. Marcod. Juliacems. in præfat. ad Val. Schind. peniaglot. Hanov. 1612. Val. Ern. Loescher. p. 217, 218. Steph. Morin. de ling. prim. exercit. 2. c. 7. p. 199. Sq. Jo. Got. Carpzovius in crit. sacr. vet. test. Lipsiz, 1728. p. 229, 230, 231.
  - (G) The learned baron Spanheim, Dr. Alax, Conringius, and others, have intirely overthrown the common opinion of the antiquity of the Samaritan letters, from several topics not mentioned by us here. But this is the most effectually done by the famous Dr. Carpzon of Leipsick, in his defence of the

Hebrew text of the old testament against Mr. Whiston. In relation to the last argument here offered, no turther satisfaction can be either given or required by the most curious reader, than what may be met with from him (10).

Father Soncies indeed intimates, that the Sama-

(10) Allixius apud Spanhem. ubi sup. Conring. de num. Hebraor. pass. Fo. Got. Carpzov. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Hottinge. Villalpand. Cellar. hist. Samarit. aliosq; plurimos.

WE cannot recollect, that any person has hitherto tried to explain the legends on any of the *Punic* coins, notwithstanding the letters on many of them seem to be nearly related, partly to the *Hebrew*, partly to the Syriac, and partly to the Phanician.

However, in order to excite others, who have more leifure, and greater abilities, An attempt to fome attempts of this kind, we shall here endeavour at an explication of those explain the upon two Siculo-Punic medals; hoping that our readers will consider the subject as two Siculo-it really is, dark and intricate, and therefore make all favourable allowances for Punic coins.

whatever mistakes may be discovered in our conjectures.

I. The first which is here exhibited is taken from Paruta, who ranks it amongst b the coins belonging to the city of Panormus, now known by the name of Palermo h. Upon the reverse is a horse in full speed, with these two Punic letters + H, which we think ought to be read bbet or bbit, and, in our opinion, stands for bbittin or bbitte, i. e. of the Carthaginians. That the two letters are bbeth and tau', appears from Spanbeim, Reland, Loescher, and others; and that the names of cities, or rather their inhabitants, especially Greek cities, are frequently found upon the reverses of coins belonging to them, is too obvious to need any proof. Panormus therefore being the metropolis of the Carthaginian part of Sicily, and in the neighbourhood of the Greeks, if not itself filled with them, 'tis no wonder the Carthaginians there should in this respect imitate the people with whom they lived. What may serve to confirm this is, that we find several Greek coins of the Panormitansk, done in the manner abovementioned, of as high antiquity as these; and there are even instances of Sicilian coins with both the Greek and Punic characters upon them. That the Carthaginians should be called Hbittin or Hhitte, i. e. Hittites, we are not to think strange; since Anak m and his family, from whom Cartbage was called Chaedre-Anech or Chaedre-Anak, were Hittites, and consequently that people were the most eminent of the Phanicians, from whom the Carthaginians deduced their original. As for the name being abbreviated, this is no uncommon thing. The word ETPA for ETPAKOSION is frequently found on the medals of the Syracusians, not to mention many other instances which might easily be produced. For a farther illustration of this point, 4 see the following note (H).

II. The

<sup>h</sup> Ракит. apud thesaur. ant. & hist. Sic. vol. viii. tab. 14. num. 140.

Браннем. de us. & præst. num. diss.

Vid. Ракит. ubi sup.

Parut. apud script. Sic. vol. viii. tab. 13. num. 123, 124. tab. 14. num. 136, 137.

Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c 36.

Parut. ubi sup. vol. viii. Lugd. Bat. 1723. tab. 33. num. 2. tab. 38. num. 12.

ritan character was restored by Simon. But first, this is a direct begging of the question; for it ought to be proved, that it was antiently in use as to facred matters amongst the Hepreys, before it should be afferted, that it was restored by Simon. And secondly, supposing this fact, which there is great reason to presume it is not, that the old testament was ordered to be written in the Samaritan character, either by Simon, or any other of the Asmonean family, is an affertion utterly destitute of the least shadow of reason or authority, either Jewish or christian, to support it (11).

(H) The Hittites (1,2) were the primary nation of Canaan, and seem to have been more famous than any of the others. They were not intirely reduced 'till the time of Solomon, being intermixed with the Israelites, and living in the neighbourhoood of the Sidonians and Tyrians. Hence we may conclude, that not only great numbers of them settled in Africa after their expulsion by Fosma, but likewise, that even some of their descendants might attend Dido into the same country. They were so formidable to their neighbours, that from them the word in bittah seems to have signified fear, and a sudden confermation (13). That this Punic word is to be read

and interpreted in the manner we propose, will farther appear from hence, that the letter H is found upon the reverses of several other Panermitan (14) coins, which evidently allude to the state of Carthage, and must have been struck when the Carthaginians were masters of that place (15). Tis also worthy were masters of that place (15). Tis also worthy observation, that the Greek mark or abbreviation on the reverses of these medals, peculiar to the Panormitans confidered as Greeks, was IVP, INP or P, i.e. HANP for (16) HANOPMITAN. We may therefore reasonably imagine, that the Carthaginians had likewise an abbreviation in their own language and character, viz. | or + |, i.e. letters were an abbreviation, is so apparent, that Havercamp (17) pronounces them the mark of Panormus; though he abfurdly confounds them with the Greek MP, whereas they are intirely different from it, and indisputably the Phænician bheth and tau. It must be owned indeed Havercamp will not allow these coins to be Punic (18); but the Carthaginian horse on ours, as well as the palm-tree and

(11) E. Souciet recueil de dissertat. critiq. sur les endroit. & sur de matier. qui ont rapporta l'ecriture.
(12) Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 322, 323, 329, 335, 337.
(13) Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. sub init.
(14) Parut.
ubi sup. tab. 14. num. 134. & tab. 17. num. 166. &c.
(15) This appears from the symbols upon them, and from their being found near this metropolis of the Carthaginians in Sicily.
(16) Vid. num. Panorm. apud Parut. ubi sup. pas.
(17) Sigebert. Havercamp. comment. in Parut. num.
Panormitan. p. 61, 62.
(18) Idem ibid.

II. The second coin we are supplied with by Haym, who, sollowing other antiquaries, supposes the hero there represented to be Hannibal. The Punic legend is 14445, every one of which letters we shall endeavour to decipher o.

THE first | is evidently the same with the old Oriental aleph given us by Lasscher, as well as the Syriac olaph. It likewise in figure approaches near the Phanician aleph or alpha, (†) as found on coins, wanting only the transverse line at the top, which, by length of time, might easily have grown into disuse amongst the Carthaginians. We may therefore esteem it as equivalent to A P.

THE second 4 is apparently the Phanician Y, which letter we see upon several Phanician coins in Spanheim. The Etruscan V likewise comes near it. We may b therefore affert 44 to be NN i.

The third letter is the Phanician jud (N) inverted (N). The inversion of letters is a thing that frequently happens; but at present we shall content ourselves with naming one instance only. From the Phanician w is formed the Greek: Y or Z. The Punic W is therefore of the same power with I.

THE last letter 1 is a more rude and simple kind of betb; for it differs only from the Phanician (49) and Hebrew ( ) beth in this s, that it is destitute of the transverse line at the bottom, and has the vertical angle more acute than that of the Hebrew, and the line parallel to the transverse one at the bottom of the Pbanician beth defaced. In fine, as there is no other letter of the Phanician alphabet, to which this approaches so near as it does to betb, we may conclude, that they were the fame; and therefore we must look upon 1 as B.

Thus we find, that 14/44 p expressed in Latin letters is ANNIB, in conformity to the fentiments of Haym', and other antiquaries. And we can affure our readers, that the Punic characters here do not differ so much from the Phanician, with which we have compared them, as the various forms of the same Phanician letters found on different medals do from one another u.

IT has been observed above, that the suffetes of Carthage were called kings by d the Greeks; that one of these, at least, was possessed of a vast degree of power; that Hannibal was, for some time, the supreme magistrate of Carthage; that he acted in that city in a manner without controul; and in fine, that he was deified there in his life-time. After this, who can be surprised, that he should have had his name and effigies upon coins? For our part, we think nothing more probable, and, without the additional proof of this medal, should not have scrupled to have affirmed it (I).

As to the progress of the liberal arts and sciences amongst the Carthaginians, and the degree of perfection they arrived at in them, we have not much to fay. If Carthage could ever have boasted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now lost; though for our parts we are inclined to believe, that this people gave e themselves up so intirely to commerce, that they paid little or no regard to any branch of literature. Military skill some of their generals were most eminently famous for, though even in this they feem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by Xantippus the Lacedæmonian; but philosophy, we have reason

· HAYM in tesor. Britan. P LOESCH. p. 224. Et Ezech. Spannem. de ul. & præft. numism. dis-9 SPANHEM. ubi fup. & PHIL. BONAROT. in additament. op. Dempst. Florent. 1726. HEM. ubi sup. Montfauc. in dissert. de vet. Græc. & Lat. lit. ad fin. palæogr. Græc. Par. 1708. t HAYM del tesor. Britan. p. 143. SPANH. & MONTFAUC. ubi fup. 4 Vid. ADRIAN. RELAND. VAL. LOESCHER, ubi fup. aliofq; plurim.

horse on the others, together with the authority of the learned Inveges (19), and the Punic characters on them all, not only refute what he has faid, but obviate every thing else that can be offered to the contrary.

That this is a Punic abbreviation, in imitation of the Greek manner, is also probable, because every thing on this medal is either Greek workmanship, or an imitation of it. Other Panormitan coins have on their reverses IIA(20), which greatly strengthens

what has been advanced. If we suppose hheth here to be of the same organ with koph, as it sometimes is, being by some pronounced cheth, then this abbreviation may be chat or chart, i. c. of the Cartha-ginians. Perhaps this conjecture will please some of our readers better than the other.

(1) Havercamp afferts, that the Carthaginians firuck medals in honour of their generals, with their effigies upon them; this is likewise allowed by that learned Sicilian antiquary Inveges (21).

(19) August Inweg. Carth. Sic. p. 323. & alib. (21) Inveg. & Havercamp. ubi sup. p. 84.

(20) Parut. ubi sup. tab. 10. num. 99, 100, &c.

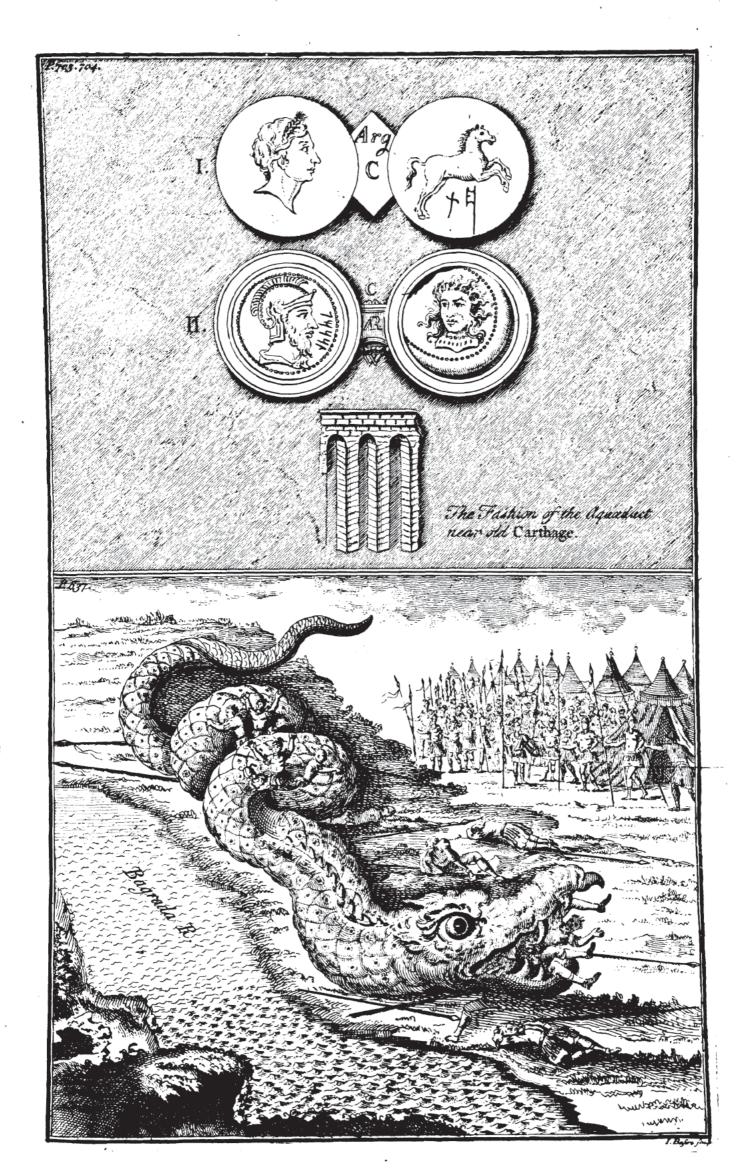
to

Liberal arts and sciences at a low ebb in Carthage.

Hannibal's

coin.

effigies on a Carthaginian



• : to apprehend, was always at a low ebb amongst them. As they undoubtedly therefore applied themselves chiefly to trade and navigation, as also to the military art, that they might be the better enabled thereby to enjoy in security their immense wealth and possessions, their arts and learning will not be a very copious topic; and even this we must for a moment suspend, in order to give our readers a short sketch of some of their principal customs.

THEY suffered no private injury offered by any person whatsoever to another, to Customs of the go unpunished. This maxim of equity they received from their first ancestors, and Carthaginians.

were very ftrict on all occasions in the observance of it w.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but some person convicted of a capital crime, for which he was soon to suffer. They thought the messengers of such tragical events ought soon to die, or at least never more to appear before the persons to whom they brought the melancholy advice.

It any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black. This was done after the destruction of their fleet by Agathocles; after the loss of their army under Himileo's conduct in Sicily by the plague, and upon other such dismal occasions, as we are informed by various authors.

THEY used dog's slesh for food till the time of Darius Hystaspis; but upon that prince's conceiving some disgust at this practice, they lest it off, at least for a certain

period of time 2.

THE foldiers were prohibited, under the severest punishment, whilst in the field,

to taste wine; a laudable instance this of their temperance and sobriety.

EVERY foldier, at least every officer, wore a number of rings answering to the number of campaigns he had made. This doubtless was intended to excite a noble spirit of emulation amongst them, inspire them with a thirst after military glory, and consequently lead them on to the greatest atchievements.

THEIR generals, though perfectly innocent, upon any disafter, were frequently put to death. This probably was designed to oblige them to make use of all their skill, address, and vigilance; tho', after all, it was a most barbarous and imprudent custom. This wild maxim prevails amongst the Turks, who are justly looked upon as barbarians for it, at this day's.

THE populace and the senators had distinct baths appointed them. This in general we are told by Valerius Maximus; but what gave occasion to this, he says not,

nor gives us any further particulars concerning it d.

IT was usual with many of them to have statues or busts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bed-chambers, that they might, in some measure, see and converse with them when absent. This appears from Silius, in his account of Dido after Æneas's departure from her .

DIGNITY and power in this state could not screen any great offender from condign punishment. Of which Machaus, Hanno, Bomilear, and others, that we shall meet

e with in the course of this history, are pregnant instances f.

THEIR anniversary sestivals were observed with great solemnity, particularly the day on which the Tyrians, under the conduct of Dido, began to lay the soundations of Carthage. This, according to Silius, seems to have been celebrated yearly, even till the destruction of the city, with the utmost splendor and magnificence s.

There were no public inns amongst them. They entertained strangers as friends in their own private bouses. This was likewise a custom amongst other nations, particularly the Greeks and Romans. Hence it came to pass, that the same word frequently signified friendship and hospitality. The manner of receiving guests or strangers was thus: A dye or token was divided into two parts; one of these was given to the guest, and upon his producing it to the master of the house, he was received by him, and ever afterwards entertained as a friend. This token was transmitted down to posterity, and kept in the samily as a mark of friendship with the person or his samily to whom it related h. Hence those who violated the laws of hospitality were said tesseram bospitalem frangere. The deity presiding over these laws

Henor. ubi supra, in cap. de leg. & considered.

Sic. Liv. Oros. 1. iv. e. 6. Sec.

Just. hik. 1. xix.

Plat. de legib. & Henur. ubi sup.

Plat. Barts. advers. 1. iv. c. 22.

Vide Liv. Diodor. Sic. Sil. Italic. & c. 4.

Vide Liv. Diodor. Sic. Sil. Italic. & c. 5.

Vide Liv. Diodor. Sic. Sil. Italic. & c. 5.

Plat. Doror. Sic. Just. Oros. & c.

Sil. Italic. & c. 5.

Budæus in pandect. Taubman. ad Plaut. loc. citat. Scholiast. Euripid. in Hippol. Joan. Hargung. in docur. locos. memor. c. 8. l. 39. Sil. Ital. l. xvii.

was invoked by the name of Jupiter Xenius, as the god of friendship was called Jupiter a

Philius, and that of society or goodfellowship Jupiter Hetærius.

It was a custom with the Carthaginians to consult their augurs and vates upon all emergencies, and before any enterprize of importance was undertaken. Thus Hamilear, at the siege of Syracuse, consulting one of his vates, was told by him, that the next night he should sup in that city; and, to wave all other instances, Pygmalion, upon his intention to pursue his sister Dido, was assured by the inspired college of vates, that he should feel the resentment of the gods, if he offered, in any manner, to obstruct the great design she was gone upon; nay, according to St. Austin, these vates were in great repute about those parts long after the destruction of Carthage, since one of them, named Albicerius, was very samous there in his time for the responses be he gave h.

THE magistrates, during the exercise of their power, were to obliged to abstain from wine, though that this institution was observed always to the expiration of the

commonwealth, we cannot politively affirm.

The Phanicians are said to have represented their gods as carrying large bags or sacks sull of money; because gold amongst them was the emblem of power, and symbol of dominion. Perhaps the Carthaginians represented theirs in the same manner, which, together with the vast quantities of treasure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the most precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ships, might occasion that insatiable avariee they were so famous cofor.

SEVERAL other customs might here be mentioned; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and disposition of the Carthaginians in general, we shall

comprise them all in the following short character of that people.

Character of the Carthaginians.

THEIR minds were intirely fet upon amassing of wealth, being mean-spirited, groveling and fordid to an incredible degree k. In order to this, they fluck at no low, not to say infamous, arts. This must be understood of the Carthaginians in the later periods, and towards the decline of their state; for it is not to be questioned but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earliest ages, and that, even to the last, they had many generous and heroic fouls among st them. The ardor and public spirit d the women themselves shewed just before the last siege of Carthage, as well as during that fiege!, fufficiently prove this. In short, we find such a contrast of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almost impossible to determine which of them were predominant. It must only be observed, that the nearer we approach the destruction of their city, the worse we find them. However, as the characters we have of the Carthaginians come handed down to us chiefly from the Romans, their implacable enemies, we must not pay too great a regard to them. The Romans took care to destroy, not only their archives, which, by the way, shews, that that nation ought to be reckoned amongst those where barbarism prevailed, but almost every thing they wrote, that had any appearance of literature or true history.

Polybius makes it his complaint, that both Philinus and Fabius Pictor, the Carthaginian and Roman historians, were so partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them, when treating of the Carthaginian affairs. Of their perfidiousness and black ingratitude, history supplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to Plutarch, they were of a morose, saturnine and savage disposition (K), utterly averse to every thing that had but the leaft

appearance

a republic as Carthage. Tho' several smart turns, that have been attributed to him by the antients, might be produced, yet we shall content ourselves here with one out of Macrobius (22): Antiochus, valuing himself upon the rich armour and splendid accoutrements of his troops, asked Hannibal at a review, Whether he thought they were sufficient for the Romans, meaning to cope with them? Hannibal, far from being dazzled with the pompous appearance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>h</sup> Virg. Æo. 4. Sil. Italic de bell. Pun. l. i. Diodor. Sic. Just. l. xviii. August. l. i. cont. academ.

<sup>l</sup> Alex. ab Alex.

<sup>l</sup> Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. ii. App. in Lybic. Vide etiam Frontin. & Veget.

<sup>m</sup> Polyb. l. i.

<sup>n</sup> Plut. in præc. de get. rep. c. 5.

<sup>(</sup>K) The great Hannibal was an exception to this general character of the Carthaginians given by Plusarch. Though that renowned general was, for many years, so much employed in military labours, he yet found means to cultivate the muses. Some of his repartees, that have been transmitted down to us, plainly shew, that he had a great fund of natural wit. This he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, and in such

<sup>(22)</sup> Macrob. saturn. l. ii. c. 2. p. 225. Vide etiam Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. Liv. l. xxxv. Plut. in vit. Flamin. & in Pyrrho, p. 687.

a appearance of wit or raillery, not being able to bear a joke, in which they were diametrically opposite to the genius of the Athenians and Lacedamonians. Some of them were likewise acted by an intolerable spirit of arrogance, and most vitious ambition, by which they were prompted to desire divine honours. Of this Hanno affords us a flagrant instance, who, as we are told by Ælian, taught birds to say, Hanno is a god; though this did not answer his end, since, after their slight from him, they returned to their former notes again (L).

Com-

### • ÆLIAN. var. hift. l. xiv. c. 30.

they made, replied, That the Romans were indeed very avaricious; but that however, he thought, these were abundantly sufficient for them, i.e. that the plunder accruing to the Romans from them was enough to satisfy that rapacious people. This was a proper rebuke to Antiochus for his preposterous notion of military bravery, and at the same a specimen of brilliant and slowing wit in Hannibal.

(L) The Carthaginians were extremely addicted to corruption, to which their confitution itself had a natural tendency, as Aristole (23) has rightly observed. Their chiefs frequently made use of this with good success, when all other expedients failed them. The Barchine section supported themselves a long time by the venality of their fellow citizens; and others after them pursued the same method of acting, which ended in the total ruin of the commonwealth. In consequence of this mean disposition, in prosperity they were elevated to a pitch inconsistent with the maxims of prudence and moderation, and in adversity as much depressed. Of this

we shall meet with various examples hereafter (24).

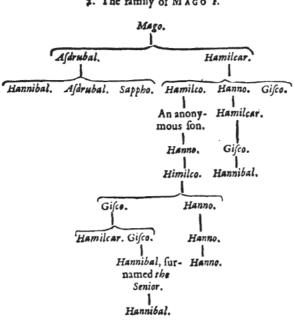
At their weddings they entertained their friends with the tunny fish; another remarkable custom that deserves mentioning.

The Carthaginians paid the greatest descrence to their nobility, who held a most distinguished rank amongst them. Some persons were reputed nobles, or at least upon a level with them, on account of their riches; for Arisorle intimates, that wealth had a vast influence at Carthage, as well as nobility of bitth; and that great regard was had to both in silling the high posts of the state, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of distinction due to them for their superior virtue and merit. And lastly, others derived their nobility from a long train of noble ancestors. These were the proper nobility; of whose samilies, in order to render this history the more complete, we shall be gleave to present our readers with the following genealogical table, though it must be owned to be a very impersect one:

1. The family of MACHAUS.

Machaus.
Carthala.

3. The family of MAGO I.



3. The family of MAGOII.

Mago II. | Mago. 4. The family of BOMILCAR the tyrant.

Brothers

Hamiltar. An anonymous one.

Bomiltar.

f. The family of HANNO.

Hamo.

Asdrubal.

6. The family of HAMILCAR.

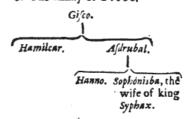
Hamilcar.

Hannibal. Hanno.

7. The family of HIMILCO.

Himilco.

8. The family of Gisco.



9. The family of Bomilear, the king or fufes.

Bomileur.

Hanno.

Hanno the Great.

(23) Aristot. de repub. ubi supra. (24) Vide Liv. Polyb. Just. Corn. Nep. Plus. Gros. plurimosque alios bistoric. pass.

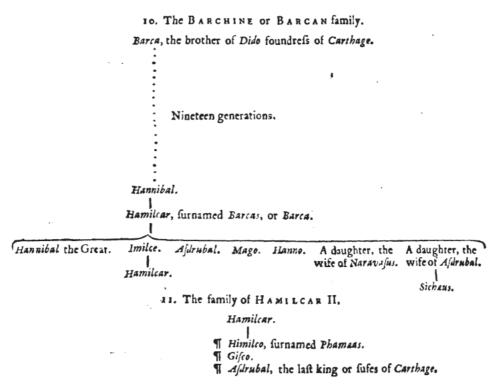
to. The

Commerce, the army, and the marine, chiefly regarded at Carthage.

COMMERCE, the army, and the marine, were the principal, if not fole, objects a of public attention at Carthage. These so intirely engrossed the minds of all people there, that they had no inclination to purfue, nor indeed any great tafte for, the liberal arts and sciences. However, they must have known something at least of the rudiments of aftronomy, fince, without this, they could not have been tolerably versed in the art of navigation. Besides, the Edomites and Phanicians were famous for being the greatest adepts, with the Egyptians, in the celestial sciences, of all other nations. The Cartbaginians therefore, their descendants, could not have been void of a competent knowledge herein. That they had fome notion likewise of sculpture and painting, tho' the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to afcertain, is plain from the Dii Pataci they carried along with them in their voyages, as b likewise from the pictures with which their ships of war, and other vessels, were adorned. As a fea-faring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to supply the necessities or luxury of other nations with, it is also probable, that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts. The Sidonians and Tyrians were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical skill in very early ages, as we learn from scripture; consequently the Carthaginians, one branch of their posterity, must have been so likewise. But the superb temples, magnificent palaces, rich furniture in their houses, great variety of arms, &c. in Carthage, put this point beyond dispute (M).

Few persons of learning amongst the Carthaginians.

AFTER what has been faid, our readers will not expect to meet with many perfons c of erudition amongst the Carthaginians, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies have informed us of. The Romans, as has been just observed, made great havock both amongst their public and private writings, and this out of a principle of envy and malice prepense. However, the names of some of their writers have been transmitted down to posterity, the principal of which are the following:



For a more particular account of these families, our readers may consult Reineccius, Ubbo Emmius, and Christopher Hendreich, so often quoted, at their leisure (24).

(M) So famous was Carthage for its artificers, that any fingular invention or exquisite piece of workmanship seems to have been called, even by the Romans, their implacable enemies, Panic. Thus

the Punic beds or couches, the Punic windows, the Punic wine-prefices, the Punic lanterns, &c. were of all others effected the most neat and elegant for their workmanship by that people. This is an undeniable proof, that the Carthaginians had not only good mechanical heads and hands, but likewise excelled all other nations, their original ancestors excepted, in every thing of that kind (25).

(24) Ariflot. do rop. ubi supr. Christ. Hendr. Ubb. Emm. Reinec. in hist. Jul. vol. ii. Lucius Ampelius lib. memor. p. 191. edit. Cantab. 1680. Justin. b. xix. Liv. Died. Sic. Polyb. &c. (25) Valer. Max. Case de re rust, Ovid el. vi. Rlant. Aulul.

Hannibal, the most renowned general Carthage ever produced, was well versed in Carthaginian the Greek language. According to Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, he wrote feveral miters. Hanpieces in it, particularly the history of Manlius Vulso's proconsulship in Asia P.

Mago, another celebrated general of the Carthaginians, acquired as much glory to Migo. his country by his writings, as his military atchievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that, after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries sounded there, they ordered these books to be translated into Latin, though Cato had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above-mentioned are a further proof,

that learning was not intirely banished Carthage 9.

Philinus, though a Sicilian, being born at Agrigentum, is esteemed by Polybius as a Philinus. Cartbaginian historian. He wrote a history of the wars betwixt the Romans and the state of Carthage; but difguised sacts so palpably in favour of the latter, that, were his performance still extant, it would not be held in any great repute, especially after the Aigma Polybius has fixed upon it. Fabius Pistor, though in the main a good historian, yet, in most points relating to the Carthaginians, was guilty of as great partiality on the Roman side. This we learn from Polybius, who, in order to arrive at truth, has steered the middle course betwixt them both ".

Himilco, a sea-officer, was sent by the senate of Carthage to discover the western Himilco. shores and ports of Europe. This he did, and wrote a journal of his voyage, togec ther with an account of his discoveries, which were inserted in the Punic annals. Festus Avienus ' has intirely followed this author in his description of the western coasts of the world; and intimates, that he saw the original journal itself in the annals aforesaid. Nay, from Festus it appears, that the Carthaginians were acquainted with the Britan-

nic islands, which he calls Oestrymnides.

Hanno, another Carthaginian general, by order of the fenate, failed with a confi-Hanno. derable fleet tround Africa. He entered the ocean by the streights of Gibraltar, made many important discoveries, and had continued his navigation, if provisions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his voyage, an extract from, or rather a frag-ment of a Greek version of which, is still remaining. He is said to have hung up in d Juno's temple some skins of several savage women, whom he ordered to be slead. Isaac Vossius, in opposition to his father, supposes him to have been older than either Homer or Hefiod; but the great Mr. Dodwell folidly and learnedly refutes this notion. If Pliny is to be credited, Hanno and Himileo above-mentioned were cotemporaries. It is certain there were two Carthaginian generals of these names in the time of Agathocles. Whilft Himilco steered towards the west, in order to discover new countries, Hanno took his course from Gades or Cadiz to the farthest parts of Arabia. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that the piece going now under the name of Hanno's periplus, is not his, but was written by a Sicilian Greek. However, it cannot be denied, that he penned a relation of his voyage, fince this is often quoted by the antients. This most learned e gentleman has, with the greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time somewhere betwixt the ninety-fecond and the hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad ".

Silenus was an historian, who wrote of the Carthaginian affairs in the Greek language; Sleous. from whence it should appear, that he was a Greek. Some authors take him to have been the same with Philinus above mentioned; but of this we have no sufficient proof,

and therefore we must look upon them as two distinct writers w.

Clitomachus, called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He Clitomachus. succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic fect. Cicero fays, that he was a more fensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally were. He composed several books, f in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery. By this it is manifest, that he lived after the destruction of that city by Scipio x.

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the Carthaginians, it will not be foreign Hanno, the to our subject to mention what Pliny tells us of Hanno, viz. that he was the first man first who tamed

P Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Plut. in Scip.

P Ciu l. i. de orat. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

P Polyb. l. i.

F Festus Avienus in or. marit. p. 290. Vide & Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 35, 39, &c.

P Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. v. c. i. Athen. deipnosoph. l. iii. p. 83. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 9. p. 63. edit. Ifaaci Vossi. de histor. Græc. p. 514.

B Dodwel. differt. de peripl. Hannon. ætat. in lim. geogrevet. script. Græc. min. tom. i. edit. Oxon. 1698. Aristor. in lib. de admirand. audit. Justin. l. xxii. &c.

W Cic. de divinat. l. i.

P Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom. Cic. in academ. w Cic. de divinst. l. i. \* PLUT. de for quest. l. iv. n. 98. Tusc. quest. l. iii. n. 54. Vol. VI. Nº 9.

who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The same author adds, that he was a condemned, which must either imply in it death or banishment, upon account of this art; since his countrymen could not be persuaded, but that he who had the power of foftening the fiercest of beasts, must likewise be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens in such a manner, as to become master of their freedom?. This is related to us by Pliny, and it is either an argument of their extreme weakness, or his extreme credulity. Some believe this person to have been the writer Hanno abovementioned (N).

The Carthaginians inventors

AMONGST other inventions this nation was famous for, we must not forget that of of the quadriremes, or four-oared galleys, which the antients attributed to the Carthaginians. It is moreover probable, that they were the first who made cable-ropes for b large veffels of the shrub spartum, which was a fort of broom; at least, that they were the first who communicated this invention to the Romans. But this perhaps more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the Carthaginians, which we shall now endeavour to give our readers a succinct idea of z.

The trade and navigation of the Carthagi-

WITH regard to trade and navigation, (for we shall consider them jointly) no nation was ever more famous for these, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they The Mediterranean, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eastern parts they pushed their discoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatfoever, and to the westward, in all probability, farther. Britain and the Canaries were known to them; nay, according to some, America itself; but this seems to c be a conjecture without sufficient soundation. The formidable sleets they fitted out on many occasions, the vast quantity of shipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had for a long period of time of being almost universally acknowledged as masters of the sea, to omit many others, are most glaring proofs of the sourishing condition of their trade and navigation. Neither is this without the best authority to support it; for, to wave many other authors of unquestionable reputation that occur,

y PLIN, ubi fup. P. HARDUIN apud Bayl. voc. Hanno, vol. iii. p. 1579. not. (D). Lond. 1710. LIV. l. XXI. POLYB. l. i. Cæl. CALCAGNINUS de re nautic. comment. c. 1. XENOPH, de re venator.

(N) In one respect we may rank the celebrated Terence amongst the writers of this country, fince, according to Donatus, he was born at Carthage (26). Being taken captive when very young, either by Scipio at the conclusion of the second Punic war, as some will have it, or, as others fay, by the Numidians, in one of their incursions into the Carthaginian territories some time after that war, he became the property of Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. Terentius, being much taken with the fine disposition of his flave, not only gave him an excellent education, but likewise enfranchised him, and called him after his own name, as was the prevailing custom of those times. In the consultaip of T. Manlius Torquatus and Cn. Oclavius Nepos, this famous dramatic poet was in his highest reputation (27). Tho' an African born, yet his diction is most pure, elegant, and police; insomuch that some have not icrupled to affirm, that he received confiderable affiftance in the comedies ascribed to him from Scibio and his friend Lalius. It is certain, that either to please these great men, who were not unwilling to be thought concerned with him in those performances, or because it was true, he himself countenanced this notion (28). Six of those comedies only are now extant, all of which were highly esteemed at Rome, and met with prodigious applause when acted there. Fenestella makes him to have been older than (29) Scipio and Lalius; but Cornelius Nepos is more to be credited, who afferts them all to have been cotemporaries. Suetonius fays (30), that, in his return from Greece, he loft an hundred and

eight comedies translated from Menander, of whom he was a great admirer, and could not furvive an accident which afflicted him in a most sensible manner. However this be, he died in the confulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, aged thirtyfive years. He is said to have been of a middle stature, slender, and of a swarthy complexion. He had a daughter who furvived him, and was married to a Roman knight.

Under this note we shall likewise beg leave to observe, that it is intimated by Plutarch (3:), that this Hanno made use of lions as beasts of burden; which is confirmed by Ovid and Silius (32). If we will believe Ælian (33), there were lions in the temple of Adonis so tame, that they fawned upon persons at their entering in, came to the table there when called, and, after taking what was given them, modeftly retired. The same author tells us, that the Indians (34) had so tamed their lions, that with them they hunted bulls, wild asses, and all other savage animals. John II. king of Portugal is reported to have had a lion always following him like a dog (35); and, according to Paulus Jovius, the king of France gave such a one as this to the car-dinal de Medicis. What has been said of the Indians, Paulus Venerus likewise relates of the Tartars (36).

Silenus was an historian mentioned by Cicero, and, as is probable, by Nepos (37). The former of these affures us, that he wrote a history in Greek, with great care and accuracy, of Hannibal's expeditions; and that Calius in some points followed him.

P. Terent. vit. (27) Idem ibid. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 748, 765, 775. (29) Fenestella apud Æl. Donat. ubi sup. (30) Sueton in vit. Terent. (32) Ovid. trist. iv. el. 6. Sil. Ital. l. i. (33) Ælian. de a (26) Al. Donat. P. Terent. vit. (28) Æl. Donat. ubi sup. (31) Plut. tal. l. i. (33) Ælian. de animal. l. xii. (36) Paulus Vener. l. vii. c. 17. (37) Cic. de pracep. ger. re (34) Idem ibid. l. xvii. (35) Petr. Messas, l. ii. c. 3. (36) Paulus Venet. l. vii. c. 17. (37) Cic. de divinat. l. i. Vost. de hist. Grac. l. iii. p. 413. Vide Bossum, & not. in Corn, Nep. de Hannib. p. 604. Lugd. Baf. 1734

a it appears from Herodotus and Thucydides, that scarce any people made so great a figure by sea as the Carthaginians, which was the natural effect, not only of their genius for naval affairs, but also of the flourishing and extensive commerce they were in possession of. The basis of this selicity was owing to the Tyrians, from whom they brought the disposition they were so eminent for into Africa. But in process of time they eclipsed the glory of even their ancestors themselves; insomuch that Pliny derives the origin of trade, not from the Phanicians, but the Pani or Carthaginians. The natural fertility of its soil, the surprising skill of its artificers, together with its happy situation, rendered Carthage the center of traffic, the great mart, not only of the Mediterranean, but even of the most remote nations 2.

THE commodities they supplied other countries with in great abundance, seem to Their commohave been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers forts of provisions, and high sauces; divers wax, honey, oil, the skins of wild beasts, &c. all the natural produce of their own territories. Their staple manufactures were utensils, toys, cables, all kinds of naval stores, and the colour from them called Punic, the preparation of which seems to have been peculiar to them. From Egypt they fetched fine flax, paper, &c. From the coasts of the Red-Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones. From Tyre and Phanice, purple, scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, &c. From the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, &c. In fine, they purchased c the superfluities of all nations at an easy price; and by knowing the necessities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they sold these at their own rates; which brought immense treasure daily to Carthage, rendered this republic terrible to all her neighbours, and even enabled her to contend

so long with Rome for the empire of the world itself b.

HAVING thus given our readers a general idea of the extensive trade this mighty The most value republic was mistress of, which was the great source of all her wealth and power; able branch of we must now beg leave to remark in particular, that no branch of their commerce man that carfeems to have been more beneficial to the Carthaginians, than that they carried on ried on with the with the Persians, Garamantes, and Ethiopians. These remote nations, besides other Garamantes, Persians, and d rich commodities, brought with them carbuncles, of almost inestimable value, Perlians, and Ethiopians. to Carthage; to which place they yearly reforted, as is most likely, in cara-These gems, from the plenty of them at Carthage, were called by the antients Charchedonian or Carthaginian, as Pliny relates. From Polybius it appears probable, that the Carthaginian merchants, at the fale of their wares, had a crier and fecretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profession was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this state; which is not to be wondered at, confidering the vast advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men therein. After this, it will be needless to observe, that the most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed to apply themselves to it.

We shall close this section with taking notice of a remarkable custom observed by the Carthaginians, and the Libyans bordering on the sea-coasts, in their trafficking

with each other, as Herodotus himself has related it d.

"THE Carthaginians, says this historian, failing beyond the streights, or pillars of Hercules, traded with the Libyans of those parts in the following manner: " After they had got into some creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them " exposed on some point of land, returned again on board their ships. They then caused a great smoak to be raised, at the sight of which the Libyans immedies ately came to the place where the wares had been left; and laying down a " certain quantity of gold, retired at a good distance from them. Upon this the f "Carthaginians went on shore a second time; and if upon viewing the gold it ap-" peared to them sufficient, they carried it off, and sailed without delay; if not,

FEST. AVIEN. ubi sup. Posid. & Arst. de mem. Claud. l. 3. Strab. Apollon. Philost. l. ii. c. 14. l. 5. Pindar. &c. Christ. Hendr. Catth. l. ii. s. 1. c. 8. p. 262, 263, &c. Herodot. l. i. Thucydid. l. i. sub init. Plin. nat. hist. l. vii. c. 56. Liv. Polyb. Diodor. Sic. Justin. Oros. aliiq. pass. Christ. Hendr. ubi sup. Plin. l. xxxi. c. 8. Athen. deipsonoph. l. ii. Jul. Pollux, l. vi. Istdor. orig. l. xx. c. 3. A. Schotti observ. l. iii. c. 7. Hieron. Magius in miscel. l. ii. c. 9. Hadr. Jun. animadv. l. vi. c. 17. Turneb. advers l. x. c. 12. Catellianus Cotta in memorab. Varro, l. iv. c. 23. de LL. Tibul. l. ii. eleg. &c ad eum Passeratius, l. iii. iv. Joh. Brodæus in miscel. l. vi. c. 24. &c l. i. c. 8. Alex. Vanegas, I. ii. c. 2. &c Menaseh Ben Israel en esper. de Isr. p. 18, 19, &c. En Amsterdam en la Imprension de Semuel Ben Israel Soeiro, A. M. 5410.

Plin. nat. hist. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & Dalecamp. in loc. Patron, in satiric. Polyb. l. iii.

" they left it, and continued quiet on board for some time. The Libyans finding this, a 46 made an addition to what they had before deposited; and if this proved insuffi-" cient, they continued increasing the original quantity of gold till the Carthaginians 66 were satisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least " injustice to the other. The Carthaginians did not so much as touch the Libyan " gold till it was of equal value with their wares, nor the Libyans the Carthaginian " merchandize, till the gold they offered as an equivalent was accepted and taken

" away."

### SECT. IV.

# The chronology of the Carthaginians.

Carthaginian chronology the ame with the Phœnician.

HE Carthaginian chronology was at first the Phanician, already by us con- b fidered, and, in all probability, ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the Carthaginians kept records in the same manner as their ancestors the Tyrians did, cannot well be doubted; especially, if we consider, how closely they adhered to the customs and maxims of those ancestors. Sir Isaac Newton feems to imagine, that the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes did not absolutely prevail amongst the Romans even in the Augustan age, but thinks that Virgil might have taken some of his historical facts from the records of Carthage; which evidently supposes, that these records might then have existed. Servius seems to infinuate, that they, or at least some part of them, were in being when he wrote; for he tells us, that, according to the Carthaginians themselves, Dido came from a town called c Charta. But, however this may be, 'tis certain, from Solinus and others, that annals, and an epoch, at the destruction of their city, the Carthaginians must have had; otherwise the Romans could never have known how many years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of that metropolis, as we find they did. But this is so apparent, that we shall insist no further upon ite.

THE method of computing time from the building of cities was in use throughout a good part of the east in very early ages, though it was of a later date at Rome, particularly amongst the Lydians, Syrians and Phanicians, as it was likewise amongst their descendants the old Etruscans and Carthaginians. This is evident beyond contradiction from Diodorus Siculus, Censorinus, Scaliger, and a famous inscription, whose d epoch is the foundation of Interamna in Umbria, which Gruter, and Justus Fontaninus,

in his antiquities of Horta, have given us f.

Their year lunifolar,

THE antient year of the Phanicians, as well as that of the other eastern nations, was most certainly luni solar, i. e. it consisted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months wanted of the folar year. At length the Egyptians of Thebes, according to Diodorus and Strabo, introduced the solar year, i. e. they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the course of the sun. Now as the computation by folar years did not take place even in Egypt 'till the time of Amenophis, (tho' the difference betwixt the solar and calendar years was discovered e in the reign of Ammon, the father of Sefac) i. e. about an hundred and thirty-seven years before the æra of Nabenassar; nor amongst the Chaldwans or Babylonians 'till the commencement of that æra; and as Dido's departure from Tyre was at least coeval with, if it did not precede the former of these events, the luni-solar year was, without dispute, observed then by the Phanicians, and consequently afterwards by the Carthaginians 8.

As was that of the Arabians and Damafcenes.

In confirmation of which we must not omit remarking, that Simplicius, in his commentary on the first of Aristotle's physical acroasis, affirms the Damascenes and Arabians, who were either neighbours to the posterity of the old Phanicians, or intermixed with them, to have had the luni-folar year in use amongst them so late as his time; from whence 'tis not a little probable, that this was always the Phanician and Carthaginian year h.

E NEWTON'S chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. SERV. in Æn. i. & Æn. iv. SOLIN. C. 29. f Diop. Sic. l.v.c. 1. 

We have nothing very material to offer farther on this head, the Carthaginian annals having for a long series of ages been destroyed. As therefore we cannot pretend to give any tolerable particular account, much less a methodical system, of the Carthaginian chronology, all that can be done in order to satisfy our readers, is, to exhibit to their view a chronological table of some sew of the principal transactions in which that samous republic was concerned, including a list of several of its great men, in order of time, as they lived.

## The Monarchy of CARTHAGE.

	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
b		YEAR OF CARTHAGE.	YEAR before CHRIST.
	DIDO, the daughter of Mettinus, king of Tyre, founded Carthage. How long she reigned there, history informs us not.		890 or 892
	The Republic of CARTHAGE.		
e	AFTER Dido's death, there is a chasm in the history of Cartbage for above three hundred years. Only from Justin we learn, that this state was much agitated by intestine commotions during part of that period.		
	The Carthaginians plant a colony in the island Ebusus or Eresus, on the coast of Spain, according to Diodorus.  The Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian united sleets are, according to Herodotus, after a bloody engagement, put to slight by	160	730
	the Phocæans, in the sea of Sardinia.  Which action is likewise mentioned by Thucydides, who relates, that the city of Massilia, at present Marseilles,	347	543
đ	built by the said Phoceans, was then in its infancy (A). Macheus, a samous general, gains some very considerable advantages over the Africans, with whom the Carthaginians are now ingaged in a war. This happened, as appears probable from comparing Justin with Orosius, towards the conclusion of Cyrus's reign, or that of his uncle Cyaxares II.		
	and therefore we may place it about the year He reduces part of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthagi-	353	537
	A plague makes great havock at Cartbage about this time, when the Cartbaginians endeavour to appeale the gods by	354	536
t	facrificing children.  After a long and successful war in Sicily, the Carthaginian army, under the command of Machaus, thinks proper to	355	535
	retire from that island.  The same army afterwards invading Sardinia, is intirely	360	530
	defeated by the Sardi, and the greatest part of it cut off.	360	530

(A) That this most ancient naval engagement happened not far from the year in which our most learned archbishop Usher has placed it, is, in some measure, evident from a circumstance taken notice of by Thucydides in his first book, where he mentions it. That author informs us, that this event happened not long after the foundation of Massilia. Or Marseilles, which was built by the Phoceans. Now its afferted by Timeus Siculus, that Massilia was founded by the Phoceans an hundred and twenty years before the battle of Salamis, which falls in with the first year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and consequently the foundation of Massilia pre-

ceded the action under consideration sifty-seven years. It might then therefore very justly be said, as Thucydides relates, to have been in its infancy. That Massia was built by the Phoceans about the time mentioned by Timeus, is consirmed by Artssociety, Harpocration, Scymnus Chius, Justin, Atheneus, and other authors. Both Thucydides and Herodotus likewise seem to relate some events after this, as happening in the time of Cambyses; which may be looked upon as an additional argument in desence of our learned primate's notion, which he has taken from Eusebius (1).

(1) Ush. ad an. per. Jul. 4171. Herodot. l.i. Timeus Sic. apud Marcian. in perieg. Solin. Euseb. in chron. ad olymp. 45, 1. 59, 2. &c. Aristot. apud Harpocration. in νος. Μασσαλία, Athen. deipnosoph. l. xiii. Just. l. xiiii. Strab. l. iv. Stymnus Chius, Ammian. Marcellin. 15, 23. Gell. noct. At. 10, 16, &c.

	YEAR OF CARTHAGE.	YEAR before a CHRIST.
The remaining part, upon their return home, are banished by their countrymen, together with Machaus the general. Incented at this barbarous treatment, they attack Carthage,		J
carry the city, and, after putting ten fenators to death, fettle the republic upon its former footing.	360	590
Machæus crucifies his fon about the fame time.	360	530 530
Some time after this the same general, being accused of a		
defign to make himself absolute, is punished with death, and succeeded by Mago in the command of the army.	067	!
An alliance formed between the Carthaginians and the Ro-	367	523 b
mans the year after the regifuge, in the consulship of Brutus	•	
and Valerius.	382	508
Mago, after the introduction of military discipline amongst the Caribaginians, dies, leaving their forces in an excellent		
condition. If Justin is to be credited, this seems to have		
happened some years before Darius Hystaspis died; and		
therefore we may look upon it to fall in justly enough with		
Soon after Mago's death, his two fons Asdrubal and Hamilear	401	489
attempt the conquest of Sardinia, as likewise to free their		С
country from the annual tribute imposed upon them by		
the Africans.	401	489
Darius fends embassadors to Carthage to demand a body of auxiliaries against their common enemy the Greeks, for a		
war with whom he was then making very great prepara-		
tions, · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	402	488
At first Astrobal and Hamilear seem to have had great success		
in Sardinia, by the number of triumphs Justin assigns Astronomy Astronomy in Sardinia, but towards the conclusion of this war, Astronomy		d
bal is mortally wounded, and the intire command of the		
army thereby devolves upon his brother Hamilear.	404	486
A treaty of peace is concluded between the Africans and		
Carthaginians about this period, by which the annual tri- bute of the latter is continued.	405	485
The Sicilians implore the affiftance of Leonidas, to enable		
them to shake off the Carthaginian yoke.	405	4 <sup>8</sup> 5
Not long after this <i>Hamilear</i> is killed in <i>Sicily</i> , leaving behind him three fons, <i>Hamileo</i> or <i>Himileo</i> , <i>Hanno</i> , and <i>Gifeo</i> .	410	480
After the death of Hamilear, and the total defeat of the	410	c
Carthaginian army by Gelon, a peace is made, and Gisco,		
the fon of Hamilear, banished.	410	480
The Carthaginians engage at once in a war with the Moors, Numidians, and other Africans; the refult of which is,	. :	
that they are excused the annual tribute before exacted of		
them.	430	<b>4</b> 60
Some time after this period the two brothers <i>Philani</i> facrificed themselves for the honour, as they apprehended, of		
their country.		
The centumvirate instituted, somewhere in this interval, to reduce		f
the exorbitant power of Mago's family within proper bounds,		
and be a curb upon their generals, according to Justin. Hannibal, the son of Gisco, makes an expedition into Sicily,	•	
takes and razes Selinus and Himera.	482	408
The fame general, in conjunction with Imilcar, makes an-		
other campaign in Sicily; but dies of the plague in his camp before Agrigentum, of which diftemper a great part		
of his army likewise perishes.	486	404
Imilcar, Hannibal's collegue, takes Agrigentum.	486	404
He likewise reduces Gela.	486	404 g He
		1.10

He puts an end to this war by a treaty concluded with Dianyifus.  Dianyifus takes Motya from the Carthaginians.  Dianyifus takes Motya from the Carthaginians.  Himileo retakes Motya by florm, reduces Melfana, and razes it. Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, likewike defeats the Sicilian fleet under Lepines. Himileo advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of Syracufe, and plunders the temples of Ceres and Professina in the fuburb of Aradina; but the plague carrying off a great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.  The Africans, to the number of two hundred thouland, feize upon Tainis, and threaten Cartbage itielf. But famine and divisions oblige them at laft to disperfe. Himileo, not being able to furvive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.  Mago, the Carthaginian general, is routed by Dionyfins at Abacenum.  A fecond peace concluded between Dionyfus and the Carthaginians.  Dionyfus routs the Carthaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace ensure.  A plague breaks out in Carthage, which tweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardirife up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Cartbaginian state. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of Carthage, and produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Carthaginian territories. With this force he son takes Schuus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Erys with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracussan galleys laid up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracusses, which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon b	ı		YEAR OF CARTHAGE.	YEAR before CHRIST.
Dionysius takes Matya from the Cartbaginians.  Himileo retakes Matya by florm, reduces Messana, and razes it. Mago, the Cartbaginian admiral, likewise deseats the Sicilian steet under Leptines. Himileo advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of Syracuse, and plunders the temples of Ceres and Proserpina in the suburb of Aeradina; but the plague carrying off a great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.  The Africans, to the number of two hundred thousand, seize upon Tunis, and threaten Cartbage itself. But samine and divisions oblige them at last to disperse. Himileo, not being able to survive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.  Mago, the Cartbaginian general, is routed by Dionysius at Abacamum.  A second peace concluded between Dionysius and the Cartbaginians.  Dionysius routs the Cartbaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace ensure.  A plague breaks out in Cartbage, which iweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardi rise up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Cartbaginian state. A particular species of madness feizes many of the inhabitants of Cartbage, and produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand hores, into the Cartbaginian territories.  With this force he soon takes Scienus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Cartbaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracustans, and three thousand hores, into the Cartbaginians and three thousand norte, into the Cartbaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracustans, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  Paralus, the Cartbaginians governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse, by which means that prince is enabled t			0.6	
great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.  The Africans, to the number of two hundred thousand, seize upon Tunis, and threaten Carthage itself. But famine and divisions oblige them at last to disperse. Himilto, not being able to survive his missfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.  Mago, the Carthaginian general, is routed by Dionysius at Abacanum.  A second peace concluded between Dionysius and the Carthaginian.  Dionysius routs the Carthaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace ensues.  A plague breaks out in Carthage, which lweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardirise up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Carthaginian state. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of Carthage, and produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Carthaginian, son the other hand, enter the port of Exys with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracusian galleys laid up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. Succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.  Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with earthage to convey them to Syracuse, by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corintb to the Syracusians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He defeats setas at Advanum, and possessimal prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And c		Dionysius takes Motya from the Carthaginians.  Himilco retakes Motya by storm, reduces Messana, and razes it. Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, likewise deseats the Sicilian steet under Leptines. Himilco advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of Syracuse, and Plunders the temples of Ceres and Proserpina		
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A fecond peace concluded between Dionysius and the Carthaginians.  Dionysius routs the Carthaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace ensues.  A plague breaks out in Carthage, which tweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardirise up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Carthaginian state. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of Carthage, and produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Carthaginian territories.  With this force he soon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracusian galleys laid up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.  Paralus, the Carthaginians governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse, by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Simpleon brings succours from Corintb to the Syracusians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He deseats Letas at Adranum, and possessing to Diodorus.  A second treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the share of the utmost sharing recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.		Mago, the Carthaginian general, is routed by Dionysius at		395
Dionyfius routs the Caribaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace enfues.  A plague breaks out in Caribage, which tweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardirife up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Caribaginian state. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of Caribage, and produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Caribaginian territories.  With this force he soon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Caribaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracusian galleys laid up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. Succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Caribaginians.  Paralus, the Caribaginians governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse; by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracusians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He defeats Icetas at Adranum, and possessing succours from Corinth to the Syracusians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Cartbaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Cartbaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Cartbage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the fenate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an e		A fecond peace concluded between Dionysius and the Cartha-	498	392
beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace enfues.  A plague breaks out in Carthage, which tweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardi rife up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Carthaginian state. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of Carthage, and produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Carthaginian retritories. With this force he soon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred sail, and carry off most of the best Syracusian galleys laid up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with cartiages to convey them to Syracuse, by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracustans, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He deseats Icetas at Adramum, and possessing for Syracuse and Messans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimosus.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a shaying recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost grigour and severity.	C		499	391
Dionysus advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Carthaginian territories. With this force he soon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred fail, and carry off most of the best Syracusian galleys laid up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.  Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse; by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracusians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He deseats Icetas at Adranum, and possessing to Diodorus.  A second treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost grigour and severity.		beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace ensues. • A plague breaks out in Carthage, which tweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardirise up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Carthaginian state. A particular species of	508	382
up in that harbour.  Dionysius II. succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.  Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse; by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracusians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He deseats Icetas at Adranum, and possessing the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost general sales.	d	produces dismal effects there.  Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, into the Carthaginian territories. With this force he soon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred	512	373
tion with the Carthaginians.  Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse; by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracustians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He defeats Icetas at Adranum, and possessement of Syracuse and Messan, according to Diodorus.  A fecond treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  523  367  523  367  524  356  344  546  344  547  343  557  343  551  339  551  339  552  338  337		up in that harbour.	522	368
Dionysius II.  Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracusians, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.  He deseats Icetas at Adranum, and possesses himself of Syracuse and Messana, according to Diodorus.  A second treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.	c	Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse; by which means	523	3 <sup>6</sup> 7
He defeats Icetas at Adranum, and possesses himself of Syracuse and Messana, according to Diodorus.  A second treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  547  343  547  343  551  339  552  338  337		Dionysius II. · · · · · ·	<i>53</i> <b>4</b>	<b>3</b> 56
A fecond treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.  I Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimefus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a defign at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  547  343  551  339  552  338  337		He defeats Icetas at Adranum, and possesses himself of Syra-	546	344
Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  551  339  552  338  337		A fecond treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica	547	343
under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimesus.  And concludes a peace with that nation.  About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at  Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroy- ing the whole body of the senate. He receives but a  slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the  African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  551  339  552  338  337	f	Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces	547	343
About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a defign at  Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroy- ing the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  554 336				339
having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.  554 336		About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a	<b>5</b> 52	338
354 3,5		having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost	55 <b>3</b>	337
	g	rigour and severity.	554	

	YEAR OF CARTHAGE.	YEAR before	a
Alexander forms the siege of Tyre, upon which the Tyrians	CARTHAGE.	CHRIST.	
fend their wives and children to Carthage, where they are			
kindly received.	559	331	
The Carthaginians fend Hamilear, furnamed Rhodanus, as their minister to Alexander at his camp before Tyre; and			
put him to death on his return home.	559	201	
The Cyreneans apply to the Carthaginians for succours against	229	331	
a body of Greek mercenaries, that invaded them, but in	_		
vain.	<b>5</b> 6 <b>8</b>	322	B
The Carthaginians fend some troops to the assistance of Sosi- stratus, and the Syracusian exiles, against Agathocles.	674	216	
They oblige Agathocles to restore the castle of Mylæ to the	57 <b>4</b>	316	
Messanians.	576	314	
Hamilear routs Agathoeles at Himera, according to Diodorus Siculus.	-0-		
Agathocles invades Africa, and gives a memorable defeat there	580	310	
to Hanno and Bomilear, the Carthaginian generals, accord-			
ing to Diodorus.	58 t	309	
Hamilear is taken by the Syracusians, and has his head struck			C
off, which is fent to Agathocles in Africa.  Agathocles prevails upon Ophellas, prince of the Cyreneans, to	582	308	
march to his affiftance, and then cuts him off by treachery.	583	307	
Bomilear crucified for forming a defign to make himfelf tyrant	5-5	5-7	
of Carthage.	583	307	
Agathoc'es receives a great defeat from the Carthaginians, and is forced to abandon Africa, which produces a peace			
between the two powers.	584	306	
The articles of the peace figned. • • •	585	30 <b>5</b>	
A third treaty concluded betweeen the Romans and the Car-	,		đ
thaginians about the time of Pyrrbus's arrival in Italy.  The Carthaginians offer the Romans affistance in their war	610	280	
with Pyrrbus, and for that purpose send a sleet of an hun-			
dred and twenty fail under the command of Mago; tho'			
the Romans decline accepting it.	$\theta_{10}$	280	
The Carthaginians beliege Syracuse with an army of fifty thousand men, and a fleet of an hundred sail.	119	278	
Pyrrbus makes a descent in Sicily, reduces all the Carthagi-	0.1	-/4	
nian towns in that island, except Lilybæum, almost as soon			
as he appears before them; and loses them again with	613	277	ġ
the same rapidity to the Carthaginians	614	276	
reinforce the Mamertine garrison of Messana, and thereby			
prevents Hiero from possessing himself of that place,		_	
which occasions the first <i>Punic</i> war.	625	265	
The first Punic war begins. • • • • The Romans, after a siege of seven months, take Agrigentum,	626	264	
and gain a victory over the Carthaginian forces under Hanno,			
fent to its relief	628	262	
The conful C. Duilius gains a complete victory over the Cartha-			E
ginians by sea, their admiral Hannibal escaping with much difficulty. The other consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio, being sur-			
prised, surrenders himself to the enemy under Boodes.	630	260	
A drawn naval engagement between the Carthaginians and	6		
The Conthaginian receive a great blow by fee from the Ro-	63 <b>3</b>	<sup>2</sup> 5 <b>7</b>	
The Carthaginians receive a great blow by fea from the Romans; above thirty of their ships being sunk, and sixty-			
three taken. Hanno, who had behaved so ill at Agri-			
gentum, and Hamilear, are their admirals at the time of			
this disaster. Regulus also lands this year in Africa, reduces		Adis	g
		21((1)	,

2		YEAR of CARTHAGE.	YEAR before CHRIST.
	Adis a strong sortress, and many other places. He gives the Carthaginian army, commanded by Hanno, Bostar, and Hamilear, a most memorable deseat.  The Roman army under Regulus overthrown by Xantippus the Lacedamonian, who, at the desire of the Carthaginian senate,	634	256
	takes upon him the command of their forces. Regulus himself is taken prisoner in this action.	635	255
	The Carthaginians become once more masters of the sea.	638	252
Ь	Lilybaum, a Punic town in Sicily, besieged by the Romans.	640	250
	The great Hannibal born.  Hamilear behaves himself with great bravery for three years	642	248
	together in Sicily.  The Carthaginians under Hanno are routed by the Romans	645	245
	near the island Ægusa or Ægates.  Hamilear, having received full powers from the Carthaginian fenate for that purpose, concludes a peace with the Romans.	648	242
	This puts a period to the first <i>Punic</i> war, after it had lasted		
c	four-and-twenty years.  After various turns of fortune, the African or Libyan war is	649	241
	brought to a happy conclusion by Hamilear, though the Cartbaginians were reduced to the last extremity through the incapacity of Hanno, and Hannibal, by his indolence,		
	had given a great advantage to the enemy.  Hamilear, being fent by the Carthaginians as their general into	652	238
	Spain, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, subdues nine different nations; but exposing himself too much in a battle with some of the most warlike Spaniards as yet un-		
d	conquered, he is stain, and succeeded in his post by Asdrubal.  Asdrubal dies, and is succeeded by Hannibal. That general	661	229
	takes Aithwa, the capital of the Olcades; conquers that nation, the Vaccwi, Carpetani, &c. The Saguntines apprise	•	
	the Romans of these proceedings.  The Romans, by their embassadors, expostulate with Hanni-	670	220
	bal upon his taking of Saguntum. That general, having fet- tled matters in Spain, makes preparations for a war with		
	the Romans.  This year the fecond Punic war commences, according to Polybius. Hannibal passes the Alps, and defeats Scipio at	671	219
e	Polybius. Hannibal passes the Alps, and defeats Scipio at Ticinum, now called Pavia, after taking Turin, and routing		
	the Gauls, who disputed the passage of the Rhone.  The same general overthrows Sempronius on the banks of the	672	218
	Trebia.  Hanno is defeated in Spain by Scipio, who extends his conquests	. 672	218
	as far as the <i>Iberus</i> .  C. Flaminius is overthrown by Hannibal at the lake of Thra-	672	218
	fymene, now the Lago di Perugia, with the slaughter of fisteen thousand men. He likewise gives a terrible repulse		
f	Scipio deseats Hanno at the town of Cissa in Spain.	673	217
	The Roman army, commanded by Terentius Varro and Amilius Paulus, is totally defeated at Cannæ upon the Aufidus in Apulia. This was the greatest blow the Romans ever received. The Carthaginians in Spain under Astrubal, are overcome		
	by the Romans.  Philip king of Macedon, by his minister Xenophanes, concludes	674	216
	a treaty with Hannibal.	675	215
g	Hannibal takes Tarentum.  Capua besieged by the Romans. The two Scipio's, with their	675 678	212
	Vol. VI. Nº 9. 8 U		armies,

	YEAR OF CARTHAGE.	YEAR before CHRIST.	2
armies, destroyed in Spain by the Carthaginians and their allies.  Hannibal, in order to raise the siege of Capua, bends his march	678	212	
towards Rome, and advances within five miles of that capital.  Tarentum retaken by Fabius.  Hannibal, by a stratagem circumventing M. Claudius Mar-	679 681	211 209	
cellus and T. Quintius Cri/pinus, cuts off Marcellus, and other Romans of distinction.  Edeco, Indibilis, Mandonius, &c. petty kings or reguli of Spain, join Scipio. By the accession of their forces he is enabled to	682	208	Ь
vanquish Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, at Bætula, and to drive him out of Spain.  Asdrubal, coming with a powerful army into Italy to join Han-		208	
nibal, is overthrown, and his army utterly ruined.  Scipio in Stain vanquishes Afdrubal the son of Gisco, Mago, and Indibilis; draws off Masinissa from the Carthaginian interest;		207	
reduces all Spain; and is then recalled to Rome.  Scifio lands in Africa; besieges Utica; burns the camps of Syphax and Afdrubal; overthrows the Carthaginian, Numidian and Celtiberian forces; and takes Tunis. Iiannibal is		206	С
obliged to quit <i>Italy</i> , and return to <i>Africa</i> .  An interview between <i>Scipio</i> and <i>Hannibal</i> . The latter of these is intirely deseated at the battle of <i>Zama</i> ; which pro-	687 688	203 202	
duces a peace, and terminates the fecond Punic war.  Hannibal, being obliged to leave his native country, lands at Tyre, and afterwards feeks an afylum at the court of An-	_	201	
Hannibal dies, according to Livy and Cornelius Negos.  Masinissa, depending on his friendship with Rome, makes an irruption into the province of Tysca, and invades the Car-		195 182 160 or	d
thaginian territories.  An embassy is sent from Rome, at the head of which is Cato, to dispose both parties to an accommodation, and determine all differences between them upon the spot. But the Carthaginians reject the mediation of the Romans, tho' they had	731	159	
before admitted it; which occasions the third Punic war. A bloody war breaks out between Carthage and Masinissa. The Carthaginians, after the Romans had most perfidiously and inhumanly deprived them of all means of defence, are	732 740 744 Or, accord	158 150 146 ing to Sir <i>Vanc</i>	е
commanded to demolish their city; which they not complying with, it is totally destroyed by Æmilianus, and levelled with the ground.	Newton and conjunction 746	d Salmafius, in on with solinus, 146	

ton, agree very well in fertiling the ara of Carthage.

Appian tells us in round numbers, that Carthage stood seven hundred years; but Phefius, Soli- Solinus, with greater accuracy, determines its duration to have been seven hundred rus, Sa'mafius, and thirty-seven years, i.e. either so many complete years precisely, or so many sir Isaac New- complete years, with part of another elapsed, which was not reckoned in the computation. Now, if, with Sir Isaac Newton and Salmasius, we suppose this term to have commenced at the encania or dedication of the city, which, they have proved, fell upon the fixteenth year of Pygmalion's reign at Tyre, the beginning of the foundation of Carthage must be placed nine years higher, since Dido came to dfrica in the seventh year of that prince's reign; and consequently this happened seven hundred and fortyfix years before the final destruction of that city by Emilianus. Since therefore Josephus, from Menander Ephesius, or, according to Tatian, Menander of Pergamus, as he is corrected by Petavius, intimates, that Coribage preceded Rome an hundred and forty years, which almost exactly corresponds with Sir Isace Newton and Salmafius; and fince the æra of Petavius, which we have followed, does not differ from that of Solinus, as stated by the two great men above-mentioned, above two years, a g a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may look upon these æra's as the same. This is a strong presumption, that both of them approach very near the truth; and therefore we may venture to affure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, chuse which of them they please '.

THE chronological synopsis here inserted, gives our readers the whole plan of the End of this affairs of Carthage at one view, and, by enabling them to form a general idea of all chronological the principal events that happened to this republic at once, prepares them for the frontis.

perusal of the following history with double advantage (B).

Ir may not be improper to inform our readers, that the first part of this synopsis Authorities depends chiefly upon the authority of Justin and Orosius, compared with Diodorus upon which is Siculus, as the latter does upon that of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, in conjunction is sounded. b with archbishop Usher. The times of the first transactions of this state it is imposfible to determine to any tolerable degree of exactness; yet, we hope, our determination of them is not very remote from the truth. In afcertaining the years of tho'c of a later date, we have paid no regard to the fentiments of those writers who differ from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, as being in point of authority vaftly inferior to them k.

<sup>1</sup> Appian in Lybic. Solin. c. 30. Salmas, in Solin. ibid. Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. Joseph. antiq I. viii. c. 2, 5. l. ix. c. 14. & cont. Apion. I.i. Dion. Petav. dedoct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. Solin. c. 27. Tatian. 2dv. Grac. h Justin. Oros. Diodor. Sic. & Polyb. paffim. Uss. annal. vet. test. paff. Vide etiam Glareant chronol in Liv. per Badium Afcenfium, Parif. ex officin. Mich. Vafcosani, 1543.

(B) We doubt not but the whole learned world will intirely concur with us in our notion of the incomparable archbishop Usher; and, to shew our regard to the memory of to profound a chronologer, we shall endeavour to clear up a point, which he has left a little consuled. That most learned prelate fixes the foundation of Rome, with Fa-bius Pictor, towards the close of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth olympiad; and yet he will have the year of Rome fix hundred and feven (in which Carthage was finally destroyed) to have preceded the christian æra an hundred and forty-fix years. This seems to render him a little inconsistent with himself; for an hundred forty-fix years, added to fix hundred and seven, makes seven hundred and fifty-three years, which, he appears to intimate, was the age of Rome at the birth of Christ. But this feeming inconfiftency will vanish, when we consider, that he all along follows Fabius Pictor, who places the foundation of Rome five years lower than Varro, whom Pliny, Solinus, and most of the Roman authors, follow. This observation will obviate all difficulties that might otherwise occur in some material points, from comparing archbishop Usher with the generality of the Roman chronologers, and thereby pre-vent confusion. The year of Rome, in which the destruction of Carthage happened, according to Fa-

bins Pictor, must have been the fix hundred and second, to which add an hundred and forty-fix, and it corresponds, as well as the other, with the christian æra. This is a demonstration of the truth of archbishop Ujher's computation in this particular; and therefore nothing further can be added to it. We think it proper to inform our readers here, that, from the commencement of the olympiads, our numbers perfectly agree with them, and confequently are not repugnant either to the Varronian or Failan accounts, the, with a chbiftop Uper, we are of opinion, that the latter points out the true epoch of Rome. It must not be forgot, that we were mistaken in the Roman history, vol. iv. p. 425 l. 8, 9, 10. when we made archbishop Upher to prefer Varro's opinion to that of Fabius; and yet at the fame time observed, that the archbishop places the birth of Christ seven hundred and forty-eight years distant from the foundation of Rome, in direct agreement with Fabius. What led us to that milfake, was a passage in him, wherein he seems to fo'low Varro; but, upon a second peruial of that passage, we are fully convinced, that he there only gives us what, he conceived, was Pliny's opinion. We must likewise beg our readers to correct the word eighty. nine in the beginning of l. 19. p. 659. vol. vi. which ought to be ninety-two (2).

(2) Fac. Uff. annal. par. post. ad ann. Jul. period. 4568. p. 87. & annal. ves. sest. ad ann. Jul. period. 3966. p. 87. edit. Lond. 1650, & 1654.

### SECT. V.

The history of the Carthaginians, from the foundation of their city, to the first Punic war.

c ELISA, known also by the name of Dido, fled from Tyre in the seventh year of the Cause of Elisa's reign of Pygmalion king of that city. Her flight is faid to have been occasioned departure from by the cruel and insatiable avarice of Pygmalion, who was her brother. This prince, in order to secure to himself the immense treasures of his uncle Sichaus, who had married his fifter Dido, was the priest of Hercules, and, by virtue of that post, the second person in the kingdom, sound means to destroy him. The manner in which this was effected, is differently related: Virgil will have it, that Pygmalion barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar; but Eustathius and Cedrenus intimate, that he dispatched

him at a hunting-match, and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the a fall had been the occasion of his death. However, as Sichaus was well acquainted with the fordid and avaricious temper of his nephew, he had, by way of precaution, buried his riches under ground; which, with the prudent and artful conduct of Elisa, rendered abortive the tyrant's design. Sichæus, appearing to his disconsolate widow in a dream, apprifed her of his tragical exit, and advised her to fly immediately, in order to avoid the same sate. Upon this she determined to make her escape, and carry off those treasures, which had prompted her brother to so inhuman an action; but, in order to this, she judged it proper for some time to amuse him, which she did, by diffembling her refentment, and keeping up the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of affembling her friends, and concerting with b them the proper measures for speedily abandoning Tyre. The principal of these were her brother Barea, and several senators, who, hating Pygmalion, and apprehending themselves every moment in danger of being sacrificed by a prince, who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the defign she had formed the more effectually, she applied to the king for vessels to carry her, Barca, and their effects, to Charica or Charlaca, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of reliding there. To this Pygmalion readily agreed, as imagining, that by such a step he should become master of what had so long been the object of his most ardent desires. Elisa, being thus supplied with men and ships, weighed anchor; and being got into the ocean at a proper c distance from Tyre, commanded her men to throw into the sea some bags filled with fand, which, she told them, contained the wealth of her husband Sichaus, and, in a doleful tone, intreated his manes to accept of those riches as an oblation, which had been the cause of his destruction. Then, addressing herself to her companions, she gave them to understand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's refentment, for being instrumental in defeating his avaricious purposes, if ever they fell into his hands; by which means having fixed them more firmly in her interest, she pursued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach, before he was apprifed of her refolution a.

Pyamilion prevented from puruing Elita.

Pygmalion, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his fifter's fubtlety, and being d grieved, that those treasures should be fnatched from him in a moment, which he thought himself so sure of, and which he had so long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to pursue the sugitives; but he was diverted from this design by the intreaties of his mother, and the menaces of the inspired college of vates, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obstruct in any manner the grand project Elisa was gone upon b.

Flifa touched

THE first place our heroine touched at was some port in the island of Cyprus, pospirfi at Cyptus. fibly Salamis, which was then in its infancy; fince, according to Virgil and Servius, in conjunction with the Arundelian marbles, Teucer, and Mettinus, Elisa's father, seized upon Cyprus, or at least a part of it, not very long before, when the former of these built Salamis. Here she met with a priest of Jupiter, who offered to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune; which she readily accepted of. As this motion of the priest proceeded from an impulse, or rather command, of the deity himself, she looked upon it as a good omen, and settled the priesthood of Jupiter in that family .

Cyprian women proflitute them elves for dowries.

It was a prevailing custom in this island at the time of Elisa's arrival, for the maids to go on certain stated days, before marriage, to the sea-side, there to look for strangers that might possibly arrive on their coasts, in order to prostitute themselves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of these the Tyrians selected a certain number, Justin says eighty; and carrying them on board, found them very subser- f vient to their delign of planting a new colony d.

JUSTIN, l. XVIII. TACIT. annal. XVI. TERTUL. in Pal. SIL. ITAL. l. i. APPIAN. in Lib. sub init. Eustynh. in Dionys. Afr. ut & ipse Dionys. Herodian. l. v. Liv. l. XXXIV. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Virgua An. i. & iv. Serv. in Virg. An. i. & iv. Georg. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. Joseph. antiq. l. viii. c. 13. cont. Apion. l. i. Solin. c. 30. & 27. edit. Salm. Vide & Salian. & Torniel. in annal. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 63. & rationar. temp. par. ii. l. ii. c. 13. Tatian. cont. Grac. Theophil. Antiochen. apud Autoly l. iii. Tertul. apol. Clem. Alex. Strabo, l. XVIII. Plin. l. v. AMMIAN. MARCEL. PLUTARCH. EUTROP. FLOR. OROS. ZONAR. REINECC. hist. Jul. vol. i. & ii. Hendr. de rep. Carth. l. i. sect. i. c. 1. b Justin. l. xviii. e Idem ibid. Virg. Æn. i. Serv. in loc. Apollodor. Newton's chronol. p. 65. d Justin. ubi supre.

From hence they steered their course for the coasts of Africa, and at last happily She lands in landed in the province called afterwards Africa Propria, not far from Utica, a Tyrian Atrica. colony, and city of great antiquity; which we have already described. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all possible demonstrations of joy, and giving them a most kind reception, advised them to build a city upon that spot, to which the fates had conducted them .

IT was Elifa's first care, upon her arrival, to cultivate a good understanding with Cultivates a the natives, to which they were by no means, for any confiderable time, averie, on good underaccount of the advantages they perceived would naturally flow to them from an esta-the natives. blished commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She then purchased a track of land of them, for her and her wearied Tyrians to settle upon. Justin, Appian, b Virgil, Eustathius, Themistius, &c. intimate, that the Phanicians imposed upon the Africans, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They defired for their intended fettlement only fo much ground as an ox's hide would encompass. This request the Africans at first laughed at; but were surprised, when, upon their granting it, they found Elisa cut the hide into the smallest shreds, and with them surrounded a large extent of territory, on which she built a citadel, from this incident called Býrsa. The learned however unanimously agree in exploding this fable, which feems to owe its origin either to the envy and malice of the Romans, or the vanity of the Greeks, who ridiculously affected to deduce every thing that savoured

the natives; which may possibly be true, since it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the Tyrians possessed was, by their first agreement with the Africans, exacted from them, which they were obliged to pay for many years after f.

of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never fo remote from

Appian seems to infinuate, that at first Elija met with some opposition from

THE neighbouring people, at first invited by the prospect of lucre, and with this Either builds a view repairing to the *Phanician* settlement to sell these foreigners the necessaries of new city there, life, in a short time incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants soon old one. growing very numerous, Elifa followed the advice of the Utican embassadors, who were fent to congratulate her upon her happy arrival in the name of their state; and built a new city, or at least much inlarged the old one, which could make no very d considerable figure before. As the natives of the country, or Aborigines, were of the fame fentiments with the Uticans in this particular, and, as may reasonably be prefurned, gave the Tyrians all necessary assistance, both in the building their city, and peopling it afterwards, Carthage soon became a place of great same, and demanded the respect of all its neighbours g.

We are told by Justin, that, in digging for the foundations of the city, the work- A horse's head men first found an ox's head, which was indeed a symbol of fertility of soil, but at found whilst the same time presaged continual toil, and perpetual servitude, to the city. Upon this the Tyrians they removed to another spot, where, in digging, they discovered a horse's head, for the soundawhich they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the tions of Case inhabitants. Eustathius adds, that the horse's head had a palm-tree, or at least a thagebranch of palm, discovered with it; which they considered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This determined Elisa to fix upon that spot for the situation of her city; and in allusion to this it was, that the Carthaginians had, in after-ages, a horse's head, or a horse and a palm-tree, so frequently upon the reverses of their coins h (C).

THE principal names of Carthage have already been given in the first section of the Different history we are now upon. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the names of Car-Carthaginians are sometimes called Sidonians, and their city Tyre, by antient authors. thage. Eusebius seems to affirm, that its most antient name was Origo; but as Carthage and

e Idem ibid. f Justin. l. xviii. Virg. Æn. i. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. Appian. in Lib. sub init. Themist. orat. xxi. p. 260, 261. Serv. in Æn. i. Liv. l. xxxiv. Dionys. in perieg. Justin. l. xix. Sil. Ital. l. i. Vide Voss. th gent. l. i. c. 32. Bochart. Chan. &c. & Virg. Serv. & Justin. ubi sup. b Virg. & Justin. ubi sup. Isidor. l. xv. c. 2. & l. ix. c. 2. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. Steph. Byzant. deurb. Anton. Augustin. dial. ant. 6. Suid. Cæl. Rhodigin. ant. lect. l. xviii. c. 38. & Boch. Chan. l. i.

(C) Some of these coins, particularly of the filver and gold ones, are of exquilite workmanship, nothing at all inferior to any of the Greek or Roman. They are found in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers,

in those parts of Spain the Carthaginians first possessed, and in Sicily. Numbers of them may be seen in Aldrete, Paruta, Haym, and the cabinets of the curious.

its foundress are both mentioned in that passage; and as her name, Elisa (D) or Elissa, a imports the same thing in Hebrew or Phanician as Virago in Latin, Bochart takes the word Open or Origo to be a corruption of Outpays or Virago; and consequently supposes it to refer not to Carthage, but to Elisa or Dido. As Servius afferts, though falfly, Dido in Punic to have answered to Virago in Latin, and it is very possible Eufebius might have been imposed upon by this mistake, we cannot help declaring ourfelves intirely of Bochart's opinion. It is likewise denominated by Stephanus Oenusa, or Oenussa; by Eustathius, Cadmea; and by Suidas, Aphrice. According to some, the name Tarshish in scripture sometimes denotes Carthage; in one passage particularly this word feems to plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered by the vulgate version Carthago. Theodoret and others countenance this notion i.

Dido sought in marriage by Iarbas, a neighbouring trince.

EVERY thing thus conspiring with Elisa's views, and succeeding according to her defire, by the coalition of different nations, the new city, in a short time, grew wealthy and flourishing; which agreeable situation tempted Iarbas, a neighbouring prince, to endeavour at making himself master of it without any essusion of blood. In order to which he defired, that an embasily of ten of the most noble Carthaginians might be fent him; which having obtained, he proposed to them a marriage with Elija or Dido, for that, in all probability, was the name she went by after her departure from her native country, threatening them with a war, in case of a resusal. The embassadors, being afraid to deliver the message, told their sovereign with Punic fubtlety, that Iarbas defired some person might be sent him, who was capable of c civilizing and polishing himself and his dfricans; but that there was no possibility of finding any of her subjects, who would leave his relations for the conversation of barbarians, who were as favage as the wildest beasts. Here being reprimanded by the queen, she asked them, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed their very lives? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that, according to her own decision of the point, and to set her subjects a good example, she ought to sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Being thus ensnared, she called upon her husband Sichaus with tears and lamentations, and at last answered, that she would go where her own fate, and that of her city, called her. In the mean time she caused a pile d to be erected in the farthest part of the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time she required for the execution of her design, killing many victims, as tho she intended to sacrifice to, and appeale the manes of her first husband before her second marriage, she ascended it. Then looking all around her upon the spectators, she told them, she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her; and immediately, with a dagger she had taken with her for that purpose, put a period to her days k.

Justin and Virgil's account of the death of that princess, which, we need not tell our readers, is different from Virgil's. Gedrenus and Sir Isaac Newton savour Virgil's notion, their opicion of though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of these relates, that Eneas the Phrygian, after the destruction of Troy, came to Africa, and resided some time with Dido there; but perceiving Iarbas, king of the Numidians, the Mauritanians, the Massili or the Gatulians, to take umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and refentment. This passage of Cedrenus, whom we take to have been a very good compiler and collector of antient history, seems greatly to support Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to Eneas and Dido's being cotemporaries, and likewise to evince a most material point, viz. that Virgil, and Tro-

> VIRG. & SIL. ITAL past. SAL. de bell. Jugurth. Tibul. l. iv. ver. 137. Ovid. ep. her. D. August. de unit. eccles. Ezek. xxvii. 12. Thedoret. Hieronym. Euseb. in chron. Boch. in prefat. Phal. & k Justin. ubi sup. Chan. l. i.

(D) According to the author of the etymologicon magnum, Elisa or Elissa was the first name of this princess, which, as Bochart shews, may either be interpreted divina virgo, or, with the Arabic article prefixed, virago, xal eξοχίν. Phavorinus, in conjunction with the author of the etymologicon aforesaid, will have the name Dido to have been given her after her arrival in Africa, 2s importing the traveller, or wanderer, to which Bochart

agrees. Eustathius absurdly says, Dido signifies a murderer of a husband; whereas Elisa or Elissa will admit of fuch an interpretation: and Servins, with as much impropriety, translates Dido virago, the undoubted fignification of Elifa or Eliffa. Many more conjectures about these words may be seen in Bochart and Volfius, which it is not worth while to recite (3).

<sup>(3)</sup> Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. & l. ii. c. 24. Enfluth. in Dlonyf. Afr. Voff. idol. gent. l. i. c. 32. Serv. in An. Reinec. in hift. Jul. t. 1, 2.

a gus, whom Justin epitomized, agree in their chronology. What Sir Isaac Newton advances concerning Dido's father Mettinus and Teucer's seizing upon Cyprus about the time of the Trojan war, renders Virgil's chronology likewise more probable, than the generality of learned men are willing to allow. But this we shall just touch upon immediately 1.

How long Dido reigned at Carthage, or when the came to the violent death above-Dido's characmentioned, we cannot take upon us to determine. What feems to be the best sup-ter. ported by antient history is, that her brother Barca and fister Anna attended her from Tyre to Africa; and that, by their committing every thing to her management and direction, it should seem she was a woman of an uncommon genius. This likewise **b** appears from the artful manner in which the imposed upon her brother Pygmalionbefore her departure from Tyre, when, under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her husband's death, which, she infinuated, Cartbage could not fail of perpetuating, she had the address to persuade him, that her intention really was to retire to, and reside at, Chartaca. The secrecy and prudence with which her grand enterprize was conducted, as well as the cunning device by which she fixed even Pygmalion's men in her interest, above recited, indisputably evince the same thing. That she was a lady of most attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chastity,

is attested by the best authors ".

Macrobius tells us, that Virgil's relation of Dido's amours with Aneas, and of her Mecrobius ine laying violent hands on herself at his departure from Africa, after he had debauched co-stillent with her, was universally esteemed as sabulous in his age. This indeed we disbelieve, but bimself in relation to Dido's not upon Macrobius's authority; for that author is inconsistent with himself in respect character. to Dido's character. In one place he celebrates her temperance and chaftity, which is exactly agreeable to the faith of history; whereas in another he makes her guilty of the greatest intemperance, luxury and profusion at her entertainments; which, in our opinion, deserves no credit at all, as being not only contrary to the general character of our princess, but likewise to the Carthaginian genius, as has been above observed. Virgil, as a Roman, we believe, in this particular did not pay the greatest regard to truth, the antipathy betwixt his nation and the Carthaginians not permitting d it; but notwithstanding this, we cannot help imagining his chronology to be something nearer the truth than is generally supposed, and that for the reasons hinted above, as well as for the following one, which to us feems fomething cogent, and which therefore we beg leave to transcribe from the excellent Sir Isaac Newton: " The Pha-" nicians, after the death of Melcartus, says this incomparable author, built a temple to him in the island Gades, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of "Hercules, and of his bydra, and the horses, to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Bistones in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing smaragdine fruit; and by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion you may know, that it was built in their e "days." If these facts, and the reasoning built upon them, be admitted, it will follow, that Teucer and Pygmalion were cotemporaries, and consequently that Eneas and Dido might be fo. Now, though we cannot pretend to affert, that this argument is demonstrative, because there is no absolute necessity to suppose, that all these ornaments were brought into the temple at once, yet, considering what we have before offered from Sir Isaac Newton, Apollodorus, Servius, and the marbles, in proof of Teucer and Mettinus's being jointly concerned in the conquest of Cyprus, we cannot look upon it as void of a tolerable degree of probability ".

How long monarchical government prevailed at Carthage, or what accidents befel A chasm in the this state in its infancy, or even what transactions it was concerned in for several ages bissory of Carat first, we cannot inform our readers, since there is a chasm in the Carthaginian those for history for above three hundred years after the tragical end of Dido. In general hundred years. Justin, and he alone, gives us to understand, that Carthage was much agitated by civil diffentions, and haraffed with the plague during part of this period. It likewise appears from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, that this republic had got a strong footing in Sicily and Sardinia, and made confiderable acquisitions elsewhere, before the date of any of those transactions it bore a part in, the knowledge of which has reached us. Thucydides and Herodotus moreover put it beyond dispute, that it was very formidable

<sup>1</sup> CEDREN. ubi supra. Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. m Reinec. hist. Jul. t. 1. SIL. ITALIC. п Масков. faturn. l. v. c. 17. & l. vii. с. 1. JUST. ubi Supra. TERTULLIAN. MACROB. AUSON. &C. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon l. v. c. 1. apud Phot. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 112, 113, &c.

formidable by jea in the time of Cyrus and Cambyfes.

Carthage very by sea even in the time of Cyrus and Cambyses, and that it must have performed many a brave exploits upon that element even before the reigns of those puissant monarchs. But this is not to be wondered at, it not being possible for any nation endued with fuch a genius, and possessed of so much power, as the Carthaginians must have been famous for in very early ages, to have long remained in a state of inaction, either by A flourishing state of commerce naturally begets riches, and riches power; and, confidering that ambition is a darling passion in the minds of great men, and almost inseparable from power, and that war, for the most part, is the effect of ambition, it cannot well be doubted, but that our republic made many expeditions against, and incursions into, the territories of its neighbours, long before the beginning of, what may be termed with respect to us, the Carthaginian historical b period of time. Had the writings of Philistus Syracusanus, Ephorus, Timæus Siculus, Aratus, Trogus Pompeius, the fixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth books of Diodorus Siculus, or any of the Punic historians, been now extant, we might have received sufficient light from them in many material points relating to the first ages of Carthage; but all these have, for a long series of generations, been no more. The Punic archives would also most certainly have set us right in all particulars of moment relating to the history we are now upon, had they been in being; but these the ROMAN virtue, generofity, greatness of foul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny posterity, lest they should bave given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cause of truth. We are therefore obliged, tho' with great regret, to pass over the transactions of the Cartha- c ginian state during the chasm aforesaid, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work in the best manner we can from those pieces and fragments of antiquity, that, through the injuries of time, have been handed down to us.

The Carthaginians, in conjunction with defeated in a Phocæans.

We have just hinted, that the Carthaginians were very powerful by sea in the time of Cyrus and his fon Cambyses, not to say much earlier. This appears from feveral confiderations, particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruscans and that of the Phocaens, one of the most formidable nations in the world by sea in Cyrus's reign, wherein tho' the Phofea-fight by the coans got the victory, yet their whole fleet was either funk or disabled; insomuch that they durst not venture a second engagement, but abandoned the island of Cyr- d nus, now Corsica, to the Carthaginians and Etruscans. The Phocaans retired to Rhegium, and soon after to Enotria, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrbenian or Etruscan sea, over against Velia in Lucania, which their ancestors had first peopled; and the Carthaginians, with the Etruscans, took quiet possession of Cyrnus. Herodotus and Thucydides both take notice of this sea fight, as one of the most antient to be met with in history. The Carthaginian and Etruscan united fleets confisted of an hundred and twenty fail, the most active part of which, we may suppose, was the Carthaginian, fince the Etruscans at that time did not make so great a figure by sea; and the Phocean of fixty. Herodotus feems to fneer the Phoceans upon their victory, as being, in a manner, ruined by it. According to Thucydides, the Phocaens built Massilia, e now Marseilles, some time near this period o.

Towards the conclusion of Cyrus's reign, or that of his uncle Cyaxeres the second, as we have stated it, the Carthaginians carried on a war with the neighbouring African princes, wherein they obtained great advantages, which, according to Justin, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general Macheus (E). after the conclusion of this war, they sent a great body of forces, with a powerful fleet, to Sicily, under the command of the same general, who reduced a good part of that god part of the island to their obedience. But notwithstanding the happy situation of their affairs island of Sicily abroad, the author above-mentioned infinuates, that they were much agitated by f civil dissentions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the pestilence, that then made dreadful havock at Carthage, seems to have been the most terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appeale them with human facrifices; nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they

· Неворот. l. i. Тнисур. l. i. fub init.

(É) This general's name, in some manuscripts of Justin, is Maleus, in others Machaus or Macheus. Orofius calls him Mazeus; and Gravius, Malchus. Vossus likewise seems to prefer the last to the others; but offers no folid argument for this preference.

We beg leave therefore to follow Reineccius, Ubbo Emmius, and Hendreich, who chuse Machaus, notwithstanding many of our late editions of Justin have Maleus.

fcrupled'

a scrupled not to offer up their children themselves on this melancholy occasion. This detestable practice, so contrary to the dictates of humanity, and all the tender impulses of nature, instead of producing the desired effect, incensed the gods still more Incense the gods against them. In consequence of which, according to Justin's observation, their arms by sacrificing were attended afterwards with ill success, though they had before been so fortunate them. in Sicily (which, by the way, proves their fettlement in that island to have been coeval with, if not prior to, the beginning of the Persian empire) for, immediately after the conclusion of the Sicilian war, transporting their forces into the island of Sardinia, they intended nothing less than making an absolute conquest of it; but the displeasure of the gods now pursuing them, they received a notable deseat here from b the Sardi, in which above half of their army was cut off. Enraged at fo many disasters, instead of endeavouring to discover the true cause of them, they banished Banish their their general Machaus, with the remainder of the army under his command. That general Macommander, covered with glory and victory before the last unhappy expedition to chaus, Sardinia, could not but highly refent fuch ungrateful as well as inhuman treatment, especially as, by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the island of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthaginians, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. First therefore he sends to Carthage in an amicable manner, begging the senate not to impute to him, and the troops, the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; adding withal, that, in case of a resusal, they would do themselves justice by force of arms. But neither this friendly remonstrance, nor the menace annexed to it, making any impression on the senate, after waiting in vain some days for an answer, they went on board their ships, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. As foon as they had invested it, they appealed to Who befieges the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declared in the presence of gods Carthage, and men, that their defign was not to hurt their fellow-citizens, but only to demonstrate to them what wrong sentiments they had entertained of their valour, when they attributed the loss above-mentioned to a want of bravery in the troops; whereas it ought to be ascribed to the caprice of fortune. This not availing, after they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and the continent, they besieged it in form, and soon reduced it to the last extremity for want of provisions. The Carthaginians, involved in these deplorable circumstances, began now to reslect upon their past folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themselves out of their present difficulties, was the grand question. In the mean time Cartalo, the general's son, arrived in the city from Tyre, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and possibly have disposed him to an accommodation. This Cartalo had been fent by his countrymen to Tyre, with the tenths of an immense quantity of plunder taken by his father in Sicily, intended as a donation or offering to the Tyrian Hercules; and passing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but this command, for the present, he refused complying with, e under pretence, that he must perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an instance of filial duty. Machaus was far from being pleased with this answer; however, for the present he took care to conceal his resentment, as not daring to do any thing that might look like the least violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, having obtained leave for that purpose, he came out of the city to the camp, dressed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it should seem, the priest of Hercules. His father, far from being struck with such a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addressed himself to him in the following terms: " Hast thou the assurance, " most abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and splendid habit before so many " miserable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed with woe? What mean these ensigns " of peace and felicity at this juncture, but to infult all of us? Was there no other " place for thee to display thy pride and haughtiness in, but this spot of ground, " which is the scene of thy father's misery and disgrace? How came you so lately " to despise, with such an insolent air, the command, I will not say of your father, " but of your general? And what are these gorgeous robes but the fruit of my " victories? Since therefore you have confidered me not as a father, but an exile, " I, in return, will behave to you not as a father, but a general." And he was as good as his word; for immediately ordering a high cross to be erected, he had him crucified thereon in his facred vestments, in the sight of all the citizens. Some days And crucifies after, the city furrendered; when convening the fenate and people, he complained of his son Cartalo.

g the injury and indignity offered him, and excused the hostile manner in which he had The city surrenter.

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8 Y

behaved

behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice, but necessity. He, for the a present, made no alterations in the established form of government; but contented himself with putting to death ten of the senators, by whose advice the late violent resolutions against him and the army had been taken o (F).

ALL

O Justin. & Oros. ubi supra.

(F) In this note we shall endeavour to give some account of crucifixion, which was a capital punishment used amongst the Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, fews, Africans, Greeks, and Romans. According to Fagius, it was not at first in use amongst the Jews; and indeed this appears from the law of Moses it-felf. The learned Casaubon concurs with him herein, though Baronius and Lipsius maintain the contrary opinion. Sigonias confounds this with hanging or suspension, as does father Calmet in many instances, particularly those of the worshippers of Baal-peor, and the king of Ai, who were hung up The Talmudists refer it to stoning or lapidation. There were three different forts of crosses erected for the execution of malefactors. The first was the crux decussata, in the form of the letter X, as St. Andrew's cross is pictured. The second the crux commissa, like the letter T. The third the crux immissa, when one piece of wood was transversely fattened to another in fuch a manner, as to cut it at right angles at some distance from the top, so +. Such, according to antient medals, and the tradition of the christian church in all ages, was our bleffed Saviour's cross. Crucifixion was the punishment appointed for slaves, and the scum of the people, when guilty of the most enormous crimes, and was therefore called fervile supplicium; the freemen, or persons of distinction, in such cases, falling by the ax or fword. The criminals, before execution, were taken either from home or the prætorium amongst the Romans, and scourged in a most cruel manner. Sometimes they were tied to the cross, as we find our bleffed Saviour was, and always obliged to carry it, or part of it. When they arrived at the place of execution, they were stripped naked, and nailed to the cross, either lying on the ground, or erect. Their hands and feet were first tied to it with cords, and afterwards nailed with three or four nails, as the executioner pleased, beginning with the right hand or foot, and proceeding from thence to the left. Upon the piece of wood rising above the arms of the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross an inferior was a first the cross and the cross and the cross a first the cross and the cross an the cross, an inscription was posted, specifying the crime for which the malefactor fuffered, though fometimes, instead of this, the crier proclaimed it to the spectators attending the execution. In Judea, the thighs of the malefactors were broken, in case they were not dead by fun-fet; because the Fews, by their law, were obliged to take them from the cross at that time, which the Romans, their governors, permitted them to do. By the Roman laws, the bodies remained on the crofs, till they were intirely consumed, as our notorious offenders do now upon gibbets; nevertheless the judge, or supreme magistrate, had the power of giving the bodies to friends or relations, in order to be interred. On the emperor's birth-day, or fuch-like festivals, they were frequently taken down from the cross, and buried, without the intercession of friends. The Jews constantly buried the bodies of crucified malefactors, in conformity to their law, though the pagans left them exposed on the cross as aforesaid. According to some authors, the patibulum, or gallows, and the

antient cross, were the fame, though Isidorus makes them different. He calls the transverse piece of wood patibulum, and the crect one stipes and crux. Afterwards patibulum and furca, the gallows, were the fame, and the punishment on them was looked upon as much milder, and less ignominious, than that on the crofs; for on the gallows the crimina's foon expired, whereas on the cross they continued a long time in torture. Sometimes offenders fuffered death on the cross with their heads downwards, as St. Peter; and iometimes with their thighs as well as arms expanded, in like manner as St. Andrew is supposed to have been crucified. The crosses were made of the hardest wood, frequently of oak, as some believe our Saviour's was. The places of execution were either near the public roads and highways, or on the top of some mountain or eminence, that the bodies might be feen by all people, and thereby a terror struck into them. If the crux and patibulum were originally the fame, crucifixion prevailed at Rome in the time of the kings. The perfons condemned to be crucified, or deserving it, were called by the Romans cruciarii. To be crucified was a mark of great infamy to foldiers, officers and men of quality. This punishment was so com-mon amongst the Romans in the times of the republic, and afterwards, that pains, afflictions, troubles, and unprosperous affairs, were called crosses, and the verb cruciare frequently denoted the infliction of all forts of chastisements, and pains of body and mind.

Friends and relations generally attended the execution, in order to beg the bodies of the fupreme magistrate or commanding officer, at least in Judea. When this did not happen, parties of foldiers were posted near them, to prevent their being carried off. Constantine abolished crucifixion, thinking enormous villains, and persons guilty of the most stagant crimes, unworthy of suffering death in the same manner our blessed Saviour did, and introduced hanging in its stead. The Jews did not permit the relations of the persons executed to piace their kinstemen in the tombs belonging to their samilies, till their stess then they were allowed to remove their bones into private sepulchres. It was perhaps for this reason, that Joseph of Arimathea desired leave from Pilate to lodge the body of Jesus in his own tomb, that he might not be thrown into the public burying-place appointed for criminals (6).

The Caribaginians, contrary to the practice of other nations, crucified their nobility, suffects, and even the generals of their armies themselves, however absolute they might be in the field, if their enterprizes were not attended with success. The crosses of malefactors amongst them seem to have been higher or lower, in proportion to the quality of the persons suffering, and the heinousness of the crime for which they suffered. If any notorious offender of distinction escaped justice in his life-time, his body, after death, was exposed on a cross, in order to deter others from committing the same crime, especially when it merited the most severe and ig-

(6) Paulus Fagius ad Deut, XXI. XXII. Cafaub, exerc, XVI, num, 77. Baron, in annal. Just. Lits de cruc. Sigon, de rep. Hebraor, l. vi. c. 8. Liv. & Senec, pass. Lucian, Plut, Plant, Petron, in satyric, pass. April. de asin, aur. l. iii. Joseph, l. v. c. 32. B. Gerhardi harmon, evang, hist, pass. Christ. c. 19. Philo in Fiac. Cic. 5. in Ver. & Tusc. quast. Jo. And. Quenstedius de sepult, vet. c. 3. Durand variar, l. ii. c. 15. Cerda in adversar. Isidor, l. i. Gretser, & Joseph. Laurent, de torment, c. 7. Aur. Vict. in Constant, Sozom, in bist, eccles. Vide & alios quamplurimos apud Calmer, in dict. bibl. sub voc. croix.

ALL things in Carthage being thus fet upon the antient foot, the republic enjoyed fome repose. But this was not of long continuance; for Machaus, pussed up with He endeavours the late advantages he had gained, endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and to introduce arintroduce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily discovered, his but his design scheme was deseated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime; upon being discoverwhich event Justin makes this reflection; "He was justly rewarded for the cruelty ed, he receives " he had been guilty of both to his fon and his country P."

WE are told by Herodotus, that Cambyses, in the fixth year of his reign, resolved ment. upon an expedition against the Carthaginians; but that he was forced to drop his project, by reason the Phanicians, without whose help he could not carry on that The Phanicians b war, refused to assist him therein, because the Carthaginians were their descendants. ans resuse to This is a plain proof, that the whole naval power of the Persian empire at that time, against the without the affistance of the Tyrians, was not able to cope with the Carthaginian 9.

In the year after the regifuge, the Carthaginians sent embassadors to Rome, and The Carthagiconcluded a treaty with the Romans. They were the first nation the Romans were nians concluded their first treats. acquainted with out of Italy, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This with the Rotreaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be feen, in Polybius's mans. time, on the base of a column, in the antient Roman language, which, as that writer tells us, was fo different from what was spoken in his time, that those who were most conversant in the Latin tongue, could not, without much study and labour, c understand it. As in the preceding volume we have inferted this treaty as transmitted to us by the Greek historian, it will be intirely unnecessary to repeat it here. However, we shall beg leave to make four or five short observations upon it r.

FIRST, This treaty was figned twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece, Some observa. and gives us to understand, that the whole island of Sardinia, and part of that of tions upon it.

Sicily, were then subject to the Carthaginians.

SECONDLY, It appears, that the Carthaginians were very well acquainted with the coasts of Italy, had visited several of the petty nations seated there, and even made

fome attempts upon them, before this period.

THIRDLY, It is evident, that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortid fication, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent in any country; since they are prohibited by one article of this treaty to erect any forts whatsoever in the country of Latium, even in case they at any time invaded it in a hostile manner.

FOURTHLY, This treaty makes it manifest, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the territories subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though, even at that time, they took umbrage at the growing power of the Romans. They seemed, even in these early times, to harbour in their bosoms the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, which were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could

e extinguish, but the ruin of one of these two most potent republics.

FIFTHLY, The Carthaginians, according to Polybius, would not allow the Romans to fail beyond the promontory called the Fair promontory, lying to the north of Carthage, that is, to the fouthward of it, lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy fituation of the cities, and confequently should be tempted to make a fettlement there. This, it must be owned, was a wife precaution, and shewed, that the Carthaginians were not only a people of forefight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprising genius of the Romans, long before they came to blows with

THE republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it in the Mago succeeds f manner above related, chose Mago to succeed Machaus in all the high posts he filled. Machaus in If we may judge of Mago's capacity from the good effects of his administration, he all his high was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. Justin tells us, that he was the post;

P Just. ubi supra.

4 HERODOT. l. iii.

\* POLYB. l. iii. p. 245, 246, 247. edit. Gronov.

nominious punishment. Of this Hanno, in Justin, not to mention others, is a pregnant instance (7). We must not omit observing, that the Greek word saves, which signifies a cross, is put often for a thors raferred to in this note.

piece of wood only fixed in the ground, by the Latins called palus or vallum. Our readers will find a fuller account of this punishment in the aufirst who introduced military discipline amongst the Carthaginian soldiery; that in a his time the dominions of Carthage were much inlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, its riches increased, its military glory raised to a high pitch, virtue alone countenanced both in the army and state; in short, that he left his country in a most flourishing condition. His two sons, Afdrubal and Hamilear, succeeded him in all his high employments \*.

And is fucceeded by his swo fons, A fdrubal and Hamilcar : Who command the army appointed to act against Sardin:2.

Astrubal and Hamiltar being adorned with the same virtues that rendered their father so conspicuous, the people of Carthage thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act against Sardinia; which island, it seems, had then revolted from them. Accordingly they landed their forces here, and for some time carried on a war against the Sardi; but with what success, is not b faid: only we are told, that towards the close of it Asdrubal was mortally wounded, by which melancholy accident the intire command of the forces devolved upon his brother. The Carthaginians made great lamentation for this general, as indeed they had good reason; for he had been eleven times one of the suffects, and discharged the duties of that high function with great applause, and in his military capacity had triumphed no less than four times; nay, the enemy themselves looked upon his death as a blow given the Carthaginians equivalent to the cutting off of their whole army '.

Somewhere near this period the Carthaginians had a mind to shake off the African yoke, that is, to discontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay; in order to which they declared war against them. c The Africans having justice on their fide, success attended their arms; and, notwithstanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage, the principal article of the treaty being, that the tribute at first imposed upon them for

the ground on which their city stood, should be continued ".

The Carthagito shake of the Atrican yoke; but do not meet with success.

ABOUT this time Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia, sent an embassy to Carthage, requiring the people of that city to abstain from human sacrifices, and eating dogs embassy to Car-flesh; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories; and lastly, to furnish him with a body of auxiliary forces to serve in the that city to en- war he was going to declare against Greece, for which he was then making vast prepater into an al- rations. Every thing was complied with, at least in appearance, for some time, till all d tiance with bim against the apprehensions of feeling his resentment were vanished, except the last article, which the Carthaginians defired to be excused from paying regard to, because all their troops were then otherwise employed. Justin infinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the Carthaginians on this occasion; but this we can scarce believe, fince it does not appear from history, that Cartbage was ever subject, or even tributary, to the Persians; besides, this author, from whom the particulars here mentioned are drawn, affirms Darius to have fent embassadors to Carthage; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his subjects. That the Carthaginians, and consequently the Phanicians, buried their dead antiently, may be collected from hence; but this is so clear from scripture, that it stands in no need of any other testimony to support it. Justin likewise here observes, that the Carthaginians at this juncture were much embroiled with their neighbours; which seems to suggest, that either the war with the Sardi and Africans above-mentioned, or some other, was then carried on. It is no wonder Darius should apply to the people of Carthage for assistance against the Greeks, fince both the Persians and Carthaginians looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

Dirius Hystafpis lends an thage, inviting Grecks

> Some few years afterwards, the Greeks of Sicily, being extremely haraffed by the Carthaginians, solicited Leonidas to send some Lacedamonian forces to their relief ". From Herodotus it appears, that they could not obtain their request; but that however Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, was so happy as to preserve his own dominions, and even f to inlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the Carthaginians invaded Sicily almost immediately after, it is probable they did not sustain any very considerable loss in that war. It cannot be inferred from Herodotus, as we formerly imagined, that the Carthaginians were driven out of Sicily by Gelon at this time; but only that the tyrant gained some advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and supported himfelf without the affistance of the Greeks, as the passage referred to implies. It is rather probable from thence, that both parties in the main kept what they were in poffeffion of before the beginning of the war, though the Cartbaginians might lose some

Gelon gains some advantages over the Carthaginians in Sicily.

a particular districts, especially since, according to Justin, there was no considerable, much less decisive, action in it. The excellent character Herodotus has given us of Hamilear, and the high encomium he has passed upon that general's conduct, seem

likewise to determine in favour of our present opinion 2.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Carthaginians, by reason of the various wars they were then engaged in, could not supply Darius with any succours against the Greeks, as has been just observed; yet it appears extremely probable from history, that an offensive and defensive league was made betwixt these two powers towards the close of that prince's reign. At least it is most certain, that an alliance was formed between Darius's successor Xernes, and the state of Carthage, not many years after the Persian b embassy above-mentioned was fent to that city. By the treaty concluded with Xernes; the Carthaginians were to invade Sicily with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the Greeks from thence, as well as the continent of Italy, whilft that prince should march in person with the whole strength of the Persian empire against Greece itself. But of this more hereafter b.

BEFORE we enter directly upon the transactions of the Carthaginians in Sicily, we shall beg leave to give a short account of the first footing this nation got in Spain. We are no where told in history precisely when this happened; nevertheless there is good reason to believe, from Diodorus Siculus and Justin, that it was very early, and before the times we are now speaking of. The former of these authors afferts, c that the great nerve of the Carthaginian power were the mines of Spain; that by them they were enabled to equip such powerful fleets, and bring such formidable armies into the field; nay, that by their affistance they made such great conquests in Sicily and Africa. Hence 'tis apparent, that the first Carthaginian settlement in Spain must have long preceded, not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himself. But this is still rendered more evident by Justin, who intimates, that this happened when the city of Gades, now Cadiz, was but of late standing, or even in its infancy. The neighbouring Spaniards, finding this new city beginning to flourish, attacked it with all their forces; insomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their aid. Both of them being originally colonies from Tyre, d the Carthaginians readily granted their request; and furnishing them with powerful fuccours, not only repulsed the Spaniards, but likewise made themselves masters of almost the whole province in which the new city stood.

This happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of subduing Greatest part the whole country, to which they were also strongly excited by the rich mines above- of Spain rementioned. 'Tis probable they could not push their conquests far at first, because dued till the they had there to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great time of Hannicourage and refolution. It appears from the accounts of Livy and Polybius, that the ball greatest part of Spain remained unsubdued 'till the wars of Hamiltar, Astrubal, and Hannibal. Nay, 'tis very probable the Carthaginians could never have intirely reduced e so many provinces there, as Strabo observes, had all the Spaniards formed but one state, or mutually assisted one another. But as every canton, every people, were intirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence with

them, they all by degrees fell a prey to the common enemy.

WE are told by Diodorus Siculus, as has been taken notice of in the chronological The Carthagitable, that the Carthaginians planted a colony in the island Ebusus or Eresus, now mans plant a Tvica, on the coast of Spain, an hundred and sixty years after the foundation of island Ebusus, their city. The city Erefus, the capital of the island, built by this colony, was or Erefus, now furrounded with a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ships. The houses Yvicar in it were for the most part built in an elegant taste, and inhabited by a variety of f barbarous nations, as Diodorus calls them; but the most numerous of these were the Phanicians or Carthaginians. 'Tis highly probable therefore, that about this time the Balearic islands, at present known by the names of Majorca and Minorca, were likewise either planted or reduced by the same people. This can scarce be doubted, if we consider, that the name itself is Phanician or Punic; that Ebusus is but seven hundred stadia, i. e. not an hundred miles, distant from the Balearic islands; that the Carthaginians possessed these islands from so remote an antiquity, that their first arrival here is prior to every thing related of them by any historian now extant. except their peopling the island Ebusus; and that, according to Vitruvius, Ebusus;

\* Herodot l. vii. Justin. l. x'x.
Sic l. v. c. 2. Justin. l. x'iv. fub fin.
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JUSTIN L. XIX.

b Diodor. Sic. l. xi. c. 1, 2.

Diop.

was reckoned to belong to the Balearic islands, which 'tis very natural to suppose. a Now as we learn from Justin, that the first expedition the Carthaginians made to Spain was in order to affilt the new city of Gades (A) above-mentioned; and as the Carthaginian fleet failing from Carthage to Gades easily might, nay, almost naturally would, take Ebusus, and the other Balearic islands, in its way, there is pretty good reason to believe, that Gades was succoured, and Ebusus, with the other Balearic islands, planted or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods likewise, in which Justin and Diodorus have related these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond; which in some measure confirms our opinion. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the Carthaginians made their first descent in Spain about an hundred and sixty years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the most early b foreign transactions they were concerned in. Farther, since Carthage was so potent when Gades was in its infancy, we must suppose the former to have been at least eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; and if so, Dido might have founded her city not far from the time of the Trojan war, fince, according to Velleius, Gades was built by the Tyrians about that number of years after the destruction of Troy. This is an additional argument in favour of what Sir Isaac Newton has advanced as to the time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability. As to Velleius's affertion, that Gades was more antient than Cartbage, he is plainly refuted by Diodorus and Justin, and the reason of the thing; neither had he afferted this, had it not been in consequence of an hypothesis. The Romans in his time c generally followed the technical chronology of Eratostbenes, supposing it to be true: Velleius finding therefore in some good author, that Gades was absolutely affirmed to be built by the Tyrians eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war; and by the Punic records, that Carthage was betwixt two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that Gades was older than Carthage. But the Eratosthenean chronology is now by some very learned men believed to have placed the destruction of Troy near three hundred years too high; and if so, no great stress is to be laid upon it. Velleius's authority therefore, when he afferts the city of Gades to have been built about eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war, d depends upon some good author, as is plain from Justin compared with Virgil, Servius, Apollodorus, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than Cartbage, upon the chronology of Eratostbenes, which cannot be intirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from Justin, Diodorus, and others; in the first case therefore it is pretty widely different from what it is in the other. Justin clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the island Gades had a temple there facred to Hercules, before the city was built; fo that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about or immediately after the time of the Trojan war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet we are far from positively insisting upon as matter of fact, but only propose it to our readers as a point deserving farther e confideration. On this occasion it may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to the common computation, Troy was taken the twenty fourth day of the month Thargelion, or April, 1184 years before Christ; whereas Sir Isaac Newton places it 904 years only before the commencement of the christian æra d.

d DIOD. Sic. l. v. c. r. VITRUV. JUSTIN, ubi fup. VELL. PATERC. l. i. fub init. Newton's chronol. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.

distances of time, before they could settle upon it; which, in conjunction with what has been advanced by Philostratus, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at least, of as late a foundation as we have supposed. The author of the esymologicon indeed infinuates it to have been built by Archaleus, the son of Phanix, which will carry it back to a very remote antiquity; but this savours so much of sable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We shall only at present farther observe, that Cadix and Tarsessum were frequently mistaken for one another. A particular description and history of this city may be expected from us, when we come to the history of Spain (1).

(1) Strab.l.iii. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. l.v. c. 1. apud Phot. & Newton's thronol. p. 112, 113. Sallust. in fragment. ex hist. l. ii. Festus Avienus in or. marit. Plin. Arrian, &c. apud Bochart. in Chan. l.i. c. 34. Solin. Islat. Hespeh. apud eund. & Liv. l. xxviii.

<sup>(</sup>A) It appears from the word Gadir or Gaddir, the true Phoenician or Panie name of Cadiz, that the city received its name from the island on which it was feated, and therefore that the Tyrians were in possession of it some time before they built the city. For Gadir properly signifies an inclosure, or spot of ground separated from all other tracts, as this island was by the sea. It likewise denotes a sence or mound, as this island was doubtless considered by the Phoenicians, after their long and fatiguing voyages, against the rage and sury of the sea. According to Strabo, the Tyrians first sailed to this island a considerable time after Hercules was desired; and made several fruitless expeditions, at considerable

ANOTHER motive to the Carthaginians to make themselves masters of Spain, was Soldiers from the great number of brave recruits found in that country. The Spaniards were valiant, Spain one great easily disciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With nerve of the fuch immense treasure therefore as they annually drew from thence, and such bodies power. of the best foldiers as were continually formed there for their service, 'tis no wonder the Carthaginians should make such prodigious efforts, as we learn from history they did, to enflave all their neighbours of

As Diodorus Siculus has given us a description of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic islands, First fertlement Corfica, &c. in the same chapter, we think this authorizes us to speak a word or two of the Carthihere concerning the first Carthaginian settlement in the island last-mentioned. Sar-ginians in Corbinia, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the Carthaginians, and had been fo for fome time, when the first treaty was concluded between them and the Romans. Corfica likewise, we have reason to imagine, was possessed by them either wholly, or in part, in very antient times. This island was called by the Greeks Cyrnus, by the Romans and natives Corfica, had a beautiful large harbour, according to Diodorus, named Syracusium, together with two considerable cities, Calaris, or Aleria, built by the Phoceans, and Nicea by the Etruscans. Notwithstanding the deseat of the Carthaginian and Etruscan sleets by the Phoceans, in the reign of Cyrus abovementioned, the victory cost the latter so dear, that they were obliged to abandon Cyrnus to the former. And we are farther informed by Herodotus, that the Cyrnians, c i. e. the Corsicans, were one of those nations, out of which the Carthaginians formed that vast army, with which they invaded Sicily in the days of Gelon. These, to omit many others, that might easily be produced, are sufficient proofs, that the state of Carthage had a footing, at least, in Corsica in very remote times t.

THE small islands of Melita and Gaulos, now Malta and Gozo or Gozzo, being Malta and conveniently fituated for trade, and having commodious ports, were indiffutably Gozo antiently in subjection likewise to the Carthaginians. It appears from Diodorus, that these subject to Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors the Physical Carthaginians or their ancestors are considered to the Carthaginians of the Carthaginians or their ancestors are considered to the Carthaginians of the Carthaginians of the Carthaginians or their ancestors are considered to the Carthaginians of the Car islands were at first peopled either by the Carthaginians, or their ancestors the  $Pk\alpha$ nicians &.

We have above observed, that part of the isle of Sicily was subject to the state When the Card of Carthage before the beginning of the Persian empire; but when the Carthaginians thaginians first first carried their arms thither, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot carried their take upon us to determine. M. Rollin affirms Xerxes to have been the first who cily, unknown. prompted that people to attempt conquering the island at present under consideration, which is contrary to the faith of history; and immediately after, almost in the same breath, declares the period in which the Carthaginians first landed there in an hostile manner, not to be exactly known. This is a plain inconsistency, but not the only one in his system of antient history. As we have already given so particular a description of Sicily, as well as those heroic atchievements and great transactions, of which it was for so many ages the theatre, we shall have occasion to refer our readers. e frequently to some of the preceding parts of this work; though after all, in order to preserve and continue the thread of our history, we shall find repetitions in many places unavoidable h.

However, in order to render these the more tolerable, whenever we are obliged to them, we shall endeavour to diversify the narration with several fresh incidents, not mentioned in any of our former volumes, as not so immediately relating to the histories of the countries we were then upon, drawn either from the historians quoted by us there, or others which at that time had escaped us.

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty with Xerxes, the Carthaginians, in pursuance The Carthagiof their engagements, made vast preparations for a war with the Greeks of Sicily, nians make f both by fea and land. The Carthaginians at this time were the most powerful people great preparaof all the west; and while the Persians invaded Greece, they were to fall upon the expedition to Greek colonies, both in Sicily and Magna Gracia, as above, that thereby the Greeks, Sicily. of all countries and denominations, might be diverted from helping one another. The preparations for this war were so prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithstanding Xerxes sent them vast sums of money from Persia for that purpose. With these they hired great numbers of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, Liguria, Corsica, &c. and raised what forces they could in Africa. All things at last

f Diop. Sic. ubi fup. c. 1. Heropor. l. vii. DIOD. Sic. I. V. C. 2. M. ROLLIN in hist. ancien. des Carthag. p. a. c. 1. sub init.

E Diop. Sic. ubi sup.

being in readiness, they set fail from Carthage with an army of three hundred thou- a fand men, composed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thousand ships of war, with three thousand transports, not doubting but to make an intire conquest of Sicily the first campaign i.

Himilan's horses and chariots loft in a

THE general who commanded in this expedition was Hamilear, the fon of Hanno, according to Herodotus, or of Mago, as Justin will have it, a person of great authority both in the army and the city, who had behaved himself with uncommon conduct and bravery on many occasions in the service of his country. In his passage from Carthage to Sicily, his horses and chariots, with the vessels they were on board, perished in a storm, which the Carthaginians doubtless, being extremely addicted to superstition, looked upon as ominous. However, the general himself, upon his b arrival at Panormus, now Palermo, endeavoured to diffipute all gloomy apprehenfions, by declaring, that fince they were happily arrived in Sicily, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the pain the late florm gave him was a fear of the Sicilians escaping the danger that threatened them k.

He invests Himera.

AFTER he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refresh them, and repair the damage his fleet had fustained in the late storm; and then marching to Himera, a city in the neighbourhood of Panormus, immediately caused it to be in-To give some idea of the capacity of this general, Diodorus tells us, that, upon his fitting down before Himera, he disposed his army in two camps, the one destined for the land forces, the other for the ships and marines. He took care to c fecure his long ships or galleys, by drawing them on shore, surrounding them with an entrenchment, and placing all his marines there for their defence. The land forces were encamped in front, opposite to the city, extending themselves from the lines of the other camp to the hills overlooking the town. The place being thus blocked up on the west side, he unladed the ships of burden of their provisions, and fent away what veffels he had left to Africa and Sardinia for a further supply. After this he advanced with the flower of his army to the very walls of the city, routed a party of the garifon in a fally they made upon him, and thereby struck a great terror into the belieged 1.

Gélon defeats the Cuthag mian foragers.

Theron, tyrant of the Agrigentines, at that time commanded in the place, who, d though his garison was very strong, being intimidated by the last disaster, as well as the numerous forces of the enemy, dispatched an express to Gelon at Syracuse, with all possible expedition, for immediate relief. Gelon having got his troops in readine's to march at an hours warning, upon advice of what had befallen the Himerwans, advanced to their city without delay, with an army of fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. He first encamped near the city, and afterwards fortified his camp in such a manner as to put it out of danger of being insulted by the enemy. By this means he infused new life and vigour into the garison, and freed them from all apprehensions of the Carthaginian power. He sent his horse in quest of the enemy, who were dispersed in small parties all over the country, in order to forage. These, e meeting with the Carthaginians straggling about the country without any discipline or order, fell upon them, took above ten thousand prisoners, and brought them triumphantly into the town. By this action Gelon's glory was railed to a very high pitch, and the Himerceans inspired with a contempt of the enemy.

surprising the

To demonstrate to the Carthaginians the high contempt he had them in, he caused opportunity of the gates Theron had before built, to secure him from their approaches, to be pulled down, and built others, more effential to the defence of the place, in their room. Carringinisms. In fine, Gelon being an able warrior, and excelling in stratagems, set his head to work to find out some method of destroying the Carthaginian forces without any danger to himself, or his army, which in strength was so much inferior to the enemy. f Fortune favoured the project he was upon by the following accident, which brought on a battle, and occasioned the death of Hamiltar, and the total overthrow of his

The Cirthagimions intirely defeated by

A courier was brought to Gelon, having been intercepted by a party of his horse, earrying letters from the inhabitants of Selinus, consederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilear; whereby he understood, that Hamilear was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a folemn facrifice to Neptune, and that he had appointed

<sup>†</sup> Diop. Sic. l. xi. c. 2. Herodot, l. vii. Ephor. apud schol. Pind. Pyth. τ. ad ver. έλλωβ' έξέλχων. Diop. Sic. & Herodot, ubi sup. † Diop. Sic. ubi sup. # Idem ibid. \* Dion. Sic. & HERODOT, ubi fup.

a the Selinuntine cavalry to join him the fame day in the faid camp. Gelon, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horse, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the Selinuntine. Upon receiving these orders, by savour of the night, they conveyed themselves privately to certain posts close by the Carthaginian camp, of which they took immediate possession; and the next morning approaching the faid camp, were admitted into it about fun-rifing, without the least suspicion. Hamiltan was then bufy in facrificing, and the greater part of the foldiery attending him without arms, according to Diodorus. But Herodotus intimates, that this general staid in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from mornb ing till the dusk of the evening, without intermillion. Diodorus adds, that the Syracusians, without the least opposition, making up to Itamilear, killed him, pursuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and fet fire to the ships. Herodotus, on the contrary, gives us to understand, that Hamilear was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that feeing his troops put to the rout, he himf If rushed into the fire, and was intirely confumed. Upon the firing of the ships, Gelon, who had notice of the success by a signal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the other The Carthaginians at first made a gallant resistance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the same time seeing all their sleet in c a blaze, they had no longer courage to fland their ground, but betook themselves to a precipitate flight; and then the flaughter was dreadful. As Gelen's orders were, that no quarter should be given during the heat of the engagement, no less than an hundred and fifty thousand men were flain in the battle and the pursuit. The rest retired to an eminence, where they for some time defended themselves; but at last, for want of water, were obliged to furrender at discretion. This was the greatest blow the Caribaginians had ever received before that time; for they did not only lose their general Hamilear, who was himself by his mother's side a Syracusian, but had their whole army in such a manner cut off, or taken prisoners, that not a single man of it escaped to Carthage, to carry thither the news of this unparallelled

Polyænus, in his account of the Carthaginian general's death, differs fomething both from Diedorus Siculus and Herodotus. According to this author, Gelon, finding himfelf not strong enough to attack the enemy, sent Pediarchus, the captain of his archers, who much refembled him, dreffed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer facrifice upon fome altars near the fpot of ground on which Fiamlear used daily to facrifice. Pediarchus was attended by a party of his archers, cloathed in white garments, with large sprigs of myrtle in their hands, as an evident sign of their going to perform so solemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with feveral arrows, which they were to let fly at the general as foon as he came within fome distance. Hamilear, suspecting nothing of violence, came as usual, with his attendants, to address himself to the gods, and was immediately slain. However this may be, the Carthaginians and Syracufians, both of them ambitious of claiming so great a man to themselves, gave out, that Hamilear, upon the deseat of his troops, vanished, and was never afterwards seen. The former, notwithstanding his missortune, and their immediate resentment of it, in after-ages paid him divine The Carthagihonours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies feated mans deify themselves o.

WE must not here omit observing, that Terillus, the son of Crinispus, invited Terillus inthe Carthaginians at this time into Sicily, and therefore was, in some respect, as well vites the Carf as Xerxes, the occasion of this fatal war. Terillus was tyrant of Himera; but being the nians into driven from thence by Theren, the fon of Angledonius, tyrant of Angledonius, be Sicily. driven from thence by Theron, the fon of Encfidences, tyrant of Agrigentum, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the infligation of Anaxilaus, the fon of Critineus, tyrant of Rhegium, who married his daughter Cydippe, he had recourse to the Carthaginians, being well affured they would not let slip so favourable an opportunity of inlarging their dominions in the island of Sicily. Hamilear, in order to fecure his fidelity, obliged him to fend his fons to him for hostages. This account Herodotus tells us he received from the Sicilian writers of his time, who made no

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<sup>&</sup>quot; HERODOT. & Diop. Sic. ubi fup.

POLYEN. first. 1. i. c. 27. cx. 2. HERODOT. ubi fup.

mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the Persians and the Cariba- a

Battles of Hi-

Herodotus farther informs us, that the battle of Himera was fought the same day mera and Sala- with that of Salamis; but Diodorus Siculus will have the Carthaginians to have been misfoughtshe defeated the same day that Leonidas, with his brave body of Spartans, perished at Thermopyla. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The gods on purpose seemed "to have destined the Greeks at the same time a glorious victory in one place, and a " most honourable death in another q."

Gelon rewards their bravery.

THE first thing after the battle Gelon did, was amply to reward all those who had his foldiers for signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse, to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense b value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of Syracuse and Himera. What remained, together with the captives, he distributed amongst his foldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had shewn. Many of the last, to whatever city's share they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all Africa seemed to have been transplanted into Sicily. Some of the citizens of Agrigentum in particular, who had diffinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. The sugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmost consternation, sled into the inland provinces of Sicily, especially the territory of Agrigentum, where being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with prisoners. The greatest part of them were put c in irons, and set apart for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first, was cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at Agrigentum, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were so much admired by the antients, and called Pheaces, from one Pheax, who was the overfeer of the work. The Agrigentines likewife, by their labour, funk a fish-pond at great expence, seven stadia in circumserence, and twenty cubits deep (B).

Gelon compared to the most famous Greek commanders.

By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, Gelon acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. d The stratagem by which the Carthaginian army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and foul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to Themistocles, and the advantage accruing to the Greek nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of Platea. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in history of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Neither did the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of that vast number of ships of war and transports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ships or galleys, which Hamiltar had occasionally drawn out for necessary services, happened to be out at sea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and consequently escaped the general conslagration. These failed directly for Carthage; but meeting with contrary winds and tempests, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved These arriving at Carthage, brought the dismal news of the intire in a small boat. defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The Carthaginians, little expecting to hear of such a signal disaster, but on the contrary pleasing themselves with the imagination of reducing the whole island of Sicily almost without striking a stroke, were most strangely shocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverses of fortune the nation we are discoursing of ever lost their courage, and abandoned themselves to despair, so in the present case they gave every thing up for lost. f Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city;

> Diop. Sic. & Heropor. ubi sup. P Idem ibid. Dion. Sic. ubi sup.

(B) This famous pond, the effect of Carthaginian labour, was supplied with water both from sounlabour, was supplied with water coun from four-tains and rivers, and excellently well stocked with fish of all kinds, serving both for food and pleasure. Great numbers of swans likewise rested upon it, which afforded a most pleasant prospect to the eye.

By the negligence of fucceeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at last became wholly dry ground. The foil was so rich in Diodorns's time, that the Agrigentines planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very considerable revenue (1).

a the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and degrees of people amongst them were overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, despondency, and consternation.

In this deplorable situation, the Carthaginians thought they could have recourse to The Carthagia nothing but Gelon's elemency; and therefore immediately dispatched embassadors to nians apply to Sicily, injoining them to strike up a peace with him upon any terms.

Sicily, injoining them to strike up a peace with him upon any terms. Upon the arrival of these embassadors at Syracuse, Gelon afforded them an instance His moderation of great moderation and humanity. Notwithstanding by the late victory he was become and humanity. the arbiter of peace and war, and had the Carthaginians intirely at his mercy, he received these ministers in a most affable and courteous manner. His prosperity had not in the b least elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho' this deputation confisted of persons the most famed of any in Carthage for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a most mean and abject manner. They threw themselves at Gelon's seet, with tears begged him to receive their city into savour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think proper to prescribe. This plainly shews how void the Carthaginians then were of that true resolution and magnanimity, which supported the old Romans in all adversity, and carried them through

dations of an almost universal empire, and even to destroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the history of; though it must be owned this heroic virtue and c greatness of soul was much tarnished in their posterity, to say no worse, by some

all dangers; that refolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foun-

actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the Carthaginian state. Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compassion for the miseries The terms on of the Carthaginians, granted them a peace upon the following easy conditions: First, which he that they should pay two thousand talents of silver towards defraying the expences of grants them a the war. Secondly, that they should build two temples, where this treaty of peace. should be deposited, and at all times be exposed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they should abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article shews the great humanity of Gelon's temper, and is a proof, that the people of Carthage were obliged a second time to abolish that barbarous practice for a certain period, at d least in appearance; for it cannot be doubted but they ratified this treaty, it being so advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of

THE Carthaginians, having recovered their spirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to shew their gratitude to Damareta, Gelon's wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to a happy conclusion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, sent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown Gelon turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name Damaretia, each of them being worth e ten Attic drachma's. The Sicilians gave them the name of Pentecontalitra, from their being fifty pounds in weight : (C).

WE must not omit one circumstance, which may serve as a surther instance of An i flance of Gelon's military capacity. Upon his first approach to Himera, to succour the Gelon's milibesieged, a detachment of his forces deseated many of the Carthaginian parties sent tary capacity. to sorage in different parts of the island. Besides what they killed, they took ten thousand prisoners, as above related. These probably were the worst troops in the Carthaginian army; and therefore a stratagem Frontinus relates Gelon to have been the author of, seems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince,

Idem ibid. & Plut. apopth. 175. & de ser. vindic. deor. p. 552. Vide & schol. Pind. ad Pyth. od. 2. section Jac. Perizon. comment. in Ælian. var. hist. l. vi. c. 11.

(C) These pieces seem to have been rather medals struck on occasion of Gelon's victory over the Carthaginians, than common coins. The size of them supplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The brass liters of Sicily was at first a pound weight, as the librs or as was amongst the Romans; and fixty such lises made a talent. According to Pollux, Damareta, and the other Syracusian ladies of distinction, brought all their silver

utenfils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called νόμισμα Δημαρέτιου. dorus's relation is more probable; fince, if Gelon had been in great want of money, he would undoubtedly have stamped it in the smallest species, and not in pieces of such a magnitude, which seemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the Car-thaginians, as well as the immense booty found in their camp (2).

having a large number of prisoners, picked out the weakest of them, who were a auxiliaries, mostly tawny, and of a very despicable appearance; and exposed them quite naked before his foldiers, that they might have the most contemptible notion of the enemy'. Something like this happened, if we miltake not, in the late war betwixt the Turks and the Russians, when the former, to give their people at Constantinople the meaner opinion of the latter, led the most miserable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital.

What use Gelon Carthiginian Spoils.

Besides the public works above-mentioned, the Carthaginian spoils enabled Gelon to build two noble temples, the one to Ceres, and the other to Profersina. A tripod of gold likewife, of fixteen talents, he caused to be made out of them, and sent it as a donation to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as an acknowledgment of his grati- b tude to that deity. If an infcription given us by the scholiast on Pindar may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one fent thither on this occasion in the name of Gelon and his brothers, who had all of them a great share in the fuccesses they gave thanks for (D).

Gisco, the fon of Hamilton, banished Car. thage.

THE Carthaginians, incensed at Hamilear, as imputing the late disaster intirely to his conduct, notwithstanding the great services he had done the state on other occafions, refolved, that his family should feel the effects of their refentment; and therefore banished his son Gisco, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to Selinus, where he died for want of necessaries. The Sicilian cities, that sided with the Carthaginians, upon their first application to Gelon, were received into favour, and c had a confirmation of all their antient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner ".

Little faid of the Circhagimians for feventy years.

FROM this time for full feventy years, that is to fay, till towards the close of the ninety-fecond, or the beginning of the ninety-third olympiad, we scarce find any mention of the Carthaginians, or their affairs, in the Sicilian history. The last blow they received in Sicily was fo terrible, that a peace of some duration was absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of their affairs; and it is natural to suppose, that, of all places in the world, Sicily would be the last they would, for a considerable period of time, chuse for the scene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarqued in another war a there, which, though pretty bloody and expensive, ended with much better success to them than the former.

The Carthiginians render themselves independent in Africa.

However, in some part of this interval, several remarkable incidents, mentioned by Justin, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus, seem to have happened. The Carthaginians carried their arms against the Moors, Numidians, and other African nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. They likewise shook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them fo much uneafiness, and rendered themselves absolutely independent.

Have warm regulation of Limits.

THEY had warm disputes with the people of Cyrene, a Mediterranean city, the capital of Cyrenaica, built by the Therwans under Battus, who were a colony of the the Cyreneans, Lacedamonians, which arose from the want of a regulation of limits between the two e on account of a flates. As the Cyreneans were very powerful, much blood was shed on this occasion; but at last the two nations, after having almost exhausted each other by a long and expensive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner x.

> \* FRONTIN. l. i. c. 11, 18. " DIOD. Sic. l. xiii. ÆLIAN. var. hift. l. vi. c. 11. \* SAL. Jug. c. 79.

(D) We 'are further assured by Pausanias, that Gelon sent several valuable presents to the temple of Jufiter Olympius at Olympia, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good success that attended his arms, with which he was furnished from the booty found in the Carthaginian camp. Among the rest there were three curious vestments of fine Carthaginian linen, each of them representing a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as something particularly rare, since Xenophon intimates the Carthaginian flax to have been of a very fine nature. A statue of Jupiter also, of a prodigious size, was sent to the same place in the name of Gelon and the Syracusians, when they were full of the most greateful support for the state of the same place. the most grateful fentiments for the fignal victory

obtained over the Carthaginians both by sea and land. Both these donations were of exquisite workmanship, being done by those celebrated artificers Pothaus, Antiphilus, and Megacles, at Gelon's order. Besides the golden tripod above-mentioned, Gelon fent a golden statue of Victory to Delphi, which feems to have been the third offering of that metal ever brought thither. This we learn from Phanias, Eresius, and Theopompus, as cited by Athenaus, who inform us, that before the days of Gyges and Crashes, kings of Lydia, all the votive gifts tent to Delthic confished of brass, and these not statues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this observation seemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit it (4).

(4) Paufan, in Eliac, poster, I. vi. p. 379, ed. Hanov. 1613. Xenoph, de venat p. 975, ed. Leunclav, Frances.

1594. Phan. Eres. & Theopomp, apud Athen, in desprosoph. L. vi.

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Being so weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to some foreign invader, they consented first to a cessation of arms, in order to a pacification Afterwards it was agreed, that each city should appoint two commissaries, who But at last should set out from their respective towns upon the same day, and that the spot they come to a met upon should be the common boundary to both states. Upon this, two brothers, acommodation. called Philani, were dispatched from Carthage, who advanced with great celerity, whilst the Cyreneans proceeded more slowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the lazine's of the latter, or to some accident intervening, is not certain. However, the last is not improbable, fince in those sandy regions, at certain seasons of the year, there are as violent storms and tempests as upon the sea; which is not to be wondered b at, considering, that in such countries, which are open and level, and have not so much as a shrub to break the force of the wind, sometimes boisterous weather must almost necessarily happen; and then the fand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, nostrils, &c. of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at least, if it does not put an intire stop to their journey. Valerius Maximus intimates, that the Philani acted perfidiously, by fetting out before the appointed time, and there by imposed upon the others. Be this as it will, the Cyreneans, finding themselves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accused the Carthaginians of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the stipulated time; insisted, that the convention agreed upon between their principals was broken; and declared they would fuffer all extremities, rather than submit to such a base and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the Philani, with much seeming calmness and moderation, defired the Cyreneans not to talk in so lostly a strain, but themselves to propose some expedient, whereby their differences might be terminated, promiting at the same time to submit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then proposed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or fuffer themselves to be buried alive there, not in the least imagining they would comply with fo hard a condition. But herein they were disappointed; for the Carthaginian brothers, without hesitation, consented to it, laid down their lives, and gained The Philami a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The Carthaginians ever suffer them

afterwards celebrated this as a most brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, felves to be bu-

and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with order to inlarge suitable inscriptions upon them. Strabo informs us, that no traces of these were to the dominions be seen in his days, tho' the place still retained the name of the altars of the Philani. of their state. However, 'tis not to be doubted but the state of Carthage, as long as it existed, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the side of Cyrenaica. Sallust relates, that there was a fandy tract of ground betwixt the territories of Carthage and Cyrene, without hill, river, or spot in it, whereby to ascertain the borders of the two nations; so that they were obliged to have recourse to the method aforesaid. The love of one's e country is certainly a most amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation should carry this so far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, persidy, and a violation of public faith, is very strange; yet this the Carthaginians did, if Valerius Maximus may be credited, by paying so high a regard to the memory of the Philani. That author however runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby discovers much of the Punic disposition. In short, this piece of history gives us a lively idea of the Carthaginian notion of bravery and heroism, as do several other incidents to be found in the course of this history ".

THE Egestines, allies of the Athenians, after the conclusion of the Syracusian war, The Egestines of which they had been the principal occasion, by inviting the Alberians into Sicily, occasion ano-f entertained strong apprehensions of being called to an account by the Syracusians for ther war beall the acts of hostility they had committed against them. About this time also the thaginians and Egestines had some disputes with the Selinuntines about a regulation of limits, which Syracusians. at last broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two states; but the former dreading the refentment of the Syracusians, and believing they would affift their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the Egestines gave up all the points in dispute, the Selinuntines, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irri-

Idem ibid. STRAB. I. iii. POMP. MEL. I. i. c. 7. VALER. MAX. I. V. C. 6. Vide & CELLAR. geogr. ant. J. iv. c. 3.

tating the Egestines, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, imploring their pro- 2 tection, both against the Selinuntines, and their confederates the Syracusians. affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for some time debated at Carthage what course it would be proper to take. On the one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of Egesta, a city which lay so convenient for them, and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole island of Sicily, the favourite project this state always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and was become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last their thirst after empire prevailed, and, through the desire of getting the city into their hands, they promited the Egestines succours.

Hannibal appointed to com-\$10M.

THE general appointed to command in this war, if matters came to the last extremity, was Hannibal, the grandson of Hamilear, killed at the battle of Himera, and mand in the Sicilian expedi- fon of Gisco, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffeces, and a person of very great confideration. As he bore a natural hatred to all the Greeks, and was defirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the difgrace of that defeat, which he confidered as a stain upon his family, he fought, by all means possible, to distinguish himself on this occasion for the service of his country. He was indefatigable all that summer, and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in Africa, but in Spain and Italy, and making the other necessary preparations; infomuch that, in the beginning of the c fpring, he had an incredible number of foldiers of different nations lifted under his flandard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the Selinuntines, he had recourse to Panie policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the Syracufians their allies. Being apprifed, that the Selinuntines were not fatiffied with the tract of land ceded them by the Egestines in the last treaty of peace, but laid farther claim to a great part of their territories, he defired the Syracufians to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to fow the feeds of diffention betwixt the Syracufians and the Selinuntines, imagining, that if the latter should reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwirt them would of d course be diffolved, and consequently that each of them would more easily fall a prey to the Carthaginians. But his scheme proved abortive; for though the Syracusians interposed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the Selinuntines and Egestines, yet finding these inestactual, they did not think proper to make use of any compulsive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The Carthaginians, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their embaffadors, openly espoused the cause of the Egestines, and sent a supply of five thousand Africans, and eight hundred Campanians, to their assistance. The latter had been hired by the Cha cidians to affift the Athenians against the Syracusians; but, after their overthrow, sailing back into Campania, staid there, in hopes e that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly, the Carthaginians took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garifon at Egesta; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themselves masters of. Notwithstanding this powerful body of Carthaginian auxiliaries, the Selinuntines, being both rich and numerous, held the Egestines in great con-

The Carthagi. nians and est off athossand of them.

THE Selinuntines, having drawn together a strong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about Egesta, and despising the enemy, who were far inferior to them furprise the Se- in number, dispersed themselves in parties, without order or discipline, all over the linuntines, and territory of the Egestines, for the sake of plunder. The Carthaginians and Campanians f in garison, observing this, took the first opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the Egestines, of surprising them; which they did so essectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand on the spot, and carried off all their baggage. Immediately after this action, both cities dispatched embassadors to solicit succours from their respective confederates, the Selinuntines from the Syracusians, and the Egestines from the Carthaginians; which being readily agreed to on both fides, a most dreadful war broke out between the Egestines and Carthaginians on one hand, and the Seli-

nuntines and Syracusians on the other.

THE Carthaginians, before they directly engaged in this war, took care to make The Carthagian estimate of the prodigious sums necessary to support it, and the numerous body of nians make forces requisite to carry it on with vigour; and having impowered their general Han-sions for a mar nibal to raise an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a with the Selifuitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the nuntines. war, intending to attack the island of Sicily with their whole power the beginning of the following spring.

Hannibal, at the time appointed, put his army on board fixty long galleys, and Hannibal lands fifteen hundred transports, together with an immense quantity of provisions he had his forces in Siamassed for their subsistence, military engines, arms, and all other things necessary city.

b for a siege. Setting sail with these, as soon as the season would permit, he crossed the African sea, and arrived at Lilybæum, a promontory of Sicily, opposite to the coast of Africa. Before he landed his troops, he was discovered by a party of Selinuntine horse, who posted away with great expedition, to give their countrymen intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the Selinuntines dispatched couriers to Syracuse for immediate relief. Hannibal in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called The well of Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybeum was afterwards built. Here he staid a short time to refresh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

According to Ephorus the historian (E), the Carthaginian army confisted of two Ephorus and hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse, though Timeus Siculus (F) will not Timeus Siculus (F)

allow their relations us differ in

(E) Ephorus, an orator and historian, was born in the city (1) of Cuma or Cyme in Eolia, and one of Isocrates's (2) Scholars. His history contained chiefly the transactions of his countrymen the Greeks for the space of seven hundred an i fifty years; that is, from the return of the Heraclide, to the twentieth year of Philip king of Macedon (3), in which year he beneged Perinthus. Plutarch intimates (4), that he wrote a particular history of Cuma. He was a writer of flow parts, according to Tully, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his ichool-fellow Theopompus. Seneca fays (6), he had little regard to veracity; which feems confirmed by most of the passages taken from him by *Diodorus*. His ignorance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the *Iberians* inhabitants of the same city; from whence Josephus rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the western parts of the world came very late to the Greeks. Notwithstanding what has been faid, Diodorus informs us (8), that he wrote with eat accuracy, and in an elegant style; tho' in the last article he is contradicted by Duris Samius (9), and Dion Chrysestomus, whose testimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand history he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Besides the performances above-mentioned, he composed a treatise de rebus inventis, of which Strabo(11) takes notice; another de bonis & malis, divided (12) into twenty-four books; another de rebus passim admirabilibus (13), divided into fifteen books; another de civitatibus Thracia, of which Harpocration quotes (14) the fourth book. Father Harduin ascribes to him a particular treatise (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the increase of the Nile; but, according to M. Bayle (16), the authors alleged by him prove no fuch thing; and indeed this he makes out very

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clearly. Ephorus is complimented (17) by Polybius and of the Cartha-Strabe; but not withstanding Diodorus seems so fond ginian army. of him, yet, in another puffage, that writer rells us, he related so many fulfities (18) of Egypt, that we must not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. Dio ysius Halicarnasseus (19), as well as Dio-dorus, speaks tavourably of his style. The two other historians this last author ranks with him, are Theopompus (20) and Callifthenes. We find a valuable frag-ment of Porphyry preferved by Eufehius, from which it appears, that Ephorus was accused of being a plagiary; nay, of stealing three thousand ines (21), word for word. from Daimachus, Anaximenes, and Callisthenes. Lysimachus is said to have written a piece, containing all his plagiarisms; and Alcaus. (22) a fatirical poet, is affirmed by Porphyry likewise to have exposed them. He is ridiculed by Strabo (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A fon, called Demophilus, survived him, who 24), being a scholar, was thought by some to have put the finishing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be seen in Vessius (25), and M. Bayle, to whom we refer our readers.

(F) Timaus Siculus, a Greek historian of good note (26), the son of Andromachus, a noble Sicilian, who, according to Diodorus (27), assembling the su-gitives of Naxus, settled with them on a hill colled Taurus, to which settlement the city of Taurominium owed its origin. Timeus flourished in the time of Agathocles, and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Suidas and Hefychius will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of history; and Polybius accuses him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judg-ment, and a trifling genius, on several occasions (28). He was a person of violent passions, as appeared both from his shameful calumnies, and impious flattery,

(1) Strab. l. xiii. p. 428. (2) Plut. in vis. Isocrat. p. 837. (3) Diod. Sic. l. iv. & l. xx. (4) Plut. de vit. Homer. sub init. (5) Cic. in Brut. Quintil. l. ii. c. 9. (6) Senec. quast. natural. l. vii. c. 16. Vide & Plut. in Dio. Phos. bibl. 245, &c. (7) Foseph. cont. Apion. l. i. (8) Diod. Sic. l. x. sub init. (9) Duris Samius in hist. l. i. apud Phot. bibl. 176. Dion Chrysost. in orat. de dicend. exercit. (10) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. (11) Strab. ubi supra. (12) Suid. in Ecos. (13) Idem ibid. (14) Harpocrat. voce Alv. (15) Hardwin. in judic. austor. Plin. (16) Bayle, in dist. hist. & crit. (17) Polyb. apud Strabon. l. x. & alib. (18) Diod. Sic. l. i. (19) Dionys. Halicar. de col. verb. c. 81. (20) Diod. Sic. l. iv. (21) Porphyr. de erud. audit. apud Euseb. in prap. evang. l. x. (22) Idem ibid. (23) Strab. ubi supra. (24) Conf. Fonsium de script. hist. philos. p. 43, 44. sum Athen. in deipnosoph. l. vi. (25) Voss. de hist. Grac. & Bayle, ubi supra. (26) Athen. deipnosoph. l. ii. & alib. (17) Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 7. (28) Hesych. & Suid. in Tiuat. (28) Hesych. & Suid. in Tipal .

allow them to have been much above an hundred thousand. Hannibal, after landing a his forces, caused all his ships to be drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the Syracusians, and then, being joined by the Egestines, marched to Selinus, which city Hinnibal lays he immediately caused to be invested, and began to batter the walls with incre-

fiege to Selinus.

which prejudiced many writers, and some of these even too much, against him. Because he was banished by Agathocles, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death, not only describing his crimes and ill qualities in the blackest manner, but loading him with fibulous calumnies. He was acted to much by a spirit of revenge on this occasion, that he contradicted himselt in a most flagrant manner; for which (29) reason, the five last books of his hiflory, which treated of the act ons of Agathocles, were undoubtedly very deficient in point of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe Suidas, he exalted his hero Timoleon (30) to a superiority above the highest divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deserved a greater punishment than Callifthenes, who juffered death for deligning to deity Alexander a prince infinitely more illu-firious than Timoleon. He composed several pieces; one confitting of three books, de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibusque; another divided into fixty-eight books, de argumentis rhetorica; another intituled olympionica, seu acta chronica; two more, whose title: were, Ιταλικά κ) Σικελικά, consisting of eight books; and Έλληνικά και Σικελικά, whose number of books is not known. In the former of these two last works he wrote the history of Sicily, as far as it was coincident with the Roman history; and in the other he gave an account of the Sicilian transactions, as they were intermixed with those of the Greeks. His history of Pyrrhus was a distinct piece, as we are informed by Dionysius Halicarnasfens and Cicero (31). Diogenes Laertius quoted no book of his history beyond the eighteenth, though Athenaus (32) cited the twenty-eighth; which is a proof, that those authors paid no great regard to the divition of his Greek, Roman and Sicilian history, as given us by Vessius. Notwithstanding what has been offered by Suidas to invalidate the authority of Timans in the five last books of his history, yet this author himself allows (33), that, in all other parts of it, he adhered strictly to truth; and even according to Polybius, though he blames our historian in feveral respects, particularly for trusting too much to the reports of others, he laid it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and foul of history. However he might be imposed upon in what related to Africa, Corfica, and other countries that he was a stranger to, as Polybius intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of opinion, that he was an excellent and most faithful historian as to the Sicilian affairs, except when he discharged all the impetuous torrents of his rage against Agashocles, which indeed could never be vindicated. In most of those passages of Diodorus, wherein Timaus and Ephorus are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his fide, of which we shall at prefent only give one instance, not having time to produce all the rest: Ephorus informs us, that the Carthaginian army, which reduced Selinus, consisted of two hundred thousand foot, and four thousand

horse; hut, according to Timeus, it could not well have confifted of above an hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty thousand men. Now, it is evident from Diodorus, that upon Hannibal's marching to Himera, immediately after the reduction of Selinus, his army confisted but of an hundred thousand men; for he was joined by twenty thousand Sicani on his march, and, upon his arrival before Himera, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thousand men. Since therefore we cannot well suppose the Carthaginians to have lost above ten or twenty thousand men before Selinus, because the fiege of that place was a very short one, it will follow, that when Hannibal first invested Selinus, his army, in all probability, confifted of about an hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty thousand men, nearly as Timans related. It is certain Diodorus very well agrees with this historian; for that author tells us, Hannibal's army, upon his laying fiege to Himera, amounted to an hundred and twenty thoufand men, as above mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled Ephorus, and depreciated Timeus, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as several others that might be recited, pre-ferred the latter to the former. Both Diodorus and Cicero (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the last of which was of the Afratic kind. Platarch (37) entertained different sentiments of his ftyle; and Longinus censures him for his affectation and pucrility therein, as well as the eager delire he shews to reprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, M. Bayle has plainly proved, that the instances (38) produced by Longinus in support of his criticism, do not come up to the point, and that he deserved censure in this particular, rather than Timeus. Longinus owned, that fometimes he came up to the lofty and fublime style, had a great share of knowledge, and expressed himself very judiciously; but still he seems to us to have been so much prejudiced against our historian, on account of the numerous instances of illnature visible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too strong a disposition to discover blemishes in him; which made him copy after Cecilius in finding imaginary faults, and thereby tall into the very same crime he condemned Timaus for. He lived to a very old age (39), some say, ninety-fix years. According to Polybius (40), he lived a sedentary life, which, in the opinion of that historian, must have disqualified him for writing history. Plutarch informs us (41), that he fell into the fo'lies of Xenarchus in several parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the most minute, and even ridiculous, circumstances. Cicero (42) puts him on a level with Herodotus, Thucydides, Philiftus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Xenophon, and Callifthenes. That he was superior, in point of authority, to Ephorus, when he treated of the affairs of Sicily, we think pretty evident from what we have just advanced, which we remember not to have feen taken notice of by any other author.

(29) Suid, ubi supra. (30) Idem ibid. & Voss. de hist. Grac. p. 82. Vide & Antigon. in Baupas. hist. i. & Parthen. erot. xxix. (31) Dionys. Halicar. l. i. c. 6. Cic. epift. l. v. 22. ad Lucceium. (32) Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l. viii. n. 60. Athen. in deipnosoph. l. xi. p. 471. (33) Suid. ubi sup. (34) Polys. l. xii. (35) Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 105. (36) Diod. Sic. l. v. sub init. Cic. de orat. l. ii. & in Bruto, sub sm. (37) Plut. in Nic. Longin. regi I. ... c. 3. (38) Bayle, in dist. hist. & crit. (39) Lucian. in macrobiis, p. 642. tit. 2. (40) Polys. l. xii. (41) Plut. ubi supra. (42) Cic. de orat. l. ii. Vide & Clem. Alexand. strom. l. i. Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl. 244. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. & c. Diod. Sic. L. xiii. &c.

dible fury. In his way he took Emporium, a town seated on the river Mazara (G), by storm; and having closely begirt Selinus with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the siege of that city. In order to push this on with the greater vigour, he erected six high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His slingers and darters likewise greatly annoyed the besieged, by forcing them from many fortisted posts. The Selinuntines, little expecting such a visit from the Carthaginians, as having been the only people of Sicily who sided with them against Gelon, and having long been disused to sieges, were struck with great terror at the approach of so formidable an army, and the resolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reason to expect, that the Syracusians and their other consederates would send them speedy succours, they desended themselves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel so barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the desence of their country.

In order to inspire his troops with courage, Hannibal promised them the plunder And takes it. of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being inceffantly battered day and night by the rams, and other warlike engines, a breach was foon made, and the first who entered it were the Campanians, out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the Africans and Spaniards, whom Hannibal sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when Hannibal founded the retreat. In the mean time the Selinuntines sent expresses to Agrigentum, Gela, and Syracuse, acquainting them, that, without speedy affistance, it would be impossible for the garison of Selinus to defend itself against so numerous an army, provided with such a train of battering engines. The Agrigentines and Geleans held themselves in readiness to march; but however, thought it proper to wait for the Syracusian auxiliaries, that they might more successfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The Syracufians also, having certain advice, that Selinus was befieged, immediately struck up a peace with the Chalcideans, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could; but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they had got together a stronger force. In the mean time the Carthaginians pressed the siege with the utmost vigour. Hannibal, as soon as it was light, renewing the affault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbish, with the flower of his troops charged the Selinuntines with such fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in despair. Many sell on both sides; but the Carthaginians were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the Selinuntines had none to reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. e affault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with great courage and resolution, and with incredible saughter on both sides. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the Iberians, after a sharp dispute, lodged themselves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houses filled all places with cries and lamentations. The Selinuntines, now giving up every thing for loft, barricaded all the streets and passages, being determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood; which occasioned a long and bloody contest. The women also, notwithstanding their first panic, forely galled the Carthaginians with showers of tiles and stones thrown by them from the tops of the houses,

\* EPHORUS & TIMEUS SICULES apud DIOD. Sic. l. xiii.

(G) Rhodomanus, in his Latin version of Diodorus, calls this river Mazarus; but we chuse rather to sellow Ptolemy, Pliny, and Diodorus himself, who give it a seminine termination. Some believe the word emporium here not to be a proper, but a common name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was Mazara; for Stephanus tells us, Mazara was a castle or fortress of the Selinuntines. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortress seated on them, the same names, and that even in

it may be sufficient to observe, that Gela, a city of great note in this island, had a river of the same name running close by its walls. On or near this spot there is a fine city, called Mazara, at this day; but no monuments of antiquity, according to Fazellus, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of Stephanus's Selinuntine castle, it seems to point out the true name of the town Hannibal took by storm on his march to Selinus.

Sicily itself. To wave all other instances at present.

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which kept the fate of this city for some time in suspense; but the Carthaginians returning to the charge with inexpressible ardor, and continually pouring fresh men into the town, the poor Selinuntines were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow streets, were pursued by the conquerors into the market-place, where making a stand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

An inflance of

Selinus being thus taken by storm, and the plunder of it given up to the foldiers, the Carthaginit is impossible to express the misery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and nian barbarity. the crueities exercised upon them by the Carthaginians, who, it must be owned, on fuch melancholy occasions as these, generally shewed themselves to be most savage They raged in all parts of the town without restraint, rished the houses, and then fet fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children b they found in them, or dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did their inhumanity rest here; they carried it so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of oftentation; bearing the heads of the flain on the points of their swords and spears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, escaped the common destruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compassion, of the victors; for believing that these poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, set fire to the temples, and by that means confume all the treasure and valuable effects they expected to find in those places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a state of desperation. The ravages in the city continued most part of the night, insomuch that every place was full of blood, horror and confusion. The surviving matrons had the mortification to see their daughters forced to be subservient to the brutal lust of the barbarians, which, with a fense of the dismal servitude prepared for them in Africa, made them wish they had not survived their friends and relations. In fine, after sixteen thousand miserable wretches had been cruelly massacred, and two thousand six hundred escaped to Agrigentum, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its soundation. The women and children, about five thousand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives y.

A body of Sciinuntines escapes to Agrigentum.

THE body of Selinuntines that retired to Agrigentum, made their escape by the d favour of the night, having found an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow passes. Upon their arrival at Agrigentum, they were received with great humanity and tenderness; corn was distributed to them out of the public stores; and every private person, out of his own generous disposition, liberally supplied them with all kinds of necessaries for their subsistence.

The Carthagimans plunder the temple; at Sclinus.

A few days after the city was taken, three thousand Syracusians arrived at Agrigentum, on their march to Selinus; but understanding that the city was taken, they fent embassadors to Hannibal, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at least spare the temples. Hannibal returned answer, that fince the Selinuntines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to e be treated like flaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of their ornaments. This answer is a clear demonstration of the Punic genius at that time, and exactly corresponds with what Diodorus has related of the Carthaginians in this particular: "These barbarians, says that author, exceed all men in impiety; 66 for whereas other nations spare those who sly into temples, out of a principle of " religion, not daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, lest they should offend "the deity; the Carthaginians, on the contrary, moderate their cruelty to these " persons, that they may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples them-The Syracusians however, not acquiescing in this answer, sent another f " felves." embassy, and at the head of it one Empediones, a Selinuntine, who had always been in the interest of the Carthaginians, and had even advised his countrymen to open their gates to Hannibal at his first appearing before the town. The Carthaginian general received him with great demonstrations of kindness, restored him to his estate, pardoned all the prisoners related to him, and even permitted the Selinuntines, who had fled to Agrigentum, to rebuild and repeople their city, and manure their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians 2.

AFTER the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal marched with his army to attack Himera, Hannibal aswhich above all things he desired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather tacks Himera. Hamilear, who had been sain there by Gelon, with above an hundred and fifty thoufund Carthaginians, and almost as many taken prisoners. Besides, as he had already punished the Selinuntines for the insults they had offered his father Gifco in his banishment, he now resolved to take vengeance of the Himereans, for being the occasion of that banishment. On his march he was joined by twenty thousand Siculi and Sicani, whom he fent, with the main body of the army, to lay flege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thousand men, encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from it. His troops being flushed with their late success, he pushed on the siege b with the utmost vigour, battering the wall with his engines in several places at once; but finding this not fully to answer his intention, he undermined it, and by supporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards fet on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this, a warm dispute ensued, the Carthaginians making all possible efforts to enter the town; and the Himercans, having the fate of the Selinuntines always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thousand Syracusian auxiliaries, with some troops from their other allies, under the command of Diocles, diffinguished themselves on this occasion in a most extraordinary manner; and repulfing the enemy with great bravery, immediately repaired the wall. In fine, c the Carthaginians having been constantly repulsed in their attacks for several days successively, were obliged for the present to desist from all further attempts to storm the town; which mortified them extremely, especially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground a.

THE Himereans, animated by this advantage, refolved not to be any longer cooped TheHimereans up in the city, as the Selinuntines had been, but to endeavour, by one strenuous make a vigoreffort, intirely to dislodge the enemy. Having therefore posted detachments of their out fally upon the Carthagigarison at proper distances on the wall, to repel any assault that might be given, they nians. made a fally on the beliegers with their whole remaining force, confisting of ten thoufand men. The Carthaginians, little dreaming that the besieged were capable of d such an attempt, at first imagined, that the confederates of the Himereans had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raise the siege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the Himereans for some time easily bore down all that opposed

them; and tho' the Carthaginians afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head against them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the present juncture, throwing them into disorder, they incommoded one another more than the enemy. The belieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inspired with sresh courage at the fight of their parents, children and friends, who, for this purpose, exposed themselves on the ramparts, charged them with such intrepidity, that they put their whole army to flight, pur-e suing them to the very hill where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general, seeing his army in consussion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun

anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length But are rethe Himereans, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand pulsed. of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole Carthaginian army, till they all died upon the spot b.

THE Carthaginian army, though victorious, was yet rudely handled, the Himerean The Carthagitroops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the nians sustain a cruel treatment they expected from their enemies, if conquered, inspired with a great loss in this action,

> b Dion. Sic. ubi fupra. a Idem ibid.

(H) Though the native Carthaginians were well armed, and good troops, yet the Africans and Numidians were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a considerable part of the Carthaginian armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which fometimes produced dismal effects. Platarch, in

his life of Timoleon, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the Carthagi-nian forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable a great part of the army befieging Himera, confifted of these troops, whilst that under the command of Hanne, which covered the fiege, was composed of the national forces (20).

(20) Plut. in Timol. Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. & l. xxv. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Hendr. l. ii. led. 2. memb. 1. c. 7.

much

much greater degree of resolution. Ephorus says, the Carthaginians lost twenty thou- a fand men in the first action, before they were pursued to Hannibal's camp; though Timeus Siculus reduces this number to fix thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the Himereans and Hannibal, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not given us by any historian. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginian army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of Hannibal's camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men c.

AFTER this action, five-and-twenty galleys, which had been fent by the Siculi fome time before to the affiftance of the Lacedamonians, and were now returning home, appeared off of Himera; upon which a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the Syracusians, with all their forces and allies, were coming b to the relief of the city. This was so far from discouraging the Carthaginians, that it put Hannibal upon a new enterprize; for imagining that the Syracusians had sent all their strength to support their confederates, he doubted not but the city must be left in a manner defenceless; and therefore, immediately embarquing with the flower of his troops in the galleys which lay at Motya, prepared to fail for Syracuse, in order to furprise that city. In the mean time Diocles, commander in chief of the Syracusian troops in Himera, a man of great forelight and penetration, advised the captains of the Sicilian vessels to sail with all possible expedition to Syracuse, lest Hannibal should make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more strongly induced to, since, if in another action the besiegers should cut off the best of his men, he plainly perceived, c that their own city must of course fall a prey to the Carthaginians. He therefore thought it adviseable to leave Himera for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to Syracuse on the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought sufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a state of desence, should return. This the besieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon Diocles to alter his measures, the greatest part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to fend on board the galleys by night, in order to have them transported to Messana d.

the defence of Syracuse:

Diocles em-

his troops for

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As Diocles and his men embarqued in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions slain in the siege uninterred. However, they carried d off with them many of the Himereans, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other vessels. Upon his departure, the Carthaginians redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermission. On the other hand, the besieged, believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulling the enemy. Thus they held out against the repeated assaults and utmost efforts of above an hundred thousand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the Carthaginians, summoning all their courage and resolution, gave a general assault, and with their numtibith occasions bers bearing down all before them, drove the garison from the ramparts, and, in spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. The Iberians signalized e themselves greatly on this occasion, being the first that forced the besieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no fort of cruelty which the barbarous Carthaginians and Iberians did not practife on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himself put a stop to the slaughter. The houses were plundered, the temples pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them those wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itself levelled with the ground. Hannibal caused the women and children, that survived the first sury of the soldiers, to be preferved; neither durst any one offer the least injury to them: but the men, to the number of three thousand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, f where his grandfather Hamiltar had been defeated and killed by Gelon's cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred.

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The Campaniswed by the

Thus ended this campaign, one of the most prosperous the Carthaginians had ever ans think themselves ill met with in Sicily; after which Hannibal, dismissing the Siculi and confederates, and disbanding the Campanians, embarqued with the rest of his forces, and set sail for Carthaginians. Africa. The Siculi, upon their dismission, went home, as did likewise the Campanians; but the latter complained bitterly of the Carthaginians, because they looked

a upon themselves as slighted by that nation, tho' they had remarkably distinguished themselves in their service at the siege of Selinus, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign. Himera had itood, at the time it was razed by Hannibal, two hundred and forty years .

Hannibal, upon his quitting Sicily, left a small body of troops with his confede-Hannibal, as rates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of his departure their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at Carthage, loaden with the leaves some plunder he had carried off from Selinus and Himera. The whole city went out to troops to promeet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a rect his confegeneral that had performed greater things in so short a time than any ever before him f. derates there.

Animated by the late success in Sicily, the Carthaginians resolved now in earnest The Carthagito pursue the design which they had ever entertained of reducing the whole island. nians make With this view they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, com-preparations mitting the whole management of the war to the same Hannibal. But as hy reason for another mitting the whole management of the war to the same Hannibal. But as by reason campaign in of his great age he endeavoured to get himself excused from taking upon him the scaly. command in this new expedition, they joined in commission with him Imilcar, the fon of Hanno, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for

so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers with large sums into Spain, Libya, Sardinia (I), and the Balearic islands, to hire nume-e rous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewise large succours from the princes and states with whom they were in alliance, viz. from the Mauritanians, Numidians, and even the nations bordering on Cyrenaica. Besides all which, they took a body of Campanians out of Italy into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and such as they could intirely depend upon, especially when intermixed with those of other nations. When all their forces were mustered at Carthage, the

army was found to confift of three hundred thousand effective men, as Ephorus informs us; but Timeus Siculus, with more probability, fays, that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thousand; a force, however, sufficient, as it should feem, to over-run Sicily in one campaign.

THE Carthaginians, in the interval betwixt the first beginning of their prepara- They people as tions, and their embarquing for the Sicilian expedition, drew together out of Car-new city in tions, and their embarquing for the siculan expedition, drew together out of con-that island, thage, and other cities in Africa, all persons who were willing to transplant them-that island, called by the selves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in Sicily, Greeks, from which was from thence called by the Greeks Therma.

BEFORE the grand fleet, which was composed of a thousand transports, besides Therma. a numerous squadron of galleys, with the forces on board, set sail for Sicily, Hannibal sent forty galleys to reconnoitre the coasts, and get intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a Syracusian squadron of equal force off of Eryx, and immediately engaged them. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to The Syracuthe Syracusians. Of the Carthaginian galleys, fifteen were sunk, and the rest, by the sians defeat the favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat by sea. reached Cartbage, Hannibal sailed immediately with sifty galleys, designing both to prevent any ill consequences from thence to the Carthaginians, and to secure the passage and landing of the army 8.

e Diop. Sic. ubi fup. f Idem ibid. apud cund. ibid.

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Diod. Sic. ubi sup. atq; Ephorus & Timeus Siculus

(I) Livy tells us, that the Carthaginian armies were generally make up of a great variety of bar-barous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, infomuch that they did not understand one another. As the Carthaginians applied themselves wholly to naval affairs, they employed most of their own hands on board their ships; and the most opulent cirizens did not care to expose their persons in the wars, but contented themselves with enabling the state to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewise have some political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their state to be rendered

more secure, than if their armies consisted wholly of Carthaginian citizens, fince thefe could not be fo intirely trusted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at 'Carthage; belides, fuch an army as we have mentioned could not eafily mutiny, or revolt, fince 'tis impossible so many different nations should act in concert, or form any dangerous scheme against their principals. However, Polybius condemns this practice, and not without reason, since it not a little contributed to the decline of the Carthaginian state, and once brought it to the very brink of destruction (2).

(2) Lev. l. xxviii. c. 12. Polyb. l. i. & l. vi. Dlad. Sic. l. xx. & l. v. Chrift. Hendr. l. ii. fe.t. i. nem. 1.

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UPON

Hannibal lands his troops in Sicily, and advances to

UPON Hannibal's arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the Carthaginians, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving safe in Sicily, Agrigentum; the troops landed on the coast of Agrigentum, and marched strait to that city.

THE Syracusians, and their confederates, had sent embassadors to Carthage to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by Hannibal, and persuade the fenate to forbear fending any more troops into Sicily. But the Carthaginians returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the Syracusians had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had fent to the Greeks of Italy and the Lacedamonians to folicit succours, and dispatched expresses to all the Sicilian cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their b forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of Sicily, none were under fuch apprehensions as the Agrigentines; they seemed fully satisfied, that this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of Dexippus the Lacedamonian, an officer of great courage and experience. The Carthaginians, upon their investing Agrigentum, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand Africans and Iberians, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the sallies of the besieged. When they first sat down before the town, they invited the Agrigentines either to join them, or stand neuter, declaring they would be well satisfied with either point of conduct, and forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. Both proposals being rejected, they attacked the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous relistance. And this indeed was not without reason; for the Agrigentines had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to affift in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from Gela, under the conduct of Dexippus the Lacedamonian, who was in high esteem at that time on account of his country, according to Timæus Siculus. Eight hundred Campanians also, who had formerly served under Imilear, were taken into the service of the Agrigentines, and & defended the hill Athenaum, which commanded the city, and was therefore a post of the utmost consequence. But notwithstanding these precautions, Imiliar and Hannibal, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made use of on this occasion were of surprising force; and two towers (K) were brought against the city, of a monstrous size. The first day out of these they made an assault; and after having cut off many of the besieged, sounded a retreat. However, the next night the Agrigentines made a fally, burnt the engines, destroyed the towers raised against them, and, after having made a great slaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon Hannibal, intending to storm the e place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and flately monuments, standing round the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls. But whilst they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic seized the army, occasioned by Theron's monument being destroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the foothfayers present, put a stop to the design. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time carried off a great number of the soldiers, and the general Hannibal himself. The Carthaginian soothsayers above-mentioned interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the soldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the f

Which city he befuges, but meets with a warm reception.

Theron's monumens deftroyed by light-ning, which occasions a panic in the Carthaginian army.

> (K) Soon after the Carthaginians had invested a town, they raised a mount of equal height with the walls, if not superior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the highest battlements and towers of stone, either upon the walls or within the town. These moved upon wheels, and with them the beliegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place.

They were very large, and capable of containing confiderable numbers of men, and fome of the finaller engines of battery, whereby the belieged were greatly annoyed. From these towers they made their assaults, and frequently flormed towns, or at least opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. Jufius Lipfius gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) Just. Lips. polier. l. ii. c. 3, 4, 6c. Vid. estam Died. Sic. l. xiii. Sil, Ital. l. i. & Ohr. Hendr. l. ii. fect, 2. memb. 1. c. 9.

deceased.

a deceased. Wherefore Imilear, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made, according to the practice of Cartbage, and the demolition of the tombs to be intirely discontinued. A boy was also sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a custom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongst the Carthaginians: by his orders Neptune likewise was appealed, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. Imilcar having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of Hannibal, and pacified the gods, renewed the affaults with more vigour than ever, filled the river with rubbish close to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them upon the town in such a manner as reduced the besieged to

b great streights h.

In the mean time the Syracusians taking into consideration the deplorable condition of Agrigentum, and fearing it would undergo the fame fate that Himera and Selinus had done, began to think in earnest of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from Italy and Messana, and being joined by the Camarineans, Geleans, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. These judging sufficient for their purpose, they gave orders The Syracuto Daphneus, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the fians fend an territory of the Agrigentines, a fleet of thirty galleys, which sailed close by the shore, him to raise at the same time keeping pace with him. Imilcar, upon intelligence of their approach, the siege; detached all the Iberians and Campanians, with forty thousand Carthaginians, injoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river Himera. Pursuant to his orders, the Syracusians were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as Which is atthey were advancing in good order towards Agrigentum. The dispute was sharp, tacked by the Carthaginians, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far superior in number to but defeats the Syracusians. But at length the latter carried the day, and pursued the Cartha-them. ginians to the very walls of Agrigentum. Daphneus fearing, lest Imilcar should take advantage of the confusion his troops were thrown into by their eagerness in the pursuit, and thereby wrest the victory out of his hands, as had formerly happened d to the Himereans on the like occasion, railied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the spot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate possession of. The Carthaginians lost six thousand men in this action (L).

THE Carthaginians escaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it should seem, of the Agrigentine commanders. For the besieged, seeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmost confusion, The Agrigenimmediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore pressed their officers tine commanders guilty of a to fally out upon them without loss of time, that they might complete their ruin. falle step, which They were however deaf to these solicitations, and would not permit a man to stir occasions the out of the town. To what motive such an unaccountable procedure was to be attri- loss of the place. e buted, is hard to say; however, the fugitives were hereby saved, and arrived safe in their other camp. This fatal step could never asterwards be retrieved, but was

followed by the loss of the city k.

Upon Daphneus's arrival, a great part of the garrison, with Dexippus at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here shewed himself highly distarissied, that so fair an opportunity had been loft of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and destroying so many myriads of them. Hereupon great disputes arose, insomuch that sour of the Agrigentine com- A mating manders, at the infligation of one Menes, a Camarinean, were koned by the enraged wherein four manders, at the initigation of one sciences, a Camarinean, were notice by the eminaged of these communititude, and a fifth, called Argens, only by reason of his youth, escaped. Den-manders are f ippus himself was likewise highly reflected upon, and lost much of the reputation somed, and a

A Drop. Sic. ubi sup.

1 Idem ibid.

.k Idem ibid.

The armies being engaged, that general heard a great noise in the left wing, where the Isalian forces were posted; and bastening thither, he found them almost described; upon which immediately repairing to the right wing, composed of Syracujums, he told

(L) We are told by Polyanus, that Daphness de-feated the Gasthaginians by the following strategem: therefore, to render the victory complete, intrested them to exert themselves on the present occasion. Animated by this good news, they immediately cried out, Let us fall upon the enemy with the utmest fury. Upon which, charging them with incredible bravery, they soon put these to slight (4). Imilcar in great streights for want of provisions.

But supplies fully by intergran borts. corn, and all

himself plenti-

Upon which the Agrigentines resolve to leave their city to the enemy.

he had before acquired, by concurring with the rest. After the council broke up, a Daphneus formed a defign to attack Imilcar's camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he altered his resolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to perish with famine, or come out of their lines, and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the passages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was foon brought to fuch streights, that the Campanians, and other mercenaries, began to mutiny; and going in a body to Imilcar's tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions, and in b the mean time pawned to them the drinking vessels of the Carthaginian soldiers. He had been informed, that the Syracufians were then loading many ships with corn, to be fent to Agrigentum, and did not in the least doubt but he should intercept the convoy, the Syracusians not suspecting, that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly, he dispatched messengers to Panormus and Motya, where his fleet lay, injoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being speedily equipped, the Syracusian fleet, consisting of threescore transports, laden with corn, and all forts cepting a Syra- of provisions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ships were sunk, and the c cutian fleet of rest driven on shore. This changed the face of affairs on both sides; for as such an unexpected relief gave the Carthaginians fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the Agrigentines, who having already held out for the space of eight months, were forts of provi- in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved to quickly as their fions.

present necessity required. Besides, at the beginning of the siege, when bad success attended the Carthaginians, they had squandered away their corn and other provisions in a very profuse manner, by which means they were now reduced to the greater The Campanians in the service of the Agrigentines, observing the desperate condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from Imilcar, went all over in a body to the Carthaginians. Dexippus the Lacedamonian also, according to Dio- d dorus, was faid to have been bribed with the fame fum; for he on a sudden advised the Italian commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, infinuating, that they were likely to be starved there, without the least prospect of rendering any fervice to those who had hired them: whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advantage in some other part: with which advice complying, they left the Agrigentines to shift for themselves (M).

THE mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of neceffaries, a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely imposfible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the foldiery and people two days. It was therefore resolved, that the e city should be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to some place of safety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being apprifed of this resolution, were thereby thrown into the utmost consternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all feized with in feeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, or else expose themselves to the fury of a merciless enemy, were inexpressible. However, though their riches were immense, yet they esteemed life still more valuable and therefore, as they expected no mercy from such cruel barbarians, the greatest part of them gave way to unavoidable necessity. We shall not

Drop. Sic. ubi fup.

(M) Polyanus tells us, that Imilcar (whom he calls Himilco) gave private orders to his men to fly be-fore the belieged whenever they made a fally, in order to draw them into an ambuscade. There happened to be a wood just before the town, in which he posted a detachment of his troops, with orders to set this on fire as soon as the enemy were ot at a considerable distance from the town. This firstagem had the defired effect; for the Agrigentines

pursued the Carthaginlans with great ardour for some time; but at last looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze; which they imagined was a fire is fling out of the city itself. Upon this they retired with great precipitation towards the rown; but falling into the ambuscade, and being hotly pursued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken prifonces (3).

(3) Polyan. firatagem. l. v. c. 10. ex. 4. Vid. & Frentin, firat. l.iii. c. 10. ex. 5.

a here expatiate upon the scene of horror now before us, Diodorus Siculus having done this in a most affecting manner, but only observe, that the place appointed for these miserable wretches to retire to was Gela, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries at the expence of the public. What happened to them afterwards may be seen in a former part of this history .

THE garrison was no sooner withdrawn, and the Syracusian army retired, but Imilear, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without some sear and Imilear enters jealousy, and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as the city, where had fled to the temples. Among these was Gellias (M), a citizen famous for his great cruelsies, b wealth and integrity, who feeing that the Carthaginians, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of Minerva, and confumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. Gellias, according to Diodorus; was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: first, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; fecondly, the facrilegious carrying off of the vast treasure lodged there; and,

thirdly, the abuse of his own body ".

fent to Carthage o

Imilear having pillaged every part of the city, both facred and profane, found and pillages himself master of an immense treasure. Nothing less could be expected from the every part of it. spoils of a city, which was one of the most opulent in Sicily, containing two hundred e thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the Agrigentines having an exquisite taste for the To give our readers some idea of Agrigentum, it will be sufficient to observe, that the very sepulchral monuments shewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses, famous for their elegance. Empedocles, the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying Empedocles's concerning his fellow-citizens; That the Agrigentines squandered away their money so saying of the excessively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such Agrigentines. folidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever. The most valud able part of the plunder Imilcar sent to Carthage; every thing else he caused to be fold under the spear. Among other curiosities, the famous bull of Phalaris was

THE people of Syracuse, being prodigiously alarmed at the reduction of Agrigentum, had a decree passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. Imilcar having gained the city, after eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. The Sicilians in general, as well as the inhabitants of Syra-Many of the cuse, were struck with terror at the Carthaginian conquests, and many of them fled Sicilians, being e to Syracuse for protection, whilst others transported themselves, with all their effects, struck with to the continent of Italy. Those who took sanctuary in Syracuse, were treated with Carthaginian extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city. conquests, fly to

Syracule for

a Idem ibid. See also univ. hist. vol. iii. p. 42. not. (X). protection. m Idem ibid. Univ. hift. vol. iii. Otoo. Sic. ubi sup. & Cic. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.

(M) The munificence of Gellias may be learned not only from Diodorus Sieulus, but Valerius Maximus and Athenaus (1). He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of Agrigentum from perishing with hunger. He gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair. He had built houses in the city and country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. In short, Gellias's riches, immense as they were, were furpassed by his greatness of soul, his treasures being, as it were, to use Valerius Maximus's phrase, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of Agrigentum, and all the neighbouring provinces, should so ardently pray for his health and prosperity. No greater loss could have

happened to that part of Sicily than the fatal end of so excellent a person, but the death and destruction of all those poor wretches, who should have regretted him. Atheneus, in all the present MSS. calls him Tellias; but Nicolaus Sturio has discovered this to be a fault of the transcribers, though it must have been a very antient one, fince Euftathius oftener than once calls him likewife Tellius. What Athenaus has concerning him is taken almost word for word out of the eleventh book of Timaus's history, and possibly Diodorus's may have been deduced from the same source. The great resemblance betwixt the capital sam (T) and gamma (I) might possibly occasion the mistake above-mentioned; for that it is a mistake, the printed copies and MSS. of Diodo-rus Siculus and Valerius Maximus sufficiently evince.

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(1) Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Athen. deipnosoph. l. i. Vdd. & If. Casaub. animadvers. in Athen. l. i. p. 12. Among Among them were many Agrigentines, who filled the city with their complaints a against the Syracusian commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the ene-This raised such disturbances in Syracuse as at last gave Dionysius an opportunity of feizing upon the fovereign power. Imilcar, after laying it intirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the spring, left Agrigentum P.

The Syracufians fend D'onyfius to affift the people of Gela.

THE Geleans, receiving intelligence, that the Carthaginians intended to open the campaign with the siege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themselves, implored the protection of Syracuse; upon which Dionysius immediately marched to their affiftance with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. The Geleans were so well satisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent embassadors to Syracuse to return their thanks b for the important fervice that city had done them in fending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generalissimo of the Syracusian forces, and those of their allies, against the Carthaginians. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already shewn, and will

further appear in the fequel of this history.

Imilcar marches with his army against Gela.

THE Carthaginian forces under the command of Imilcar, having, on the return of the spring, razed the city of Agrigentum, made an incursion into the territories of Gela and Camarina; and after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off such an immense quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. Imilear then marching with his whole army against Gela, took post on the banks of the river c Gela; and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting but Dionysius would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The Geleans, in the beginning of the siege, were determined to send away their wives and children to Syracuse, as a place of greater fafety; but they all, running to the altars in the forum, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but protested that they would undergo the same sate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the Geleans to exert themtheir husbands and parents. felves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to whom they were so dear, They made several sallies with good success, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them prisoners into the town. No sooner was a breach d opened in the wall by the Carthaginian rams (O), but the citizens repaired it,

P Drop. Sic. ubi fup.

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention fome particulars relating to the Carthaginian camps, which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the Carthaginians were apprehentive, that the enemy would attempt to raise the siege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a direh and a wall, as we learn here from Diedorus. Their camps feem to have been formed in a regular manner, refembling a town, and had gates to them. The Numidian camp was always separated from the Carthaginian; the reasons of which seem to have been, that the Carthaginians were generally foot, but the Numidians horse, and that the latter could not permit themselves to be confined to the rules of military discipline so easily as the former. The general's tent was, for the most part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and superb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their respective orders; and a strong guard, Polybins incimates a thousand horse and as many foot, were generally posted before it. Near this stood the sacred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of distinction, performed their devotions. The Carehaginian tents seem to their devotions. have been raised in a regular manner of wood, fascines, &c. resembling so many cottages; but the Numidian were the reverse, consisting only of reeds, ftraw, stubble, and other such-like flight materials(2). (O) The ram was a battering engine used in:

sieges by the antients. Pliny tells us it was found out by Epens, a Greek, at the siege of Troy; but this is not very probable, because we find no men-tion made of it in Homer, who, if such a wonderful machine had been then known, could not poffibly have omitted taking notice of it. Tis therefore much more likely, that the Carthaginians invented it, as Virneins and Tertullian believe, with whom Libsius agrees. The ram was a large beam, equal to the mast of a ship, with a head of solid iron, resembling that of a sam, from whence it derived it's name. This was fastened in the middle to another beam supported by a large piece of a inother beam, supported by a large piece of timber on each side, by ropes, in such a manner as to be pendulous like a balance. This being drawn backwards by a great number of hands as far as possible, was then pushed forwards with as great an imperus as they could give it, so that the iron head beating against the walls of a city with inconceivable force, easily shook them; neither was there any wall on tower but what this, by repeated blows, was capable of battering down. As these blows, in some respects, resembled the buttings of a ram, this was a furtherreason for giving the machine the name of that animal. Appian relates, that the Romans battered the walls of Caribage with two rams of an immense fize, one of which was played by a body of fix thousand foot, and the other by a vast number of rowers, which may ferve to give us some idea of this terrible engine. Tis mentioned by the prophet

(2) Liv. l. xxvi. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Just. Lips. l. v. dial. 2. milit. Rom. Polyh. l. i. c. 45. & l. iii. c. 71. Diod. Sic. l. xx. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. Polyh. l. vi. Plutarch in Scip. Lips milit. Rom. l. v. dial. 5. & Christ. Hendr. Careto. h. ii. sect. 2. memb. 1. 6. 7.

a being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully shared with them the labour and danger. The young men were continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the rest employed in working and other necessary services. In fine, they defended themselves with such courage and And meets resolution, that, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, they held out with a vigora long time against a most formidable army, without receiving the least affistance our resistance. from their allies 9.

In the mean time Dionysius, by the junction of his mercenaries, and succours from Dionysius ad-Magna Gracia with the Syracusians, almost every one of whom capable of bearing vances to the arms he obliged to lift under his standard, formed an army of fifty thousand foot, according to some, though Timeus Siculus makes them only thirty thousand, and b a thousand horse; with which, and fifty sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of Gela. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the fea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he proposed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilst his horse and shipping should intercept all provisions coming to their camp from any part of the Carthaginian dominions; which he doubted not would greatly distress them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he resolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, in order to this, made the following disposition of his forces: The Sicilian And arracks foot had orders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; the the enemy's troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and marching to the shore, camp; c attempt the camp in the weakest place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the fpot where the Carthaginian engines were placed, in order to destroy them; the horse he commanded to pass the Gela, upon a fignal given by the foot, to join them, if superior to the enemy, or, if repulsed, to support them; and lastly, the sea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as possible with the ships, when the Italian troops came up. As Imilear had fent a strong detachment towards the shore, to oppose the enemy's land-

## 9 Idem ibid.

Ezekiel in two passages, and Nebuchadnezzar made use of it at the siege of Jurusalem. Whether the Carthaginians, or their ancestors the Tyrians, sfor both sometimes went by the same name) first discovered it, cannot be certainly determined, nor at what time the discovery was made; but we take Ezekiel to be the earliest author in whom any mention of it is to be feen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full description of the various kinds of this machine in Vitruvius and Lipfius, whom

at their leifure they may confult (2).

Now we are upon this subject, we shall here once for all give a short account of the catapulta and the balifia, two other engines frequently taken notice of by the ancient historians. The catapults was a machine out of which the Carthaginians, and other nations, fent vollies of darts and large arrows, made on purpose, upon the enemy, particularly upon those parties of garrisons posted on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the rams. Diodorus intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the fiege of Motya, Some authors confound this with the balifla, which was an engine out of which stones of a vast weight were discharged; for Diodorus writes, that the Carshaginians filled Lilybaum with catapules, out of which they threw stones; and Appian relates the same of the Roman catapults. But Lipsius (and he has reason on his side) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the satapulta discharged both stones and arrows. That author says, there were two sorts of catapults, the majores catapulta, and the minores; the first fent forth showers

of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other those of half that length. At the taking of new Carthage in Spain, an hundred and twenty large eatapults were found there, and two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller size. The Carthaginians always abounded with these engines: when Pyrrhus attacked Lilybaum, there was such an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would scarce contain them; and, a little before the destruction of their city, they delivered up to the Romans two thousand of them, according to Appian, or, as Strabo will have it, three thousand. The balista, as just hinted, was an engine out of which the autients threw stones of a prodigious magnitude: this was also used at sieges, and in many respects answered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the balista, if we may depend upon the relations of the antients, seems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to Lipsius, the balista likewise was either major or minor; the major threw stones of three hundred and fixty pound weight, and the minor those of an hundred. Hegesippus relates feveral furprifing effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. Livy tells us, that the Romans found at Carthoge twenty-two of the larger baliffa, and of the smaller firty-two. Ammianus Marcellinus, as explained and illustrated by Lipsius, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, use, form, and, in short, of every thing relating to these terrible engines, to which authors, for their further satisfaction, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers (3).

(2) Tertul, de Pal, Plin, Joseph, Vitruv. & Veget, apud Lipsium in poliorc, l. iii, dial. 1. & alib. Appian. in Libyc. Vitruv. l. x. c. 19. Ezek. iv. 1, 2. & xxi. 22. Plin l. vii. e. 56. Christ. Hendr. ubi sup. p. 468—475.
(3) Just. Lips. ubi sup. dial. 2. & 3. Vid. etiam Frid. Tsubmannum in Plaue. capt. att. iv. scen. ii. v. 16. Diod. Sic. in excerpt. l. xxii. c. 14. Appian. in Libyc. p. 46. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 47. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. Hegesip. l. iii. c. 12. Vid. & Joseph. Laurentium de torment. c. 7, &c.

ing, and defend that part of the camp which lay most exposed, the Italian auxiliaries met with a great relistance. However, they behaved with such bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the Caribaginian camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly supported, they must have carried it, and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But Dionysius, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himfelf able to advance with fufficient expedition through the streets of the city to their relief, the Siculi being too remote to afford them timely succour, and the garrison not daring to make an effectual fally by way of diversion, lest they should leave the walls too naked; the Carthaginians resuming their courage, and being relieved But is repulsed by a powerful supply of fresh troops, soon broke them, killed a thousand on the b

with great

spot, and forced the rest into a narrow pass within the lines. Here they must all have been inevitably cut off, had not a shower of darts, and other missive weapons from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The Sicilian foot, in the mean time, charged a large body of Africans with such resolution, that they put them to flight, and pursued them to their very trenches with great slaughter; but these Africans being foon reinforced by the Campanians, Iberians, and Carthaginians, who had routed the Italians, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the Siculi, drove them back to the town, with the loss of fix hundred men. The horse finding the foot not able to withstand the efforts of the enemy, and seeing these advance on all sides in c order to furround them, retired likewise to the city with precipitation. Dionysius, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greatest part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper also to retreat, and take shelter within the walls. After this unsuccessful attempt, he summoned a council of war, consisting of his particular friends, the refult of whose deliberations was, that, fince the enemy was so much superior to them in strength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the issue of a battle; Which obliges and therefore, that the inhabitants should be persuaded to abandon their country, as the inhabitants the only means to fave their lives. In consequence of this, a trumpet was sent to to abandon the Imilcar, to desire a cessation of arms till the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of Gela an opportunity of making d their escape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens left the place, and he himself, with the army, followed them about midnight. To amuse the enemy, he left two thousand men of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and fet up loud shouts, as though the army remained still in the town. At day-break, these took the same rout as their companions, and pursued their march with great celerity. By these stratagems, Dionyfius preserved the inhabitants of Gela from all insults, and secured the retreat of his army r.

place.

Dionysius secures their retreat, and that of his army, by a firatagem.

then moves towards Ca-

nyfius.

Imilear finding the city deserted by the greatest part of its citizens, the garrison, and Syracusian army, immediately entered it, and either put to the sword or cru- e Imilcar plun- cified all he met with in it. He likewise thoroughly plundered it, in the same manner ders Gela, and as Agrigentum, and then moved with his forces towards Camarina. Dionysius had before drawn off the Camarineans with their wives and children to Syracuse, by apmarina, which prising them of Imilcar's speedy approach. Their city underwent the same fate with that of Gela. The manner in which it was abandoned, Diodorus Siculus describes in a most moving manner. But this, as well as what happened to Dionysius here-

upon, may be feen at large in a former part of this history .

Imilcar, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himself in a condition to continue the war, fent a herald to Syracuse to offer terms of peace f to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionysius, and a A peace con- treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the Carlbaginians. The articles of cluded betwixt it were; that the Carthaginians, besides their antient acquisitions in Sicily, should the Carthagi- fill possess the countries of the Sicani, the Selinuntines, the Himereans, and Agrigentines; that the people of Gela and Camarina should be permitted to reside in their respective cities, which yet should be dismantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontini, Messains, and all the other Sicilians, should live according to their own laws, and preserve their own liberty and indea pendency, except the Syracustans, who should continue in subjection to Dionysius. These articles being ratified by both parties, Imilcar returned to Carthage, having lost above half of his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havock in Africa,

carrying off vast numbers both of the Carthaginians and their allies '.

BEFORE the Carthaginian army retired from Sicily, Imilear separated the Campanians from the other troops, and left them to defend his conquests in that island. It happened foon after, that Dionysius was reduced to such extremities by his subjects Dionysius in the Syracustans, that he was advised by his most intimate friends either to kill himself, imminent danor by one desperate effort force his way through the enemy's camp, and escape to those ger of loging the places which were subject to the Carthaginians. But Philistus (E) the historian, who, at Syracutes b for a considerable time, had supported Dionysius, opposed this advice, telling him, that he ought to resume his courage, and either maintain himself on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant, falling in with the fentiments of Philistus, resolved to part with his life, rather than the power he had acquired. In confequence of this resolution, he dispatched an express privately to the Campanians, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated But delivered himself out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and afterwards became from theuce by a scourge both to his own subjects and the Carthaginians ".

the Campa-

t Idem ibid. \* Diop. Sic. 1. xiv. c. 3.

(E) This Philiss was, according to Suidas (1), the ion of Archonidas, or, as Paulanias calls him, Archomenidas, and scholar to the elegiac poet Euenus. He was particularly intimate with Dionysius, and above any other person instrumental in establishing that tyrant's power at Syracufe; for which reason he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is suggested by some, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with Dionysius's mother, tho' with his privity. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of Lepthies, brother to Dionyfius, without imparting his delign to that prince, he was banished by him, and retired to Adria. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of Dionysius the younger, those who opposed Dion had him recalled; for they were afraid, left Plato, by his eloquence and philo-fophy, should change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) so learned a man as Philistus would be able to prevent, especially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himself to the tyrant's disposition. He answered their expectations; for, as foon as he was in favour, he opposed Place, and perfuaded Dienysius to expel Dion. after, Dion made war upon Dionyius, and befieged him in the castle of Syracuse. Philistus hastened to his assistance from Iappgia, with a strong squadron of (3) galleys, but had the missortune to be deseated. Ephorus says, he sell by his own hands, and is sollowed herein by Diodorus Siculus. But Timoniles, who lived with Dion from the beginning of these commentance informs up there was sales and commotions, informs us, that he was taken prifoner, and put to death; with whom Timens Sign-lus in the main agrees. Diodorus Siculus says, he was dened burial. He may justly be esteemed to have been a man of merit, if we consider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in some measure, appear from the account of him in the history of Syracuse. Suidas (4) ascribes to him a treatise concerning oratory; Ægypeiaca, or the history of Egypt, in twelve books;
res Sicula, or the Sicilian history, in eleven books; some orations, and one amongst the rest against Tricaranus, concerning the city of Naucrasis; the hi-flory of Dionysius the tyrant; three books about the

theology of the Egyptians; and a treatife concerning Liéya and Syria. Cicero (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His Sicilian history was the work in greatest esteem, of which, according to Diodorus Siculus (6), there were two parts. first consisted of seven books, including the transactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympind, when the Carthaginians took Agrigentum. The other begins where the first left off, that is, at the time when Dionysius the elder began his reign over the Syracusians, which was the year after the taking of Agrigentum. According to Cicero (7), he took great pleafure in imitating Thueydides; and, if Quintilian (8) may be credited, exceeded him in perspicuity. Dionysius Halicarnas-seus (9) made him too much inserior to Thucydides. However, all are agreed, that he much refembled him in the concilencis of his style. He affected this so much, that, if Them (10) may be believed, he avoided digressions to an excess. Timeus abused him; but Ephorus extelled him up to the skies; for which they are both centured by Plutarch (11). His works, as well as those of Ephorus and Timans Siculus, are all intirely loft. Had Philistus's Sicilian history, and his treatise concerning Libya, been extant, we should undoubtedly have met with many curious particulars relating to the building of Carthage, the first formation, growth, and decay of the Carthaginian state; in short, of all the principal transactions in which it was concerned, from its earliest ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of those pieces, but likewise from a hint given us by (12) Enseins and Appian. Notwithstanding he wrote a history during his banishment, he did not shew any resentment against Dionysius in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and
concealed his vices. This conduct Pausanias (13)
endeavours to excuse, or at least to palliate, by saying, that the motive to it was a delire to be recalled to Syracuse. Some believe Philistus to have been born at Naucratis, others at Syracuje, and lastly, others believe there were two historians of that name, one of whom was born at Naucrati:, and the other at Syracuse. It is not very material which of these is in the right.

(1) Suid in Director, & Paufan in Eliac. l. v. Diod Sic. l. xiv. & xvi. & Plus. in Dion. ubi sup. (3) Idem ibid & Diod. Sic. l. xvi. (4) Suid. ubi sup. (5) Cic. a (6) Diod. Sic. l. xiii. (7) Cic. de orat. l. ii. (8) Quintil. l. x. c. 1. (5) Dionys. H Pomp. (10) Theon in programasm. c. 4. (11) Plut. ubi sup. (12) Euseb. in chron. a Vide & animadvers. Scaliger. in loc. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. (13) Pausan. in Assistant Superior of Vost. de bist. Grac. l. i. c. 6. (5) Cic. de divinat. l. i. (5) Dionyf. Halicarn. ep. ad (11) Eufeb. in chron. ad num. DCCCIV. (13) Pau an. in Attic. p. 25. Vide & Voss. de hist. Grac. l. i. c. 6. Vo L. VI. No 10.

HAVING

the Carthagi-

HAVING disarmed the inhabitants of Syracuse, and by that step fixed his sovereignty a farations for a there, he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the new war with Carthaginians; for he had struck up the late peace with Imilcar so suddenly, with no other view, than to amuse him till he had established his authority, and found himself in a condition to attack the Carthaginian conquests in Sicily with a powerful army. The motives that seem immediately to have prompted him to this war, were two: First, to prevent the future desertion of his subjects, many of whom retired every day with all their effects to the Carthaginian garrifons, as well as to recover those he had loft, fince he imagined, that, upon the breaking out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the Carthaginians would drive them from thence. And secondly, the great prospect of success he had at that particular juncture, by reason of the deplorable ravages b the plague then made in the Carthaginian territories. As he knew the Carthaginians to be the most potent nation in the west, and that, if an opportunity offered, they would most certainly besiege Syracuse, he thought proper, by way of precaution, to fortify the hill Epipola, which commanded the town. This he did at a vall expence, with the affistance of sixty thousand freemen, and six thousand yoke of oxen. Diodorus tells us, that on this occasion the tyrant did not only superintend every part of the work, but frequently worked himself, enduring as much hardship and satigue as the poorest labourer; by which means the workmen were inspired with such a spirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day, and part of the night, and, which is almost incredible, in twenty days finished a wall thirty furlongs in length, c and of a proportionable height, which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper distances, and built of hewn stone, rendered the place almost impregnable w.

HAVING thus put his own city in a state of defence, he made preparations suitable

And fortifies the hill Epimola.

to the undertaking he was going upon, being very sensible with how formidable a power he was foon to cope. His first care was to bring to Syracuse from all parts of Sicily, Greece, and Italy, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all forts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their respective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of distinguishing themselves, and of striking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the d temples, but the schools, walks, piazza's about the forum, and every public place, Artificers flock nay, even private houses, were filled with workmen. The great wages which Dioto him out of nysius paid them, induced the best artificers every-where to offer him their service. and foon enable He himself directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they him to build a were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to superintend them, with vastnumber of orders to promise great rewards to the diligent for their future encouragement. The fires, and to art of making engines to batter walls was, according to Diodorus, now first brought ous quantity of to Syracuse; but the artificer's name, to whom Dionysius was obliged for this, is nowhere told us. As he was ambitious of being superior to the Carthaginians by sea, he caused a vast quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for Syracuse. Mount e Æina also supplied him with many fir and pitch trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred fail was foon ready to put to sea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys, that were refitted. He likewise caused an hundred and fixty distinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for sheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ships a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old useless vessels, covered them with planks. The Syracusians themselves manned half of the long ships, and the foreigners, who had entered into Dionysius's service, the rest. In order to have his troops completely armed as foon as possible, Dionysius animated the artificers by his presence, by the f applauses he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them

all forss of arms.

shared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited more strongly, than any other circumstance, the industry and ardour of these people; for those who distinguished themselves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only sure of receiving fome particular marks of his favour, but even fometimes had the honour to dine or sup with him. It is sno wonder therefore, that in a shorter time than can easily be conceived, besides an immense quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred a and forty thousand bucklers, the same number of swords and helmets, and sourceen thousand cuirasses, all of excellent workmanship. He had also prepared for service a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for landforces, besides his own subjects, many soldiers came from Italy, Greece, and other countries, to list in his service. We must not omit observing here, that Dionysius is faid by Diodorus to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a defire, that the Syracufians should be thought to rival their ancestors in ingenuity; for being apprised, that the triremes, or three-oared vessels, were first made at Corinth, he was desirous the number of oars should be first

inlarged by the Syracustans, a colony of the Corinthians x.

for pushing matters to extremity without delay y.

THE tyrant, having finished his military preparations both by sea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his design to the Syracusians. In order to which he convened the senate, and communi- He acquaints cated his intention to them of attacking the Carthaginian territories instantly, and the Syraculians even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, and to spirit up the assembly, he urged, that the Carthaginians were of all others the most implacable enemies to the Greek nation; that they had then nothing less in view than the conqueit of Sicily, and consequently the ruin of all the Greek cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of Syracuse before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a state of inaction; that as they were c then in a most deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itself to the Syracustians of driving them out of the island than the present; and that lastly, if this was let flip, upon their recovering themselves, they would most certainly put their favourite scheme in execution, and deprive the Syracusians, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable to them. The assembly, moved who approve of by so pathetic a speech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates is. of juffice, readily concurred in his opinion. The antient hatred they bore the Carthaginian, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. d If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worsted, the tyrant would be so much asraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his subjects at home with more moderation. In short, as they sansied themselves to have a prospect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were

UPON the breaking up of the affembly, Dionyfius, in conformity to the disposi- He falls upon tion of the Syracustans, gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and posses- the Carthagifions of the Carthaginians, who then refided in Syracuse, and there traded on the nians in Sicily. faith of treaties. As there were many of their ships at that time in the harbour, laden previous declawith cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not con-ration of war. e tented with this, ransacked all their houses in a most outrageous manner: and this horrid example of persidiousness and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily; nay, the Greeks inhabiting the cities under the jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, not fatisfied with stripping them of their effects, thought themselves suffi-

ciently authorized to treat the bodies of those miserable wretches with the utmost

ignominy and barbarity, to inflict every kind of punishment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exercised on the natives of the country. This was the bloody signal of the war that Dionysius now entered into with the Carthagi-

IT has been above observed, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to Diony- Great numbers f sus from Greece, Italy, and several other countries. The great pay he offered, drew of foreign merthem over in crouds; but no foreign power contributed so much to his support in his service. as the Lacedamonians. From Sparta he received as many recruits as were necessary for the completing of his troops, which, because he apprehended the war with Carthage would be long and bloody, he refolved should be very numerous. That he might be intirely at liberty to act against the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the Rhegians and M. flanians. To engage the latter the more He concludes a firmly in his interests, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged peace with the Rhegians and M. flanians, being a sea staring Rhegians and not ill bestowed at such a critical juncture; for the Messanians, being a sea faring Messanians.

mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the Persians and the Cariba- a

Battles of Himis fought the

Herodotus farther informs us, that the battle of Himera was fought the same day mera and Sala- with that of Salamis; but Diodorus Siculus will have the Carthaginians to have been defeated the same day that Leonidas, with his brave body of Spartans, perished at Thermopyla. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The gods on purpose seemed " to have destined the Greeks at the same time a glorious victory in one place, and a " most honourable death in another q."

Gelon rewards Sheir bravery.

THE first thing after the battle Gelon did, was amply to reward all those who had this foldiers for fignalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse, to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense b value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of Syracuse and Himera. What remained, together with the captives, he distributed amongst his foldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had shewn. Many of the last, to whatever city's share they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all Africa seemed to have been transplanted into Sicily. Some of the citizens of Agrigentum in particular, who had diftinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. The sugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmost consternation, sled into the inland provinces of Sicily, especially the territory of Agrigentum, where being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with prisoners. The greatest part of them were put c in irons, and set apart for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first, was cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at Agrigentum, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were fo much admired by the antients, and called Pheaces, from one Pheax, who was the overfeer of the work. The Agrigentines likewife, by their labour, funk a fish-pond at great expence, seven stadia in circumserence, and twenty cubits deep (B).

'Gelon compared to the most famous Greek commanders.

By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, Gelon acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. d The stratagem by which the Carthaginian army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and foul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to Themistocles, and the advantage accruing to the Greek nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of Platea. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in history of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Neither did the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of that vast number of ships of war and transports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ships or galleys, which Hamiltar had occasionally drawn out for necessary services, happened to be out at sea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and consequently escaped the general constagration. These failed directly for Carthage; but meeting with contrary winds and tempests, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved These arriving at Carthage, brought the dismal news of the intire in a fmall boat. defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The Carthaginians, little expecting to hear of such a signal disaster, but on the contrary pleasing themselves with the imagination of reducing the whole island of Sicily almost without striking a stroke, were most strangely shocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverses of fortune the nation we are discoursing of ever lost their courage, and abandoned themselves to despair, so in the present case they gave every thing up for lost. I Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city;

> P Idem ibid. DIOD. Sic. & HERODOT. ubi fup. r Dion. Sic. ubi fup,

(B) This famous pond, the effect of Carthaginian labour, was supplied with water both from soun-tains and rivers, and excellently well stocked with fish of all kinds, serving both for food and pleasure. Great numbers of swans likewise rested upon it, which afforded a most pleasant prospect to the eye.

By the negligence of succeeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at last became wholly dry ground. The foil was so rich in Diodorn's time, that the Agrigentines planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very considerable revenue (1).

a the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and degrees of people amongst them were overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, despondency, and consternation.

In this deplorable situation, the Carthaginians thought they could have recourse to The Carthagia nothing but Gelon's clemency; and therefore immediately dispatched embassadors to nians apply to Sicily injoining them to thisk up a peace with him upon any terms.

Sicily, injoining them to strike up a peace with him upon any terms. UPON the arrival of these embassadors at Syracuse, Gelon afforded them an instance His moderation

of great moderation and humanity. Notwithstanding by the late victory he was become and humanity. the arbiter of peace and war, and had the Carthaginians intirely at his mercy, he received these ministers in a most assable and courteous manner. His prosperity had not in the b least elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho' this deputation consisted of persons the most samed of any in Carthage for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a most mean and abject manner. They threw themselves at Gelon's feet, with tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think proper to prescribe. This plainly shews how void the Carthaginians then were of that true resolution and magnanimity, which supported the old Romans in all adversity, and carried them through all dangers; that refolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foundations of an almost universal empire, and even to destroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the history of; though it must be owned this heroic virtue and c greatness of soul was much tarnished in their posterity, to say no worse, by some actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the Carthaginian state.

Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compassion for the miseries The terms on of the Carthaginians, granted them a peace upon the following easy conditions: First, which he that they should pay two thousand talents of filver towards defraying the expences of grants them a the war. Secondly, that they should build two temples, where this treaty of peace should be deposited, and at all times be exposed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they should abstain from offering human facrifices. This last article shews the great humanity of Gelon's temper, and is a proof, that the people of Carthage were obliged a fecond time to abolish that barbarous practice for a certain period, at d least in appearance; for it cannot be doubted but they ratified this treaty, it being so advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of

destruction.

THE Carthaginians, having recovered their spirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to shew their gratitude to Damareta, Gelon's wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to a happy conclusion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, sent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown Gelon turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name Damaretia, each of them being worth e ten Attic drachma's. The Sicilians gave them the name of Pentecontalitra, from their

being fifty pounds in weight (C).

WE must not omit one circumstance, which may serve as a further instance of An inflance of Gelon's military capacity. Upon his first approach to Himera, to succour the Gelon's mili-besieged, a detachment of his forces deseated many of the Carthaginian parties sent tary capacity. to forage in different parts of the island. Besides what they killed, they took ten thousand prisoners, as above related. These probably were the worst troops in the Carthaginian army; and therefore a stratagem Frontinus relates Gelon to have been the author of, feems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince,

Idem ibid. & Prut. apopth. 175. & de fer. vindic. deor. p. 552. Vide & fehol. Pind. ad Pyth. od. 2. pecnon Jac. Perizon. comment. in Ælian. var. hist. l. vi. c. 11.

(C) These pieces seem to have been rather medals struck on occasion of Gelon's victory over the Carthaginians, than common coins. The size of Carthaginians, than common coins. them supplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The brass liters of sicily was at first a pound weight, as the librs or as was amongst the Romans; and fixty such liter made a talent. According to Pollux, Damareta, and the other Syracular ladies of distinction because all their successions. custan ladies of distinction, brought all their silver

utenfils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called νόμισμα Δημαρέτιαν. dorus's relation is more probable; fince, if Gelon had been in great want of money, he would undoubt-edly have flamped it in the smallest species, and not in pieces of such a magnitude, which seemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the Carthaginians, as well as the immense booty found in

their camp (2).

having a large number of prisoners, picked out the weakest of them, who were a auxiliaries, mostly tawny, and of a very despicable appearance; and exposed them quite naked before his foldiers, that they might have the most contemptible notion of the enemy. Something like this happened, if we mistake not, in the late war betwixt the Turks and the Russians, when the former, to give their people at Constantinorle the meaner opinion of the latter, led the most miserable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital.

What use Gelon made of the Carthaginian Spoils.

Besides the public works above-mentioned, the Carthaginian spoils enabled Gelon to build two noble temples, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proferpina. A tripod of gold likewise, of sixteen talents, he caused to be made out of them, and sent it as a donation to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as an acknowledgment of his grati- b tude to that deity. If an inscription given us by the scholiast on Pindar may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one fent thither on this occasion in the name of Gelon and his brothers, who had all of them a great share in the successes they gave thanks for (D).

Gisco, the fon of Hamilton, banished Carthage.

THE Carthaginians, incensed at Hamilear, as imputing the late disaster intirely to his conduct, notwithstanding the great services he had done the state on other occafions, refolved, that his family should feel the effects of their refentment; and therefore banished his son Gisco, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to Selinus, where he died for want of necessaries. The Sicilian cities, that sided with the Carthaginians, upon their first application to Gelon, were received into savour, and c had a confirmation of all their antient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner ".

Little faill of the Circhagimians for feventy years.

FROM this time for full seventy years, that is to say, till towards the close of the ninety-fecond, or the beginning of the ninety-third olympiad, we scarce find any mention of the Carthaginians, or their affairs, in the Sicilian history. The last blow they received in Sicily was fo terrible, that a peace of some duration was absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of their affairs; and it is natural to suppose, that, of all places in the world, Sicily would be the last they would, for a considerable period of time, chuse for the scene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarqued in another war d there, which, though pretty bloody and expensive, ended with much better success to them than the former.

The Carthaginians render themselves independent in Africa.

However, in some part of this interval, several remarkable incidents, mentioned by Justin, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus, seem to have happened. The Carthaginians carried their arms against the Moors, Numidians, and other African nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. They likewise shook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them fo much uneafinefs, and rendered themselves absolutely inde-

Have warm diffutes with regulation of limits.

THEY had warm disputes with the people of Cyrene, a Mediterranean city, the capital of Cyrenaica, built by the Theraans under Battus, who were a colony of the the Cyreneans, Lacedamonians, which arose from the want of a regulation of limits between the two e on account of a states. As the Cyreneans were very powerful, much blood was shed on this occasion; but at last the two nations, after having almost exhausted each other by a long and expensive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner x.

> \* FRONTIN. l. i. c. 11, 18. " DIOD. Sic. l. xiii. ÆLIAN. var. hift. l. vi. c. 11. \* SAL. Jug. c. 79.

(D) We 'are further affured by Pausanias, that Gelon fent several valuable presents to the temple of Juticer Olympius at Olympia, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good success that attended his arms, with which he was furnished from the booty found in the Carthaginian camp. Among the rest there were three curious vestments of fine Carthaginian linen, each of them representing a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as fomething particularly rare, fince Xenophon intimates the Carthaginian flax to have been of a very fine nature. A statue of Jupiter also, of a prodigious size, was sent to the same place in the name of Gelon and the Syracusians, when they were full of the most grateful sentiments for the signal victory

obtained over the Carthaginians both by sea and land. Both these donations were of exquisite workmanship, being done by those celebrated artificers Pothaus, Antiphilus, and Megaeles, at Gelon's order. Belides the golden tripod above-mentioned, Gelon fent a golden statue of Victory to Delphi, which feems to have been the third offering of that metal ever brought thither. This we learn from Phanias, Erefius, and Theopompus, as cited by Athenaus, who inform us, that before the days of Gyges and Crasfus, kings of Lydia, all the votive gifts tent to Delthi confilled of brass, and these not statues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this observation seemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit it (4).

(4) Pausan in Eliac. poster. l. vi. p. 379. ed. Hanov. 1613. Xenoph. de venat p. 975. ed. Leunclav, Frances.

1594. Phan. Eres. & Theopomp, apud Athen, in deipnosoph, l. vi.

Being so weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to some foreign invader, they confented first to a cessation of arms, in order to a pacification Afterwards it was agreed, that each city should appoint two commissaries, who But at last should set out from their respective towns upon the same day, and that the spot they come to a met upon should be the common boundary to both states. Upon this, two brothers, acommodation. called *Philani*, were dispatched from Carthage, who advanced with great celerity, whilst the Cyreneans proceeded more slowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the laziness of the latter, or to some accident intervening, is not certain. However, the last is not improbable, fince in those sandy regions, at certain seasons of the year, there are as violent storms and tempests as upon the sea; which is not to be wondered b at, considering, that in such countries, which are open and level, and have not so much as a shrub to break the force of the wind, sometimes boisterous weather must almost necessarily happen; and then the sand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, nostrils, &c. of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at least, if it does not put an intire stop to their journey. Valerius Maximus intimates, that the Philani acted perfidiously, by fetting out before the appointed time, and thereby imposed upon the others. Be this as it will, the Cyreneans, finding themselves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accused the Carthaginians of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the stipulated time; insisted, that the e convention agreed upon between their principals was broken; and declared they would fuffer all extremities, rather than fubmit to fuch a base and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the Philani, with much ferming calmness and moderation, defired the Cyreneans not to talk in so losty a strain, but themselves to propose some expedient, whereby their differences might be terminated, promiting at the same time to submit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then proposed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or fuffer themselves to be buried alive there, not in the least imagining they would comply with so hard a condition. But herein they were disappointed; for the Carthaginian brothers, without hesitation, consented to it, laid down their lives, and gained The Philani

a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The Carthaginians ever suffer them

afterwards celebrated this as a most brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, felves to be buand endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with order to inlarge fuitable inscriptions upon them. Strabo informs us, that no traces of these were to the dominions be seen in his days, tho' the place still retained the name of the altars of the Philani. of their state. However, 'tis not to be doubted but the state of Carthage, as long as it existed, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the side of Cyrenaica. Sallust relates, that there was a fandy tract of ground betwixt the territories of Carthage and Cyrene, without hill, river, or spot in it, whereby to ascertain the borders of the two nations; so that they were obliged to have recourse to the method aforesaid. The love of one's e country is certainly a most amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation should carry this fo far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, is very strange; yet this the Carthaginians did, if Valerius Maximus may be credited, by paying so high a regard to the memory of the Philani. That author however runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby discovers much of the Punic disposition. In short, this piece of history gives us a lively idea of the Carthaginian notion of bravery and heroism, as do several other incidents to be found in the course of this history ".

THE Egestines, allies of the Athenians, after the conclusion of the Syracusian war, The Egestines of which they had been the principal occasion, by inviting the Athenians into Sicily, occasion ano-f entertained strong apprehensions of being called to an account by the Syracusians for ther war beall the acts of hostility they had committed against them. About this time also the thaginians and Egestines had some disputes with the Selinuntines about a regulation of limits, which Syracusians. at last broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two states; but the former dreading the refentment of the Syracusians, and believing they would affift their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the Egestines gave up all the points in dispute, the Selinuntines, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irri-

Idem ibid. Strab. l. iii. Pomp. Mel. 1. i. c. 7. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 3.

tating the Egestines, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, imploring their pro- 2 tection, both against the Selinuntines, and their confederates the Syracusians. affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for some time debated at Carthage what course it would be proper to take. On the one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of Egesta, a city which lay so convenient for them, and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole island of Sicily, the favourite project this state always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Albenians, and was become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last their thirst after empire prevailed, and, through the desire of getting the city into their hands, they promised the Egestines succours.

Hannibal abpointed to com-

THE general appointed to command in this war, if matters came to the last extremity, was Hannibal, the grandson of Hamilear, killed at the battle of Himera, and Sicilian expedi- fon of Gisco, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffeces, and a person of very great confideration. As he bore a natural hatred to all the Greeks, and was defirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the difgrace of that defeat, which he confidered as a stain upon his family, he fought, by all means possible, to distinguish himself on this occasion for the service of his country. He was indefatigable all that summer, and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in Africa, but in Spain and Italy, and making the other necessary preparations; infomuch that, in the beginning of the c fpring, he had an incredible number of foldiers of different nations lifted under his standard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the Selinuntines, he had recourse to Panic policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the Syracujians their allies. Being apprifed, that the Selinuntines were not fatiffied with the tract of land ceded them by the Egestines in the last treaty of peace, but laid farther claim to a great part of their territories, he defired the Syracufians to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to fow the feeds of diffention betwixt the Syracufians and the Selinuntines, imagining, that if the latter should reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwirt them would of d course be diffolved, and consequently that each of them would more easily fall a prey to the Carthaginians. But his scheme proved abortive; for though the Syracusians interposed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the Selinuntines and Egestines, yet finding these inestectual, they did not think proper to make use of any compulsive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The Carthaginians, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their embasfadors, openly espoused the cause of the Egestines, and sent a fupply of five thousand Africans, and eight hundred Campanians, to their affiltance. The latter had been hired by the Cha cidians to affilt the Albenians against the Syracustians; but, after their overthrow, sailing back into Campania, staid there, in hopes & that fome state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly, the Carthaginians took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garison at Egesta; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themfelves mafters of. Notwithstanding this powerful body of Carthaginian auxiliaries, the Selinuntines, being both rich and numerous, held the Egestines in great contempt w.

The Carthagi. Campanians sand of them.

THE Selinuntines, having drawn together a strong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about Egesta, and despising the enemy, who were far inferior to them surprise the Se- in number, dispersed themselves in parties, without order or discipline, all over the linuatines, and territory of the Egestines, for the sike of plunder. The Carthaginians and Campanians f ent off athon- in garifon, observing this, took the first opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the Egestines, of surprising them; which they did so effectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand on the spot, and carried off all their baggage. Immediately after this action, both cities dispatched embassadors to solicit succours from their respective confederates, the Selinuntines from the Syracusians, and the Egestines from the Carthaginians; which being readily agreed to on both fides, a most dreadful war broke out between the Egestines and Carthaginians on one hand, and the Seli-

nuntines and Syracusians on the other.

THE Carthaginians, before they directly engaged in this war, took care to make The Carthagian estimate of the prodigious sums necessary to support it, and the numerous body of nians make forces requisite to carry it on with vigour; and having impowered their general Han-tions for a war nibal to raise an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a with the Selifuitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the nuntines. war, intending to attack the island of Sicily with their whole power the beginning of the following fpring.

Hannibal, at the time appointed, put his army on board fixty long galleys, and Hannibal lands fifteen hundred transports, together with an immense quantity of provisions he had his forces in Siamassed for their subsistence, military engines, arms, and all other things necessary cily.

b for a fiege. Setting fail with these, as soon as the season would permit, he crossed the African sea, and arrived at Lilybæum, a promontory of Sicily, opposite to the coast of Africa. Before he landed his troops, he was discovered by a party of Selinumine horse, who posted away with great expedition, to give their countrymen intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the Selinuntines dispatched couriers to Syracuse for immediate relief. Hannibal in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called The well of Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybeum was afterwards built. Here he staid a short time to refresh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

According to Ephorus the historian (E), the Carthaginian army confisted of two Ephorus and hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse, though Timœus Siculus (F) will not Timœus Siculus

lus differ in allow their relations

(E) Ephorus, an orator and historian, was born in the city (1) of Cuma or Cyme in Zolia, and one of Isocrates's (2) scholars. His history contained chiefly the transactions of his countrymen the Greeks for the space of seven hundred an i fifty years; that is, from the return of the Heraclide, to the twentieth year of Philip king of Macedon (3), in which year he belieged Perinthus. Plurarch intimates (4), that he wrote a particular history of Cuma. He was a writer of flow parts, according to Tully, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his school-sellow Theopompus. Seneca says (6), he had little regard to veracity; which feems confirmed by most of the passages taken from him by Diodorus. norance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the *Iberians* inhabitants of the fame city; from whence fosephus rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the western parts of the world came very late to the Greeks. Notwithstanding what has been faid, Diodorus informs us (8), that he wrote with great accuracy, and in an elegant flyle; tho' in the last article he is contradicted by Duris Samius (9), and Dion Chryscstomus, whose testimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand history he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Besides the performances above-mentioned, he composed a treatise de rebus inventis, of which Strabo(11) takes notice; another de bonis & malis, divided (12) into twenty-four books; another de rebus passim admirabilibus (13), divided into fifteen books; another de civitatibus Thracia, of which Harpocration quotes (14) the fourth book. Father Harduin afcribes to him a particular treatise (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the increase of the Nile; but, according to M. Bayle (16), the authors alleged by him prove no fuch thing; and indeed this he makes out very

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clearly. Ephorus is complimented (17) by Polybius and of the Cartha-Strabo; but notwithstanding Diodorus seems so tond ginian army. of him, yet, in another pullige, that writer rells us, he related so many fulfities (18) of Egypt, that we must not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. Dio ysius Halicarnasseus (19), as well as Diodorus, speaks tavourably of his style. The two other historians this last author ranks with him, are Theopompus (20) and Callishenes. We find a valuable frag-ment of Porphyry preferved by Eusehius, from which it appears, that Ephorus was accused of being a plagiary; nay, of stealing three thouland lines (21), word for word. from Daimachus, Anaximenes, and Cal-listhenes. Lysimachus is said to have written a piece, containing all his plagiarisms; and Alcaus. (22) a fatirical poet, is affirmed by Porphyry likewife to have exposed them. He is ridiculed by Strabo (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A fon, called Demophilus, survived him, who 24), being a scholar, was thought by some to have put the finishing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be seen in Vessius (25), and M. Bayle, to whom we refer our readers.

(F) Timzus Siculus, a Greek historian of good note (26), the son of Andromachus, a noble Sicilian, who, according to Diodorus (27), assembling the fugitives of Naxus, fettled with them on a hill called Taurus, to which fettlement the city of Taurominium owed its origin. Timaus flourished in the time of Agathocles, and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Suidas and Hesychius will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of history; and Polybius accuses him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judgment, and a trifling genius, on several occasions (28). He was a person of violent passions, as appeared both from his shameful calumnies, and impious flattery,

(1) Strab. l. xiii. p. 428. (2) Plut. in vit. Isocrat. p. 837. (3) Diod. Sic. l. iv. & l. xx. (4) Plut. de vit. Homer. sub init. (5) Cic. in Brut. Quintil. l. ii. c. 9. (6) Senec. quast. natural. l. vii. c. 16. Vide Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl. 245, &c. (7) foseph. cont. Apion. l. i. (8) Diod. Sic. l. v. sub init. (9) Duris Samius in hist. l. i. apud Phot. bibl. 176. Dion Chrysost. in orat. de dicend. exercit. (10) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. (11) Strab. ubi supra. (12) Suid. in Exos. (13) Idem ibid. (14) Harpocrat. voce Alv. (15) Hardain. in judic. austor. Plin. (16) Bayle, in dist. bist. &crit. (17) Polyb. apud Strabon. l. x. & alib. (18) Diod. Sic. l. i. (19) Dionys. Hailicar. de col. verb. c. 81. (20) Diod. Sic. l. iv. (21) Porphyr. de erud. audit. apud Euseb. in prap. evang. l. x. (22) Idem ibid. (23) Strab. ubi supra. (24) Conf. Fonsium de script. hist. philos. p. 43, 44. cum Athen. in deipnosoph. l. vi. (25) Voss. de hist. Grac. & Bayle, ubi supra. (26) Athen. deipnosoph. l. ii. & alib. (27) Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 7. (28) Hesych. & Suid. in Tiual.

allow them to have been much above an hundred thousand. Hannibal, after landing a his forces, caused all his ships to be drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the Syracusians, and then, being joined by the Egestines, marched to Selinus, which city he immediately caused to be invested, and began to batter the walls with incre-

Hinnibal lays Juge to Selinus.

> which prejudiced many writers, and some of these even too much, against him. Because he was banished by Agathocles, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death, not only describing his crimes and ill qualities in the blackest manner, but loading him with fitulous calumnies. He was acted to much by a spirit of revenge on this occasion, that he contradicted himselt in a most flagrant manner; for which (29) reason, the five last books of his hiflory, which treated of the act ons of Agathocles, were undoubtedly very deficient in point of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe Suidas, he exalted his hero Timoleon (30) to a superiority above the highest divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deserved a greater punishment than Callifthenes, who suffered death for deligning to deity Alexander a prince infinitely more illustrious than Timoleon. He composed several pieces; one confitting of three books, de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibusque; another divided into fixty-eight books, de argumentis rhetorica; another intituled olympionica, seu acta chronica; two more, whose titles were, Ἰταλικά κ) Σικελικά, consisting of eight books; and Έλληνικά καὶ Σικελικά, whose number of books is not known. In the former of these two last works he wrote the history of Sicily, as far as it was coincident with the Roman history; and in the other he gave an account of the Sicilian transactions, as they were intermixed with those of the Greeks. His history of Pyrrhus was a distinct piece, as we are informed by Dionysius Halicarnasfews and Cicero (31). Diogenes Lucrius quoted no book of his history beyond the eighteenth, though Atheneus (32) cited the twenty-eighth; which is a proof, that those authors paid no great regard to the divition of his Greek, Roman and Sicilian history, as given us by Vessius. Notwithstanding what has been offered by Suidas to invalidate the authority of Timans in the five last books of his history, yet this author himself allows (33), that, in all other parts of it, he adhered strictly to truth; and even according to Polybius, though he blames our historian in several respects, particularly for trusting too much to the reports of others, he laid it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and foul of history. However he might be imposed upon in what related to Africa, Corsica, and other countries that he was a stranger to, as Polybius intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of opinion, that he was an excellent and most faithful historian as to the Sicilian affairs, except when he discharged all the impetuous torrents of his rage against Agathocles, which indeed could never be vindicated. In most of those passages of Diodorus, wherein Timaus and Ephorus are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his fide, of which we shall at prefent only give one inftance, not having time to produce all the reft: Ephorus informs us, that the Carthaginian army, which reduced Selinus, confifted of two hundred thousand foot, and four thousand

horse; but, according to Timeus, it could not well have confifted of above an hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty thouland men. Now, it is evident from Diodorus, that upon Hannibal's marching to Himera, immediately after the reduction of Selinus, his army confisted but of an hundred thousand men; for he was joined by twenty thousand Sicani on his march. and, upon his arrival before Himera, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thousand men. Since therefore we cannot well suppose the Carthaginians to have loft above ten or twenty thousand men before Selinus, because the fiege of that place was a very short one, it will follow, that when Hannibal first invested Selinus, his army, in all probability, confifted of about an hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty thousand men, nearly as Timaus related. It is certain Diodorus very well agrees with this historian; for that author tells us, Hannibal's army, upon his laying fiege to Himera, amounted to an hundred and twenty thoufand men, as above-mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled Ephorus, and depreciated Timeus, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as feveral others that might be recited, preferred the latter to the former. Both Diodorus and Cicero (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the last of which was of the Affatic kind. Pintarch (37) entertained different sentiments of his ftyle; and Longinus censures him for his affectation and puerility therein, as well as the eager delire he fhews to reprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, M. Bayle has plainly proved, that the inflances (38) produced by Longinus in support of his criticism, do not come up to the point, and that he deserved censure in this particular, rather than Timans. Longinus owned, that fometimes he came up to the lofty and fublime ftyle, had a great share of knowledge, and expressed himself very judiciously; but still he seems to us to have been so much prejudiced against our historian, on account of the numerous inftances of ill-nature visible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too strong a disposition to discover blemishes in him; which made him copy after Cecilius in finding imaginary faults, and thereby fall into the very same crime he condemned Timaus for. He lived to a very old age (39), some say, ninety-six years. According to Polybius (40), he lived a sedentary life, which, in the opinion of that historian, must have disqualified him for writing history. Plutarch informs us (41), that he fell into the follies of Xenarchus in several parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the most minute, and even ridiculous, circumstances. Cicero (42) puts him on a level with Herodotus, Thucydides, Philiftus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Xenophon, and Callisthenes. That he was superior, in point of authority, to Ephorus, when he treated of the affairs of Sicily, we think pretty evident from what we have just advanced, which we remember not to have feen taken notice of by any other author.

(29) Suid, ubi supra. (30) Idem ibid. & Voss. de hist. Grac. p. 82. Vide & Antigon. in Bauuas. hist. i. & Parthen. erot. xxix. (31) Dionss. Halicar. l. i. c. 6. Cic. epift. l. v. 22. ad Lucceium. (32) Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l. viii. n. 60. Athen. in deipnosoph. l. xi. p. 471. (33) Suid. ubi sup. (34) Polyh. l. xii. (35) Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 105. (36) Diod. Sic. l. v. sub init. Cic. de orat. l. ii. & in Bruto, sub sim. (37) Plut. in Nic. Longin. \pi eq i \forall \tau. c. 3. (38) Bayle, in dist. hist. & cris. (39) Lucian. in macrobiis, p. 642. tit. 2. (40) Polyh. l. xii. (41) Plut. ubi supra. (42) Cic. de orat. l. ii. Vide & Clem. Alexand. strom. l. i. Plut. in Dio. Phos. bibl. 244. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. & c.

dible fury. In his way he took Emporium, a town feated on the river Mazara (G), by ftorm; and having closely begirt Selinus with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the fiege of that city. In order to push this on with the greater vigour, he erected fix high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His slingers and darters likewise greatly annoyed the besieged, by forcing them from many fortified posts. The Selinuntines, little expecting such a visit from the Carthaginians, as having been the only people of Sicily who sided with them against Gelon, and having long been disused to sieges, were struck with great terror at the approach of fo formidable an army, and the resolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reason to expect, that the Syracusians and their other confederates would fend them speedy succours, they defended themselves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel fo barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country \*.

In order to inspire his troops with courage, Hannibal promised them the plunder And takes it. of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being incessantly battered day and night by the rams, and other warlike engines, a breach was foon made, and the first who entered it were the Campanians, out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the Africans and Spaniards, whom Hannibal fent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when Hannibal founded the retreat. In the mean time the Selinuntines sent expresses to Agrigentum, Gela, and Syracuse, acquainting them, that, without speedy affishance, it would be impossible for the garison of Selinus to defend itself against so numerous an army, provided with such a train of battering engines. The Agrigentines and Geleans held themselves in readiness to march; but however, thought it proper to wait for the Syracusian auxiliaries, that they might more successfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The Syracusians also, having certain advice, that Selinus was besieged, immediately struck up a peace with the Chalcideans, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could; but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they had got together a stronger force. In the mean time the Carthaginians pressed the siege with the utmost vigour. Hannibal, as soon as it was light, renewing the affault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbish, with the flower of his troops charged the Selinuntines with such fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in despair. Many fell on both sides; but the Carthaginians were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the Selinuntines had none to reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the e affault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with great courage and resolution, and with incredible slaughter on both sides. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the Iberians, after a sharp dispute, lodged themselves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houses filled all places with cries and lamentations. The Selinuntines, now giving up every thing for loft, barricaded all the streets and passages, being determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood; which occasioned a long and bloody contest. The women also, notwithstanding their first panic, forely galled the Carthaginians with showers of tiles and stones thrown by them from the tops of the houses,

\* EPHORUS & TIMEUS SICULUS apud DIOD. Sic. l. xiii.

(G) Rhodomanus, in his Latin version of Diodorus, calls this river Mazarus; but we chuse rather to follow Ptolemy, Pliny, and Diodorus himself, who give it a feminine termination. Some believe the word emporium here not to be a proper, but a common name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was Mazara; for Stephanus tells us, Mazara was a castle or fortress of the Selinuntines. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortreffes feated on them, the same names, and that even in Vol. VI. Nº 10.

Sicily itself. To wave all other instances at present. it may be sufficient to observe, that Gela, a city of great note in this island, had a river of the same name running close by its walls. On or near this spot there is a fine city, called Mazara, at this day; but no monuments of antiquity, according to Fazellus, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of Stephanus's Selinuntine castle, it seems to point out the true name of the town Hannibal took by storm on his march to Selinus.

which

which kept the fate of this city for some time in suspense; but the Carthaginians returning to the charge with inexpressible ardor, and continually pouring fresh men into the town, the poor Selinuntines were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow streets, were pursued by the conquerors into the market-place, where making a stand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

An inflance of the Carthaginian barbarity.

Selinus being thus taken by storm, and the plunder of it given up to the soldiers, it is impossible to express the misery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the crueities exercised upon them by the Carthaginians, who, it must be owned, on fuch melancholy occasions as these, generally shewed themselves to be most savage They raged in all parts of the town without restraint, rifled the houses, and then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children b they found in them, or dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did their inhumanity rest here; they carried it so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of oftentation; bearing the heads of the flain on the points of their fwords and spears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, escaped the common destruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compassion, of the victors; for believing that these poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, set fire to the temples, and by that means confume all the treasure and valuable effects they expected to find in those places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a state of despe- c The ravages in the city continued most part of the night, insomuch that every place was full of blood, horror and confusion. The furviving matrons had the mortification to see their daughters forced to be subservient to the brutal lust of the barbarians, which, with a fense of the dismal servitude prepared for them in Africa, made them wish they had not survived their friends and relations. In fine, after sixteen thousand miserable wretches had been cruelly massacred, and two thousand six hundred escaped to Agrigentum, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, about five thousand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives y.

A body of Selfnuntines escapes to Agrigentum.

The body of Selinuntines that retired to Agrigentum, made their escape by the d favour of the night, having sound an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow passes. Upon their arrival at Agrigentum, they were received with great humanity and tenderness; corn was distributed to them out of the public stores; and every private person, out of his own generous disposition, liberally supplied them with all kinds of necessaries for their subsistence.

The Carthagimans plunder the temple: at Selinus.

A few days after the city was taken, three thousand Syracustans arrived at Agrigentum, on their march to Selinus; but understanding that the city was taken, they sent embassadors to Hannibal, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at least spare the temples. Hannibal returned answer, that fince the Selinuntines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to e be treated like slaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of their ornaments. This answer is a clear demonstration of the Punic genius at that time, and exactly corresponds with what Diodorus has related of the Carthaginians in this particular: "These barbarians, says that author, exceed all men in impiety; " for whereas other nations spare those who sly into temples, out of a principle of " religion, not daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, lest they should offend "the deity; the Carthaginians, on the contrary, moderate their cruelty to these ef persons, that they may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples them-" felves." The Syracufians however, not acquiefcing in this answer, fent another f embassy, and at the head of it one Empediones, a Selinuntine, who had always been in the interest of the Carthaginians, and had even advised his countrymen to open their gates to Hannibal at his first appearing before the town. The Carthaginian general received him with great demonstrations of kindness, restored him to his estate, pardoned all the prisoners related to him, and even permitted the Selinuntines, who had fled to Agrigentum, to rebuild and repeople their city, and manure their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians 2.

AFTER the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal marched with his army to attack Himera, Hannibal arwhich above all things he defired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather tacks Himera. Hamilear, who had been sain there by Gelon, with above an hundred and fifty thoufand Carthaginians, and almost as many taken prisoners. Besides, as he had already punished the Selimentines for the insults they had offered his father Gifco in his banishment, he now resolved to take vengeance of the Himereans, for being the occasion of that banishment. On his march he was joined by twenty thousand Siculi and Sicani, whom he fent, with the main body of the army, to lay fiege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thousand men, encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from it. His troops being flushed with their late success, he pushed on the siege b with the utmost vigour, battering the wall with his engines in feveral places at once; but finding this not fully to answer his intention, he undermined it, and by supporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards fet on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this, a warm dispute ensued, the Carthaginians making all possible efforts to enter the town; and the Himercans, having the fate of the Selinuntines always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thousand Syracusian auxiliaries, with some troops from their other allies, under the command of Diocles, diffinguished themselves on this occasion in a most extraordinary manner; and repulfing the enemy with great bravery, immediately repaired the wall. In fine, c the Carthaginians having been constantly repulsed in their attacks for several days successively, were obliged for the present to desist from all further attempts to storm the town; which mortified them extremely, especially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground 2.

THE Himereans, animated by this advantage, resolved not to be any longer cooped The Himereans up in the city, as the Selinuntines had been, but to endeavour, by one strenuous make a vigoreffort, intirely to dislodge the enemy. Having therefore posted detachments of their our fally upon garison at proper distances on the wall, to repel any assault that might be given, they nians. made a fally on the beliegers with their whole remaining force, confisting of ten thoufand men. The Carthaginians, little dreaming that the besieged were capable of

d such an attempt, at first imagined, that the confederates of the Himereans had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raise the siege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the Himereans for some time easily bore down all that opposed them; and tho' the Carthaginians afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head against them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the present juncture, throwing them into disorder, they incommoded one another more than the enemy. The belieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inspired with fresh courage at the sight of their parents, children and friends, who, for this purpose, exposed themselves on the ramparts,

charged them with such intrepidity, that they put their whole army to slight, pure suing them to the very hill where Hannibal was encamped. That general, seeing his army in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length But are rethe Himereans, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand pulsed. of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole Carthaginian army, till they all died upon the spot b.

THE Carthaginian army, though victorious, was yet rudely handled, the Himerean The Carthagitroops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the nians sustain a cruel treatment they expected from their enemies, if conquered, inspired with a great loss in this action.

b Dion. Sic. ubi fupra. a Idem ibid.

(H) Though the native Carthaginians were well armed, and good troops, yet the Africans and Nu-midians were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a considerable part of the Carthaginian armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which sometimes produced dismal effects. Plutarch, in

his life of Timoleon, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the Carthagi-nian forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable a great part of the army belieging Himera, consisted of these troops, whilst that under the command of Hanne, which covered the fiege, was composed of the national forces (20).

(20) Plut in Timol. Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. & l. xxv. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Hendr. l. ii. lect. 2. memb. 1. c. 7.

much

Diocles em-

his troops for

the defence of

Syracuse:

much greater degree of resolution. Ephorus says, the Carthaginians lost twenty thou- a fand men in the first action, before they were pursued to Hannibal's camp; though Timeus Siculus reduces this number to fix thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the Himereans and Hannibal, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not given us by any historian. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginian army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of Hannibal's camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men c.

AFTER this action, five-and-twenty galleys, which had been fent by the Siculi fome time before to the affiftance of the Lacedæmonians, and were now returning home, appeared off of Himera; upon which a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the Syracusians, with all their forces and allies, were coming b to the relief of the city. This was so far from discouraging the Carthaginians, that it put Hannibal upon a new enterprize; for imagining that the Syracufians had fent all their strength to support their confederates, he doubted not but the city must be left in a manner defenceless; and therefore, immediately embarquing with the flower of his barques part of troops in the galleys which lay at Motya, prepared to fail for Syracuse, in order to surprise that city. In the mean time Diocles, commander in chief of the Syracusian troops in Himera, a man of great forelight and penetration, advised the captains of the Sicilian vessels to fail with all possible expedition to Syracuse, lest Hannibal should make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more strongly induced to, since, if in another action the besiegers should cut off the best of his men, he plainly perceived, c that their own city must of course fall a prey to the Carthaginians. He therefore thought it adviseable to leave Himera for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to Syracuse on the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought fufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a state of desence, should return. This the besieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon Diocles to alter his measures, the greatest part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to fend on board the galleys by night, in order to have them transported to Messana d.

As Diocles and his men embarqued in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions slain in the siege uninterred. However, they carried d off with them many of the Himereans, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other vessels. Upon his departure, the Carthaginians redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermission. On the other hand, the besieged, believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulsing the enemy. Thus they held out against the repeated affaults and utmost efforts of above an hundred thousand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the Carthaginians, summoning all their courage and refolution, gave a general affault, and with their numtibich occasions bers bearing down all before them, drove the garison from the ramparts, and, in spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. The Iberians signalized e themselves greatly on this occasion, being the first that forced the besieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no fort of cruelty which the barbarous Carthaginians and Iberians did not practife on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himself put a stop to the slaughter. The houses were plundered, the temples pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them those wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itself levelled with the ground. Hannibal caused the women and children, that survived the first surv of the soldiers, to be preferved; neither durst any one offer the least injury to them: but the men, to the number of three thousand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, f where his grandfather Hamilear had been defeated and killed by Gelon's cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred.

the loss of Himera.

The Campanisifed by the

Thus ended this campaign, one of the most prosperous the Carthaginians had ever ans think themselves ill met with in Sicily; after which Hannibal, dismissing the Siculi and confederates, and disbanding the Campanians, embarqued with the rest of his forces, and set sail for The Siculi, upon their dismission, went home, as did likewise the Campamans; but the latter complained bitterly of the Carthaginians, because they looked

a upon themselves as slighted by that nation, tho' they had remarkably distinguished themselves in their service at the siege of Selinus, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign. Himera had itood, at the time it was razed by Hannibal, two hundred and forty years .

Hannibal, upon his quitting Sicily, left a small body of troops with his confede-Hannibal, as rates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of his apparture their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at Carthage, loaden with the leaves some plunder he had carried off from Selinus and Himera. The whole city went out to troops to premeet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a rect his confe-general that had performed greater things in fo fhort a time than any ever before him f. derates there.

Animated by the late success in Sicily, the Carthaginians resolved now in earnest The Carthagito purfue the defign which they had ever entertained of reducing the whole island. nians make With this view they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, compreparations
mitting the whole management of the war to the form Harribal. But as he was for another mitting the whole management of the war to the same Hannibal. But as by reason campaign in of his great age he endeavoured to get himself excused from taking upon him the Sicily. command in this new expedition, they joined in commission with him Imilear, the fon of Hanno, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for

so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers with large sums into Spain, Libya, Sardinia (I), and the Balearic islands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewise large succours from the princes and states with whom they were in alliance, viz. from the Mauritanians, Numidians, and even the nations bordering on Cyrenaica. Besides all which, they took a body of Campanians out of Italy into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and such as they could intirely depend upon, especially when intermixed with those of other nations. When all their forces were mustered at Carthage, the army was found to confift of three hundred thousand effective men, as Ephorus informs us; but Timeus Siculus, with more probability, says, that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thousand; a force, however, sufficient, as it should

THE Carthaginians, in the interval betwirt the first beginning of their prepara- They people a 1 tions, and their embarquing for the Sicilian expedition, drew together out of Car-new city in thage, and other cities in Africa, all persons who were willing to transplant them that island, the called by the selves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in Sicily, Greeks, from which was from thence called by the Greeks Therma.

BEFORE the grand fleet, which was composed of a thousand transports, besides Therma. a numerous squadron of galleys, with the forces on board, set sail for Sicily, Hannibal fent forty galleys to reconnoitre the coasts, and get intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a Syracusian squadron of equal force off of Eryx, and immediately engaged them. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to The Syracue the Syracusians. Of the Carthaginian galleys, fifteen were sunk, and the rest, by the sans defeat the
favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat by sea. reached Cartbage, Hannibal failed immediately with fifty galleys, designing both to prevent any ill consequences from thence to the Carthaginians, and to secure the passage and landing of the army 8.

e Dion. Sic. ubi sup. f Idem ibid. apud eund. ibid.

feem, to over-run Sicily in one campaign.

Diop. Sic. ubi sup. atq; Ephorus & Timeus Siculus

(I) Livy tells us, that the Carthaginian armies were generally make up of a great variety of bar-barous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, infomuch that they did not understand one another. As the Carehaginians applied themselves wholly to naval affairs, they employed most of their own hands on board their ships; and the most opulent citizens did not care to expose their persons in the wars, but contented themselves with enabling the state to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewise have some political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their state to be rendered

more secure, than if their armies consisted wholly of Carthaginian citizens, fince these could not be so intirely trusted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at Carehage; befides, fuch an army as we have mentioned could not eafily mutiny, or revolt, fince 'tis impossible so many different nations should act in concert, or form any dangerous scheme against their principals. However, Polybius condemns this practice, and not without reason, since it not a little contributed to the decline of the Carthaginian state, and once brought it to the very brink of destruction (2).

(2) Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. Polyb. l. i. & l. vi. Dlod. Sic. l. xx. & l. v. Christ. Hendr. l. ii. sed. 2. mem. 1.

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UPON

Hannibal lands his troops in Sicily, and

Upon Hannibal's arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the Carthaginians, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving fafe in Sicily, Agrigentum; the troops landed on the coast of Agrigentum, and marched strait to that city.

THE Syracusians, and their confederates, had fent embassadors to Carthage to complain of the late hostilities practifed upon them by Hannibal, and persuade the fenate to forbear fending any more troops into Sicily. But the Carthaginians returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the Syracusians had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had fent to the Greeks of Italy and the Lacedamonians to folicit succours, and dispatched expresses to all the Sicilian cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their b forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of Sixily, none were under fuch apprehensions as the Agrigentines; they seemed fully satisfied, that this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, an officer of great courage and experience. The Carthaginians, upon their investing Agrigentum, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand Africans and Iberians, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the sallies of the besieged. When they first sat down before c the town, they invited the Agrigentines either to join them, or stand neuter, declaring they would be well satisfied with either point of conduct, and forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. Both proposals being rejected, they attacked the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous relistance. And this indeed was not without reason; for the Agrigentines had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to affift in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from Gela, under the conduct of Dexippus the Lacedamonian, who was in high esteem at that time on account of his country, according to Timæus Siculus. Eight hundred Campanians also, who had formerly ferved under Imilear, were taken into the fervice of the Agrigentines, and & defended the hill Athenaum, which commanded the city, and was therefore a post of the utmost consequence. But notwithstanding these precautions, Imiliar and Hannibal, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury, The machines chiefly made use of on this occasion were of surprising force; and two towers (K) were brought against the city, of a monstrous size. The first day out of these they made an assault; and after having cut off many of the besieged, sounded a retreat. However, the next night the Agrigentines made a fally, burnt the engines, destroyed the towers raised against them, and, after having made a great slaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon Hannibal, intending to storm the e place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and stately monuments, standing round the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls. But whilft they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic seized the army, occasioned by Theron's monument being destroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the foothfayers present, put a stop to the design. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time carried off a great number of the soldiers, and the general Hannibal himself. The Carthaginian soothsayers above-mentioned interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the foldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the f

Which city he besieges, but meets with a WATM recep-

Theron's mo-

nument deftroyed by light-ning, which

occasions a

anic in the Carthaginian

(K) Soon after the Carthaginians had invested a town, they raifed a mount of equal height with the walls, if not superior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the highest battlements and towers of some, either upon the walls or within the town. These moved upon wheels, and with them the besiegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place.

They were very large, and capable of containing confiderable numbers of men, and some of the finalier engines of battery, whereby the belieged were greatly annoyed. From these towers they made their affaults, and frequently flormed towns, or at least opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. Justice Lipsius gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) Just. Lips. polior. l. ii. c. 3, 4, 6c. Vid. eriam Died. Sic. l. xiii. Sil. Ital. l. i. 6 Chr. Hendr. l. il. fett, 1. memb. 1. c. 9.

deceased.

a deceased. Wherefore Imilcar, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made, according to the practice of Cartbage, and the demolition of the tombs to be intirely discontinued. A boy was also sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a custom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongst the Carthaginians: by his orders Neptune likewise was appealed, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. Imilcar having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of Hannibal, and pacified the gods, renewed the affaults with more vigour than ever, filled the river with rubbish close to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them upon the town in such a manner as reduced the besieged to b great streights ".

In the mean time the Syracufians taking into confideration the deplorable condition of Agrigentum, and fearing it would undergo the same fate that Himera and Selinus had done, began to think in earnest of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from Italy and Messana, and being joined by the Camarineans, Geleans, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. These judging sufficient for their purpose, they gave orders The Syracuto Daphneus, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the fians fend an territory of the Agrigentines, a fleet of thirty galleys, which failed close by the shore, him to raise e at the same time keeping pace with him. Imilear, upon intelligence of their approach, the siege; detached all the Iberians and Campanians, with forty thousand Carthaginians, injoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river Himera. Pursuant to his orders, the Syracustans were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as Which is as-they were advancing in good order towards Agrigentum. The dispute was sharp, tacked by the and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far superior in number to but defeate the Syracusians. But at length the latter carried the day, and pursued the Cartha-them. ginians to the very walls of Agrigentum. Dapbneus fearing, lest Imilcar should take advantage of the confusion his troops were thrown into by their eagerness in the pursuit, and thereby wrest the victory out of his hands, as had formerly happened d to the Himereans on the like occasion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the spot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate possession of. The Carthaginians lost fix thousand men in this action (L).

THE Carthaginians escaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it should seem, of the Agrigentine commanders. For the besieged, seeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmost confusion, The Agrigenimmediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore pressed their officers tine commanders guilty of a to fally out upon them without loss of time, that they might complete their ruin. falle flep, which They were however deaf to these solicitations, and would not permit a man to stir occas out of the town. To what motive such an unaccountable procedure was to be attri- loss of the place. e buted, is hard to fay; however, the fugitives were hereby faved, and arrived fafe in their other camp. This fatal step could never afterwards be retrieved, but was

followed by the loss of the city k.

Upon Daphneus's arrival, a great part of the garrison, with Dexippus at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here shewed himself highly distarished, that so fair an opportunity had been loft of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and destroying so many myriads of them. Hereupon great disputes arose, insomuch that four of the Agrigentine com- A muting, manders, at the infligation of one Menes, a Camarinean, were found by the enraged wherein found multitude, and a fifth, called Argeus, only by reason of his youth, escaped. Dex-manders are f ippus himself was likewise highly reflected upon, and lost much of the reputation stoned, and a

escapes.

h Diap. Sic. ubi sup.

1 Idem ibid.

. Idem ibid.

(L) We are told by Polymus, that Daphness defeated the Conthaginians by the following firstagem: therefore, to render the wictory complete, intreated them to exert themselves on the present occasion. Speak noise in the left wing, where the Isalian forces were posted; and bestearing thither, he found them contained by this good news, they immediately were posted; upon which immediately repairing should be supposed of Syracusians, he told beavery, they soon put them to slight (4).

he had before acquired, by concurring with the rest. After the council broke up, a Daphneus formed a design to attack Imilcar's camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he altered his refolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to perish with famine, or come out of their lines, and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the passages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army

was foon brought to fuch streights, that the Campanians, and other mercenaries, began

to mutiny; and going in a body to Imilcar's tent, threatened to join the enemy, if

Imilcar in great streights for want of provisions.

But supplies himself plentifully by intertransports, laden with corn, and all

Upon which

city to the enemy.

٤.

they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all forts of provisions, and in b the mean time pawned to them the drinking vessels of the Carthaginian soldiers. He had been informed, that the Syracusians were then loading many ships with corn, to be fent to Agrigentum, and did not in the least doubt but he should intercept the convoy, the Syracusians not suspecting, that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly, he dispatched messengers to Panormus and Motya, where his sleet lay, injoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being speedily equipped, the Syracusian fleet, consisting of threescore transports, laden with corn, and all forts cepting a Syra- of provisions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ships were sunk, and the c cutian fleet of rest driven on shore. This changed the face of affairs on both sides; for as such an unexpected relief gave the Carthaginians fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the Agrigentines, who having already held out for the space of eight months, were forts of provi- in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved to quickly as their present necessity required. Besides, at the beginning of the siege, when bad success attended the Carthaginians, they had squandered away their corn and other provisions in a very profuse manner, by which means they were now reduced to the greater The Campanians in the service of the Agrigentines, observing the desperate distress. condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from Imilcar, went all over

complying, they left the Agrigentines to shift for themselves (M).

the Agrigentines refolve to leave their

necessaries, a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely imposfible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the foldiery and people two days. It was therefore resolved, that the e city should be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to some place of safety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being apprifed of this resolution, were thereby thrown into the utmost consternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all feized with in feeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, or else expose themselves to the fury of a merciless enemy, were inexpressible. However, though their riches were immense, yet they esteemed life still more valuable a and therefore, as they expected no mercy from such cruel barbarians, the greatest part of them gave way to unavoidable necessity. We shall not

in a body to the Carthaginians. Dexippus the Lacedamonian also, according to Dio- d dorus, was faid to have been bribed with the same sum; for he on a sudden advised the Italian commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, infinuating, that they were likely to be starved there, without the least prospect of rendering any fervice to those who had hired them: whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advantage in some other part: with which advice

THE mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of

Dion. Sic. ubi fup.

(M) Polyanus tells us, that Imilcar (whom he calls Himileo) gave private orders to his men to fly be-fore the belieged whenever they made a faily, in order to draw them into an ambuscade. There happened to be a wood just before the town, in which he posted a detachment of his troops, with orders to fet this on fire as foon as the enemy were got at a confiderable distance from the town. This firstagem had the defined effect; for the Agrigentines

pursued the Carthaginlans with great ardour for some time; but at last looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze; which they imagined was a fire issuing out of the city itself. Upon this they retired with great precipions towards the round; but folling into the approximation towards the round; but folling into the approximation. tation towards the rown; but falling into the ambuscade, and being hotly pursued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken prifoners (3).

(3) Polyan. firatagem. l. v. v. v. v. v. v. v. Vid. & Frentin. firat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 5.

a here expatiate upon the scene of horror now before us, Diodorus Siculus having done this in a most affecting manner, but only observe, that the place appointed for these miserable wretches to retire to was Gela, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries at the expence of the public. What happened to their afterwards may be feen in a former part of this history m.

THE garrison was no sooner withdrawn, and the Syracusian army retired, but Imilear, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without some fear and Imilear enters jealousy, and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as the city, where had fled to the temples. Among these was Gellias (M), a citizen famous for his great cruelties, b wealth and integrity, who feeing that the Carthaginians, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of Minerva, and confumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. Gellias, according to Diodorus, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: first, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; secondly, the sacrilegious carrying off of the vast treasure lodged there; and,

thirdly, the abuse of his own body o.

Imilcar having pillaged every part of the city, both facred and profane, found and pillages himself master of an immense treasure. Nothing less could be expected from the every part of it. spoils of a city, which was one of the most opulent in Sicily, containing two hundred c thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An infinite number of pictures, vales, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the Agrigentines having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. To give our readers some idea of Agrigentum, it will be sufficient to observe, that the very sepulchral monuments shewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses, famous for their elegance. Empedocles, the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying Empedocles's concerning his fellow-citizens; That the Agrigentines squandered away their money so saying of the excessively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such Agrigentines. folidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever. The most valud able part of the plunder Imilear fent to Carthage; every thing else he caused to be fold under the spear. Among other curiosities, the samous bull of Phalaris was

fent to Carthage of

THE people of Syracuse, being prodigiously alarmed at the reduction of Agrigentum, had a decree passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. Imilcar having gained the city, after eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. The Sicilians in general, as well as the inhabitants of Syra- Many of the cuse, were struck with terror at the Carthaginian conquests, and many of them fled Sicilians, being e to Syracuse for protection, whilst others transported themselves, with all their effects, server at the to the continent of Italy. Those who took fanctuary in Syracuse, were treated with Carthaginian extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city. conquests, fly to

Syracule for

m Idem ibid. Univ. hift. vol. iii. . Dion. Sic. ubi fup. & Cic. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.

\* Idem ibid. See also univ. hist. vol. iii. p. 42. not. (X). protedion.

(M) The munificence of Gellias may be learned not only from Diodorus Siculus, but Valerius Maximus and Athenaus (1). He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of Agrigentum from perishing with hunger. He gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair. He had built houses in the city and country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. In short, Gellias's riches, immense as they were, were furpassed by his greatness of soul, his treasures being, as it were, to use Valerius Maximus's phrase, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of Agrigentum, and all the neigh-bouring provinces, should so ardently pray for his health and prosperity. No greater loss could have

happened to that part of Sicily than the fatal end of so excellent a person, but the death and destruction of all those poor wretches, who should have regretted him. Atheneus, in all the present MSS. calls him Tellias; but Nicolans Sturio has discovered this to be a fault of the transcribers, though it must have been a very antient one, fince Eustathius oftener than once calls him likewise Tellias. What Athenews has concerning him is taken almost word for word out of the eleventh book of Timaus's history, and possibly Diodorns's may have been deduced from the same source. The great resemblance betwixt the capital tau (T) and gamma (I) might possibly occasion the mistake above-mentioned; for that it is a mistake, the printed copies and MSS. of Diodorus Siculus and Valerius Maximus sufficiently evince.

(1) Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Athen. deipnosoph. l. i. Vld. & If. Casaub, animadvers. in Athen. l.i. p. 12. Vol. VI. Nº 10.

Among

Among them were many Agrigentines, who filled the city with their complaints a against the Syracusian commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemy's hands. This raised such disturbances in Syracuse as at last gave Dionysius an opportunity of seizing upon the sovereign power. Imilcar, after laying it intirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the spring, left Agrigentum P.

The Syracufians fend D'onyfius to affift the people of

THE Geleans, receiving intelligence, that the Carthaginians intended to open the campaign with the siege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themselves, implored the protection of Syracuse; upon which Dionysius immediately marched to their affiftance with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. The Geleans were so well fatisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent embassadors to Syracuse to return their thanks b for the important fervice that city had done them in fending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generalissimo of the Syracusian forces, and those of their allies, against the Carthaginians. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already shewn, and will

further appear in the fequel of this history.

Imilcar marches with his army against Ge'a,

THE Carthaginian forces under the command of Imilcar, having, on the return of the spring, razed the city of Agrigentum, made an incursion into the territories of Gela and Camarina; and after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off fuch an immense quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. Imilear then marching with his whole army against Gela, took post on the banks of the river c Gela; and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting but Dionysius would come to the relief of the belieged with a powerful army. The Geleans, in the beginning of the fiege, were determined to fend away their wives and children to Syracuse, as a place of greater fafety; but they all, running to the altars in the forum, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but protested that they would undergo the same sate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the Geleans to exert themfelves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to whom they were so dear. They made feveral fallies with good fuccess, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them prisoners into the town. No sooner was a breach d opened in the wall by the Carthaginian rams (O), but the citizens repaired it,

P Drop. Sic. ubi fup.

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention fome particulars relating to the Carchaginian camps, which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the Carthaginians were apprehentive, that the enemy would attempt to raife the fiege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a ditch and a wall, as we learn here from Diodorss, Their camps feem to have been formed in a regular manner, resembling a town, and had gates to them. The Numidian camp was always separated from the Carthaginian; the reasons of which seem to have been, that the Carthaginians were generally foot, but the Numidians horse, and that the latter could not permit themselves to be confined to the rules of military discipline so easily as the former. The general's tent was, for the most part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and superb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their respective orders; and a strong guard, Polybins intimates a thousand horse and as many foot, were generally posted before it. Near this stood the facred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of distinction, performed their devotions. The Carthaginian tents seem to have been raised in a regular manner of wood, fascines, &c, resembling so many cottages; but the Numidian were the reverse, consisting only of reeds, fraw, stubble, and other such-like flight materials (2). (O) The ram was a battering engine used in:

fieges by the antients. Pliny tells us it was found out by Epeus, a Greek, at the fiege of Troy; but this is not very probable, because we find no mention made of it in Homer, who, if such a wonderful machine had been then known, could not poffibly have omitted taking notice of it. "Tis therefore much more likely, that the Carthaginians invented it, as Viernoins and Tertullian believe, with whom Lipius agrees. The ram was a large beam, equal to the mast of a ship, with a head of solid iron, resembling that of a sam, from whence it derived it's name. This was fastened in the middle to another beam, supported by a large piece of timber on each fide, by ropes, in fuch a manner as to be pendulous like a balance. This being drawn backwards by a great number of hands as far as possible, was then pushed forwards with as great an imperusas they could give it, so that the iron head beating against the walls of a city with inconceivable force, eatily shook them; neither was there any wall on tower but what this, by repeated blows, was capable of battering down. As these blows in some respects resembled the buttings of a ram, this was a further reaton for giving the machine the name of that ani-mal. Appear relates, that the Romans battered the walls of Carrhage with two rams of an immense fize, one of which was played by a body of fix thousand foot, and the other by a vast number of rowers, which may ferve to give us some idea of this terrible engine. 'Tis mentioned by the prophet

(2) Liv. l. xxvi. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Just. Lips. l. v. dial. 2. milit. Rom. Polyh. l. i. c. 45. & l. iii. c. 71. Diod. Sic. l. xx. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. Polyh. l. vi. Plutarch. in Scip. Lips. milit. Rom. l. v. dial. 5. & Christ. Hendr. Careb. l. ii. sect. 2. memb. 1. 6. 7.

a being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully shared with them the labour and danger. The young men were consinually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the rest employed in working and other necessary services. In fine, they defended themselves with such courage and And meets resolution, that, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, they held out with a vigora long time against a most formidable army, without receiving the least assistance our resistance.

In the mean time Dionysius, by the junction of his mercenaries, and succours from Dionysius ad-Magna Gracia with the Syracusians, almost every one of whom capable of bearing vances to the arms he obliged to lift under his standard, formed an army of fifty thousand foot, according to fome, though Timeus Siculus makes them only thirty thousand, and b a thousand horse; with which, and fifty sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of Gela. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the sea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he proposed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilst his horse and shipping should intercept all provisions coming to their camp from any part of the Carthaginian dominions; which he doubted not would greatly distress them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he refolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, in order to this, made the following disposition of his forces: The Sicilian And attacks foot had orders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; the the enemy's troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and marching to the shore, camp; c attempt the camp in the weakest place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the spot where the Carthaginian engines were placed, in order to destroy them; the horse he commanded to pass the Gela, upon a fignal given by the foot, to join them, if superior to the enemy, or, if repulsed, to support them; and lastly, the sea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as possible with the ships, when the Italian troops came up. As

9 Idem ibid.

Imilcar had fent a strong detachment towards the shore, to oppose the enemy's land-

Ezekiel in two passinges, and Nebuchadnezzar made use of it at the siege of Jurusalem. Whether the Carthaginians, or their ancestors the Tyrians, (for both sometimes went by the same name) first discovered it, cannot be certainly determined, nor at what time the discovery was made; but we take Exekiel to be the earliest author in whom any men-tion of it is to be seen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full description of the various kinds of this machine in Vitruvius and Lipfius, whom at their leifure they may confult (2).

Now we are upon this subject, we shall here - once for all give a short account of the catapulta and the balifia, two other engines frequently taken notice of by the ancient historians. The catapulta was a machine out of which the Carthaginians, and other nations, fent vollies of darts and large arrows, made on purpose, upon the enemy, particularly upon those parties of garrisons posted on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the rams. Diodorus intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the siege of Motya. Some authors confound this with the balifia, which was an engine out of which stones of a vast weight were discharged; for Diodorus writes, that the Car-thaginians filled Lilybaum with catapules, out of which they threw stones; and Appian relates the same of the Roman casapules. But Lipsius (and he has reason on his fide) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the satapulta discharged both stones and arrows. That author says, there were two forts of catapules, the majores catapulta, and the minores; the first fent forth showers

of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other those of half that length. At the taking of new Carthage in Spain, an hundred and twenty large entapults were found there, and two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller size. The Carthaginians always abounded with these engines: when Pyrrbus attacked Lilybaum, there was such an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would fearce contain them; and, a little before the destruction of their city, they delivered up to the Romans two thousand of them, according to Appian, or, as Strabo will have it, three thousand. The balista, as just hinted, was an engine out of which the autients threw stones of a prodigious magnitude: this was also used at sieges, and in many respects answered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the balista, if we may depend upon the relations of the antients, feems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to Lipsius, the balista likewise was either major or minor; the major threw stones of three hundred and fixty pound weight, and the minor those of an hundred. Hegesippus relates feveral furprifing effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. Livy tells us, that the Romans found at Carthage twenty-two of the larger baliffa, and of the smaller sitty-two. Ammianus Marcellinus, as explained and illustrated by Lipsius, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, use, form, and, in short, of every thing relating to these terrible engines, to which authors, for their further satisfaction, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers (3).

(2) Tertul, de Pal, Plin, Joseph. Vitruv. & Veget. apud Lipsium in poliorc. l. iii. dial. t. & alib. Appian. in Libyc. Vitruv. l. x. c. 19. Ezek. iv. t, 2. & xxī. 22. Plin l. vii. c. 56. Christ. Hendr. ubi sup. p. 468—475.
(3) Just. Lips. ubi sup. dial. 2. & 3. Vid. etiam Frid. Tsubmannum in Plane. capt. act. iv. scen. ii. v. 16. Diod. Sic. in excerpt. l. xxii. c. 14. Appian. in Libyc. p. 46. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 47. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. Hegesip. l. iii. c. 12. Vid. & Joseph. Laurentium de torment. c. 7, &c.

ing, and defend that part of the camp which lay most exposed, the Italian auxiliaries met with a great refistance. However, they behaved with such bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the Carthaginian camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly supported, they must have carried it, and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But Dionysius, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himfelf able to advance with sufficient expedition through the streets of the city to their relief, the Siculi being too remote to afford them timely succour, and the garrison not daring to make an effectual fally by way of diversion, lest they should leave the walls too naked; the Carthaginians resuming their courage, and being relieved But is repulsed by a powerful supply of fresh troops, soon broke them, killed a thousand on the b

with great loss.

spot, and forced the rest into a narrow pass within the lines. Here they must all have been inevitably cut off, had not a shower of darts, and other missive weapons from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The Sicilian foot, in the mean time. charged a large body of Africans with such resolution, that they put them to slight, and pursued them to their very trenches with great slaughter; but these Africans being foon reinforced by the Campanians, Iberians, and Carthaginians, who had routed the Italians, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the Siculi, drove them back to the town, with the loss of fix hundred men. The horse finding the foot not able to withstand the efforts of the enemy, and seeing these advance on all sides in c order to furround them, retired likewise to the city with precipitation. Dionysius, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greatest part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper also to retreat, and take shelter within the walls. After this unsuccessful attempt, he summoned a council of war, consisting of his particular friends, the result of whose deliberations was, that, since the enemy was so much superior to them in strength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the issue of a battle; Which obliges and therefore, that the inhabitants should be persuaded to abandon their country, as the inhabitants the only means to fave their lives. In consequence of this, a trumpet was sent to Imilcar, to desire a cessation of arms till the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of Gela an opportunity of making d their escape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens lest the place, and he himself, with the army, followed them about midnight. To amuse the enemy, he left two thousand men of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and fet up loud shouts, as though the army remained still in the town. At day-break, these took the same rout as their companions, and pursued their march with great celerity. By these stratagems, Dionyfius preserved the inhabitants of Gela from all insults, and secured the retreat of his

to abandon the place.

Dionysius fecures their retreat, and that of his army, by a ftratagem.

Imilear plun- cified all he met with in it. He likewise thoroughly plundered it, in the same manner ders Gela, and as Agrigentum, and then moved with his forces towards Camarina. Dionysius had towards Camarina, which prising them of Imilear's speedy approach. Their city underwent the same sate undergoes the same fate.

and Syracusian army, immediately entered it, and either put to the sword or cru- e before drawn off the Camarineans with their wives and children to Syracuse, by apwith that of Gela. The manner in which it was abandoned, Diodorus Siculus describes in a most moving manner. But this, as well as what happened to Dionysius here-

upon, may be seen at large in a former part of this history. Imilear, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himself in a condition to continue the war, fent a herald to Syracuse to offer terms of peace f to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionysius, and a A peace con- treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the Carthaginians. The articles of cluded betwixt it were; that the Carthaginians, besides their antient acquisitions in Sicily, should the Carthagi- fill possess the countries of the Sicani, the Selinuntines, the Himereans, and Agrigentines; that the people of Gela and Camarina should be permitted to reside in their respective cities, which yet should be dismantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontini, Messanians, and all the other Sicilians, should live according to their own laws, and preserve their own liberty and inde-

Imilear finding the city deserted by the greatest part of its citizens, the garrison,

a pendency, except the Syracusians, who should continue in subjection to Dionysius. These articles being ratified by both parties, Imilcar returned to Carthage, having lost above half of his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havock in Africa, carrying off vast numbers both of the Carthaginians and their allies t.

BEFORE the Carthaginian army retired from Sicily, Imilcar separated the Campanians from the other troops, and left them to defend his conquests in that island. It happened foon after, that Dionysius was reduced to such extremities by his subjects Dionysius in the Syracusians, that he was advised by his most intimate friends either to kill himself, imminent danor by one desperate effort force his way through the enemy's camp, and escape to those ger of loging the places which were subject to the Carthaginians. But Philistus (E) the historian, who, as Syracutes b for a considerable time, had supported Dionysius, opposed this advice, telling him, that he ought to resume his courage, and either maintain himself on the throne, or The tyrant, falling in with the fentiments of Philistus, resolved to part with his life, rather than the power he had acquired. In consequence of this resolution, he dispatched an express privately to the Campanians, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated But delivered himself out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and afterwards became from thence by a scourge both to his own subjects and the Carthaginians ".

the Campanians.

Idem ibid. " Diop. Sic. l. xiv. c. 3.

(E) This Philiflus was, according to Suidas (1), the ion of Archonidas, or, as Paujanias calls him, Archomenidas, and scholar to the elegiac poet Euenus. He was particularly intimate with Dionysius, and above any other person instrumental in establishing that tyrant's power at Syracufe; tor which reason he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is suggested by some, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with Dionysius's mother, tho with his privity. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of Leptines, brother to Disnysius, without imparting his design to that prince, he was banished by him, and retired to Adria. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of Dionysius the younger, those who opposed Dion had him recalled; for they were asraid, lest Plato, by his eloquence and philosophy, should change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) fo learned a man as Philistus would be able to prevent, especially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himself to the tyrant's disposition. He answered their expectations; for, as foon as he was in favour, he opposed Place, and persuaded Dienysius to expel Dion. after, Dion made war upon Dionysius, and besieged him in the castle of Syracuse. Philistus hastened to his assistance from Inpygia, with a strong squadron of (3) galleys, but had the missfortune to be deseated. Ephorus fays, he fell by his own hands, and is followed herein by Diodorus Siculus. But Timonides, who lived with Dion from the beginning of these commotions, informs us, that he was taken pri-foner, and put to death; with whom Timans Sicu-lus in the main agrees. Diodorus Siculus says, ho was dened burial. He may justly be esteemed to have been a man of merit, if we consider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in some measure, appear from the account of him in the history of Syracuse. Suidas (4) ascribes to him a treatise concerning oratory; Ægypeiaca, or the history of Egypt, in twelve books; res Sicula, or the Sicilian history, in eleven books; some orations, and one amongst the rest against Tricaranus, concerning the city of Naucrasis; the hi-flory of Dionysius the tyrant; three books about the

theology of the Egyptians; and a treatife concerning Liéya and Syria. Cicero (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His Sicilian history was the work in greatest esteem, of which, according to Diodorus Siculus (6), there were two parts. first consisted of seven books, including the transactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympiad, when the Carthaginians took Agrigentum. The other begins where the first left off, that is, at the time when Dionysius the elder began his reign over the Syracusians, which was the year after the taking of Agrigentum. According to Cicero (7), he took great pleafure in imitating Thueydides; and, if Quintilian (8) may be credited, exceeded him in peripicuity. Dionysius Halicarnas-seus (9) made him too much inferior to Thucydides. However, all are agreed, that he much refembled him in the concidencis of his style. He affected this so much, that, if Them (10) may be believed, he avoided digressions to an excess. Timeus abused him; but Ephorus extelled him up to the skies; for which they are both censured by Plutarch (11) His works, as well as those of Epherus and Timans Siculus, are all intirely loft. Had Philistus's Sicilian history, and his treatise concerning Libys, been extant, we should undoubtedly have mer with many curious particulars relating to the building of Carthage, the first formation, growth, and decay of the Carthaginian state; in short, of all the principal transactions in which it was concerned, from its earliest ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of those pieces, but likewise from a hint given us by (12) Eusebius and Appian. Not-withstanding he wrote a history during his banishment, he did not flew any refentment against Dionyfius in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and concealed his vices. This conduct Paulanias (13) endeavours to excuse, or at least to polliate, by faying, that the motive to it was a defire to be recalled to Syracuse. Some believe Philistus to have been born at Naucratis, others at Syracuje, and lastly, others believe there were two historians of that name, one of whom was born at Naucrati:, and the other at Syracuse. It is not very material which of these is in the right.

(1) Suid in Dirisoc, & Pausan in Eliac. l. w. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. & xvi. & Plut. in Dion. ubi sup. (3) Idem ibid & Diod. Sic. l. xvi. (4) Suid. ubi sup. (5) Cic. de (6) Diod. Sic. l. xiii. (7) Cic. de orat. l. ii. (8) Quintil. l. x. c. 1. (5) Dionys. H. Pomp. (10) Theon in programasm. c. 4. (11) Plut. ubi sup. (12) Euseb. it chron. A. Vide of animal sups. (12) Euseb. it chron. d. (13) Plut. ubi sup. (14) Euseb. it chron. d. (15) Plut. ubi sup. (15) Euseb. it chron. d. (16) Plut. ubi sup. (17) Euseb. it chron. d. (18) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Euseb. it chron. d. (19) Plut. ubi sup. (19) Plut. ubi (5) Cic. de divinas, l. i. (5) Dionys. Halicarn. ep. ad Pomp. (10) Theon in progymnasm. c. 4. (11) Plnt. ubi J Vide & animadvers. Scaliger. in loc. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. & Vost. de hist. Grac. l. i. c. 6. Vol. VI. No 10. (11) Eufeb. in chron. ad num. DCCCIV. (13) Pau an. in Attic. p. 25. Vide

HAVING

mians;

HAVING disarmed the inhabitants of Syracuse, and by that step fixed his sovereignty a farations for a there, he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the new war with Carthaginians; for he had struck up the late peace with Imilear so suddenly, with no other view, than to amuse him till he had established his authority, and found himself in a condition to attack the Carthaginian conquests in Sicily with a powerful army. The motives that seem immediately to have prompted him to this war, were two: First, to prevent the future desertion of his subjects, many of whom retired every day with all their effects to the Carthaginian garrifons, as well as to recover those he had lost, since he imagined, that, upon the breaking out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the Carthaginians would drive them from thence. And secondly, the great prospect of success he had at that particular juncture, by reason of the deplorable ravages b the plague then made in the Cartbaginian territories. As he knew the Cartbaginians to be the most potent nation in the west, and that, if an opportunity offered, they would most certainly besiege Syracuse, he thought proper, by way of precaution, to fortify the hill Epipola, which commanded the town. This he did at a vall expence, with the affiltance of fixty thousand freemen, and fix thousand yoke of oxen. Diodorus tells us, that on this occasion the tyrant did not only superintend every part of the work, but frequently worked himself, enduring as much hardship and satigue as the poorest labourer; by which means the workmen were inspired with such a spirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day, and part of the night, and, which is almost incredible, in twenty days finished a wall thirty furlongs in length, c and of a proportionable height, which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper distances, and built of hewn stone, rendered the place almost impregnable w.

And fortifies the hill Epipolz.

HAVING thus put his own city in a state of defence, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very sensible with how formidable a power he was foon to cope. His first care was to bring to Syracuse from all parts of Sicily, Greece, and Italy, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all forts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their respective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of distinguishing themselves, and of striking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the d temples, but the schools, walks, piazza's about the forum, and every public place, Artificers floik nay, even private houses, were filled with workmen. The great wages which Dioto him out of nyfius paid them, induced the best artificers every-where to offer him their service. and foon enable He himself directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they him to build a were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to superintend them, with vastnumber of orders to promise great rewards to the diligent for their suture encouragement. The Jinps, and to art of making engines to batter walls was, according to Diodorus, now first brought ous quantity of to Syracuse; but the artificer's name, to whom Dionysius was obliged for this, is nowhere told us. As he was ambitious of being superior to the Carthaginians by sea, he caused a vast quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for Syracuse. Mount e Æina also supplied him with many fir and pitch trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys, that were refitted. He likewise caused an hundred and fixty distinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for sheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ships a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old useless vessels, covered them with planks. The Syracusians themselves manned half of the long ships, and the foreigners, who had

all forts of

entered into Dionysius's service, the rest. In order to have his troops completely armed as foon as possible, Dionysius animated the artificers by his presence, by the f applauses he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them shared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited more strongly, than any other circumstance, the industry and ardour of these people; for those who distinguished themselves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only sure of receiving some particular marks of his favour, but even sometimes had the honour to dine or fup with him. It is no wonder therefore, that in a shorter time than can easily be conceived, besides an immense quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred

a and forty thousand bucklers, the same number of swords and helmets, and sourteen thousand cuirasses, all of excellent workmanship. He had also prepared for service a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for landforces, besides his own subjects, many soldiers came from Italy, Greece, and other countries, to list in his service. We must not omit observing here, that Dionysius is faid by Diodorus to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a defire, that the Syracusians should be thought to rival their ancestors in ingenuity; for being apprised, that the triremes, or three-oared vessels, were first made at Corinth, he was desirous the number of oars should be first

inlarged by the Syracusians, a colony of the Corintbians x.

THE tyrant, having finished his military preparations both by sea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his delign to the Syracustans. In order to which he convened the senate, and communi-He acquaints delign to the Syracusians. In order to which he convened the lenate, and community the Syracusians cated his intention to them of attacking the Carthaginian territories instantly, and with his design, even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, and to spirit up the assembly, he urged, that the Carthaginians were of all others the most implacable enemies to the Greek nation; that they had then nothing less in view than the conquest of Sicily, and consequently the ruin of all the Greek cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of Syracuse before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a state of inaction; that as they were c then in a most deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itself to the

Syracusians of driving them out of the island than the present; and that lastly, if this was let flip, upon their recovering themselves, they would most certainly put their favourite scheme in execution, and deprive the Syracusians, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable to them. The assembly, moved who approve of by so pathetic a speech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates it. of justice, readily concurred in his opinion. The antient hatred they bore the Cartheir rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. d If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worsted, the

tyrant would be so much asraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his subjects at home with more moderation. In short, as they sansied themselves to have a prospect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were for pushing matters to extremity without delay r.

Upon the breaking up of the affembly, Dionyfius, in conformity to the disposi- He fall, upon tion of the Syracustans, gave up to the sury of the populace the persons and posses- the Carthagifions of the Carthaginians, who then refided in Syracuse, and there traded on the nians in Sicily. faith of treaties. As there were many of their ships at that time in the harbour, laden previous declawith cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not con-ration of war.

e tented with this, ranfacked all their houses in a most outrageous manner: and this horrid example of persidiousness and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily; nay, the Greeks inhabiting the cities under the jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, not fatisfied with stripping them of their effects, thought themselves sufficiently authorized to treat the bodies of those miserable wretches with the utmost ignominy and barbarity, to inflict every kind of punishment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exercised on the natives of the country. This was the bloody fignal of the war that Dionysius now entered into with the Carthagi-

IT has been above observed, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to Diony-Great numbers f fius from Greece, Italy, and several other countries. The great pay he offered, drew of foreign merthem over in crouds; but no foreign power contributed so much to his support in his service. as the Lacedamonians. From Sparta he received as many recruits as were necessary for the completing of his troops, which, because he apprehended the war with Carthage would be long and bloody, he refolved should be very numerous. That he might be intirely at liberty to act against the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the Rhegians and M. flanians. To engage the latter the more He concludes a firmly in his interests, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged peace with the Rhegians and Rhegians and Rhegians and not ill bestowed at such a critical juncture; for the Messanians, being a sea faring Messanians.

nians levy

Dionytius.

forces to oppose

people, and pretty powerful, would have given no small diversion to his arms, had a

they joined with the Carthaginians 2.

Dionysius, thus backed by his subjects, mercenaries, and confederates, and finding the vast project he had formed now ripe for execution, dispatched a herald to Carthage, with a letter to the fenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garrifons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. This letter, being read first in the senate, and afterwards in the affembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at Carthago, The Cirthagi- which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, though in want of all necessaries, they were not dismayed, but sent officers into Europe, with constderable fums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence. In the mean time they b dispatched orders to their garrisons in Sicily, to observe the motions of the Syracusian

army; and appointed Himileo commander in chief of all their forces b.

Dionyfius, without waiting for the answer of the Carthaginians, agreeably to the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards mount Eryx, near which stood the city of Motya, a Carthaginian colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of great strength, and might be justly looked upon as the key of Sicily. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a confiderable blow given the Carthaginians. He was joined on his march by the Greeks of Gela, Camarina, Agrigentum, Himera, and Selinus, out of the ardent desire they had to recover their liberties, and shake off the Carthaginian yoke. With this accesfion of strength, his army amounted to eighty thousand foot, and above three thoufand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long galleys, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines, and all forts of provisions. The Motyans, by reason of their attachment to the Carthaginians, expected the storm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from Carthage, they were resolved to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. The city stood on a small island, about half a league from shore, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the Motyans cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. In it the Carthaginians kept all their stores and provisions. Dionysius therefore opened the campaign with the siege of this place; and after having taken a view of it with his engineers, commanded d the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his galleys to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given these orders, he left his brother Leptines, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the flege, while he with the land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians, which, tenrified at the approach of so formidable an army, all submitted, except five, viz. Ancyra, Solas, Egefta, Panormus, and Entella. The territories of the Solantines, Panormitans, and Ancyreans, he destroyed with fire and sword, and cut down all their Egesta and Entella he besirged, endeavouring, by repeated attacks, to take them both by form; but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he

wests Motya.

Dionyfius in-

places would fall of course, as soon as he had made himself master of this. In the mean time Himilco (F), who was bufy in raifing men, and making other preparations for the war in Sicily, ordered his admiral to let fail from Carthage with ten galleys, and making strait to Syracuse, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this was, to divide the enemy's forces, and

expected, he returned with his whole army to Motya, not doubting but all other e

Himilco fends ten galleys from Carthage, to destroy the vessels in the harbour of Syracule.

## Idem ibid.

b Idem ibid.

(F) This general we have constantly called Imilcar in the history of Syracuse, through mistake, for we are now convinced, that his true name was Himileo. This appears not only from Dudorus Si-eulus, but likewife from Livy, Polyanus, Frontinus, and Orofius. In some editions of Justin he is called Amileo, in others Imileo; but that author is certainly guilty of a mistake, when he makes him the fon of Hamilear, who was killed by Gelon, and skips over a long interval of time, when he will have the destruction of this general's army by the plague immediately to have succeeded the death of Hamilear above-mentioned. Besides, that this was

not the same Imilear who commanded in the preceding war, is probable from hence, that Imilear there imagined his collegue Hannibal to have brought the plague into the Carthaginian army, by demoi thing the tombs and monuments of the dead, which he considered as an impious action, and therefore discontinued that demolition; whereas we find, that this Himileo beat down the tombs which stood round the city, in order to fortify his camp, and facultate his approaches. They were therefore probably different persons from this circumstauce; but the authorities produced, without this, put the point beyond dispute (1).

<sup>(1)</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. c. 36. Polyan. fratag. l. v. c. 10. ex. 2. Frontin. firat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2. Orof. l. iv. Fustin. I. xix.

a oblige Dionysius to fend part of his fleet to the defence of Syracuse. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being discerned by the enemy; and having funk most of the ships he found there, returned to Car-

thage without the loss of a single man (G). Dionysius, on his return to Motya, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of itone and rubbilh, so that he could make his approaches as on dry land. He then perfected the rampart, brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers fix stories high, rolled upon wheels, of equal height with their houses, and from thence galled the besieged with continual vollies of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults (H), an engine b at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. The Motyans, tho' despairing of any relief, resolved to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible, knowing they had no quarter to expect from so incensed an enemy; and therefore opposed the besiegers, notwithstanding the imminent danger they were in, with incredible bravery. They posted soldiers armed in coats of mail upon the masts of their ships, who hoisting up their main-yards, threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch, upon the engines, which immediately fet them on fire; but the Sicilians, prefently advancing, not only extinguished the slames, but opened several large breaches in the walls, and made a general assault upon the Donysius town with fuch fury, that they bore down all before them. The contest now was attempts to c extremely bloody; for the beliegers, thinking themselves sure of carrying the place, form Motya, and being vastly desirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received from them, fought like lions; and on the other hand, the belieged, knowing they must fall a victim to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by florm, resolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in desperation. At last however the Sicilians prevailed, and entered the city fword in hand, thinking they should now speedily accomplish their design; but herein they found themselves deceived, for the Motyans had finished a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal strength with the walls themselves, which there was a necessity of carrying, before Dionysius d could make himself master of the place. The besieged therefore, after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themselves to the desence of this, and gave the Sicilians a warmer reception here than they had met with before, destroying vast numbers of them from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the houses adjoining to it. However, the Sicilian towers being of a vast height, by their assistance the beliegers advanced their scaling ladders to the neighbouring houses, and by this means fought hand to hand with the belieged. The dispute now was extremely sharp and obstinate; for the Motyans having new life and vigour insused into them by the fight of their wives and children, who, in case of any disaster, they knew would be treated in the fame barbarous manner, as their countrymen taken prisoners e by the Greeks had already been, refolved either to conquer or die. They rushed

therefore with a fury little inferior to madness into the midst of their enemies, threw

infinite numbers of them headlong from the scaffolds they had erected, and, in fine, repulsed Dionysius with such slaughter, that he was at last obliged to sound the But is vigorously repulsed,

e Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

d Idem ibid.

(G) Polyanus tells us, that the admiral ordered the lights to be all placed abaft, or in the sterns of the ships, that no suspicion might be given of their approach; by which means he entered the port in the night undiscovered by the enemy, and easily destroyed the vessels he found there(2).

(H) To what has been lately observed of the catapulta and balista may be added, that from the latter stones of a prodigious size were generally thrown; that the Greek word πέλλη, of which, with the preposition καλά, the word καλαπέλλης or catapulsa is composed, fignifies, according to Helychius, a dart, spear, or javelin; and consequently

gives us to understand, that these were the missive weapons discharged most frequently out of that machine. This is confirmed by an allusion to be found in Plantus. Both the catapulta and balifla were of Syrian or Phanician invention, and from those nations the Jews had them, as may be learned from Pliny, in conjunction with scripture. Sicilians introduced them into Greece, in the time of Agefilaus. Upon the first fight of the telum catapulsarium, Archidamus, the son of that prince, is said to have cried out, O ye gods! all valour is now destroyed (3).

(2) Polyan. ubi sup. l vii. c. 56. 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. Plutarch in apophth. Vid. & Jac. Perizonii comment, in Alian. var. hift. l. vi. c. 12. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

(3) Hefych. in voc. πέλ n. Plant. curcul. 5. 3. 11. Lipf. poliorc. 3. 2. Plin.

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retreat d.

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THE attack was repeated for feveral days fuccessively in the same manner, but a sakes the 10 mm, without any effect; for the Motyans, being accustomed to this way of fighting, constantly repulsed Dionysius, obliging him every evening to draw off. At last Archylus the Thurian, at the head of a choice detachment, in the dead of the night, getting over the shattered houses without noise, possessed himself of a very commodious post, where he made a lodgment, till Dionysius sent another strong body of troops to support him. The Motyans, seeing themselves surprised, made their utmost efforts to dislodge the enemy, so that a fierce encounter ensued. But at last the Sicilians, overpowering them with numbers, gave Dionysius an opportunity of breaking into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a moment covered with dead bodies; for the Sicilians, enraged at the obstinate defence b of the besieged, and to retaliate the former cruelties of the Carthaginians, put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted who took sanctuary in the Greek temples. For Dionysius, being desirous of selling them for flaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to restrain the violence of the foldiery, ordered the public crier by proclamation to declare, that he would have the Motyans fly for refuge thither. This put a stop to the flaughter; however, the army thoroughly plundered the town, carrying off from thence an immense quantity of wealth and treasure. This Dionyfius thought proper to permit, that he might ingratiate himself with the troops, and that they might hereby be the more readily induced to fignalize themselves on all future occasions,

returns to Syracule.

As many therefore of the Motyans as were left alive, he fold for slaves, but commanded Daimenes, and all the Greeks, who had joined the Carthaginians, to be crucified. As for Archylus, to whose bravery and conduct the taking of the place was in a great measure owing, he rewarded him with an hundred mina's, and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Having thus reduced the strongest city in Sicily Leaves a gar- subject to Carthage, he placed a numerous garrison in it, under the command of one rijon there, and Bito a Syracusian. Afterwards ordering Leptines, with an hundred and twenty gallevs, to watch the Carthaginians at sea, and to make incursions into the territories of Entella and Egesta, which it was his intention to have done himself, would the feason, and the exigence of his affairs, have permitted, summer now drawing to d an end, he returned with his army to Syracuse .

THE Carthaginians having been surprised by Dionysius, in contempt of the faith of treaties, as above related, found it impossible to oblige him to raise the siege of Motya; however, they were willing to attempt, not only this, but even to carry the war to Syracuse. In order to which, Himileo, receiving advice, that Dionysius with his fleet was entered into the harbour, gave orders to have an hundred of his best galleys manned without delay; with which, as the Syracusians had no squadron out at sea to obstruct his design, he entertained hopes either of destroying or making himself master of the tyrant's whole naval force by surprize at one single blow. Could this have been effected, he would not only have relieved the place, but likewise e

changed the feat of the war.

SETTING fail therefore from Carthage, after a short passage, he arrived in the night on the coast of Selinus, and the next morning, by break of day, at the port of Motya, where the Syracusian galleys were then riding at anchor. These he imme-Himilco makes diately attacked, burning and finking several of them. Dionysius, not a little alarmed an attempt to at this unexpected visit of the enemy, and seeing, by the dispositions they were making, Surprise Diony his whole seet in danger of being destroyed, advanced with his army to the mouth in the harbour of the harbour; but finding the Carthaginians had possessed themselves of the of Syracuse, passage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to bring his ships out of port, because the mouth being strait and narrow, a few galleys there might engage f a much superior number with great advantage. Commanding his land-forces therefore to draw them over land into the sea, at a farther distance from the harbour, he by this means preferved them.

In the mean time Himileo, pressing upon those galleys that lay next to him, made all possible efforts to take or destroy them; but was vigorously repulsed, and lost many of his men by showers of darts thrown from the decks. The Syracusian army likewise greatly annoyed him by repeated vollies of arrows from their engines of battery; which being a new kind of weapon, and doing considerable execution,

e Idem ibld.

a struck a great terror into the enemy. Himileo therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterprize to bear, as judging it by no means adviscable to venture an But is obliged engagement with a squadron so much superior to him in strength, lest the Moty- to sheer off.

ans (1) to themselves, and returned to Africa f.

THE following spring Dionysius, drawing his forces out of Syracuse, made an inroad Dionysius into the Carlbaginian provinces, ravaging and destroying the country in a dreadful makes an The Halicyaans, terrified by this irruption, sent embassadors to his camp Carthaginian to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of Egesta, remaining firm in their territories. fidelity to Cartbage, set him at defiance. Upon this, advancing with his army, he laid siege to the place; but the Egestines, making a vigorous and unexpected fally upon the beliegers, put the advanced guards in disorder, and set fire to their tents, b which occasioned a great consternation throughout the whole camp. Several soldiers, in endeavouring to quench the flames, loft their lives, and many horses were burnt. Dionysius, soon after, raising the siege, roved about the country in the same hostile manner as before, and, whilst Leptines was observing the motions of the enemy by sea, continued his depredations without opposition.

Soon after the reduction of Motya, the news of that melancholy event arrived at Carthage; and the year following Himileo was appointed one of the suffectes there. The progress of Dionysius alarming the senate, they resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships; to which end they dispatched officers into all parts of Africa and Spain to raise forces. When the preparations were completed, the c Carthaginian army amounted to above three hundred thousand foot, four thousand horse, and four hundred armed chariots. The sleet, under the command of Mago, consisted of three hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. This is the account given by Ephorus; but Timeus Siculus affirms, that not above a hundred thousand men were transported from Africa into Sicily, who, upon their landing there, were joined by three thou fand Sicilians. The troops being embarqued, and the fleet ready to fet fail, Himilion delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet fealed up, injoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all Arichness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies d from informing the enemy of his deligns. The orders were, that they should make strait to Panormus, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. The transports, getting out into the open sea, outsailed the galleys, which kept close to the coast of Africa; but being destitute of a convoy, were attacked off of Panormus by Leptines, whom Dio-Leptines nyfius had sent out with thirty sail against them. After a short dispute, he sunk fifty defeats the of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots were lost; the rest, enemy by sea. tacking about, had the good luck to escape. As soon as the galleys appeared, Leptines retired; and Himileo, having landed his troops at Panormus, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. e On his march he took Eryx by treachery; and hastening from thence to Motya, The Carthagireduced that important place, before Dionysius, who was then besieging Egesta, could nians retake

fend any forces to its relief 8. THE Sicilian troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the Carthaginians, in order to decide the fate of Sicily as foon as possible; but Dionysius thought it more adviseable to abandon the open country to the enemy, because he was at a great distance from his confederates, and began to be in want of provisions. He exhorted the Sicani to leave their cities, and join the army, promifing them, after the conclusion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own, and to permit

f Idem ibid. & Polyen. ftrat. l.v. c. 2. ex. 6. ex. 2. FRONTIN. Arat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2.

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DIOD. Sic. ubi sup. POLYAN. strat. L. v. c. 10.

(I) Polyanus intimates, that, upon the approach of the Carshaginian fleet, Dionysus drew off his torces from before the town, and advanced at the head of them to the shore, as near the enemy's vesfels as possible. By this motion he endeavoured to encourage his soldiers and mariners. Under the promontory that formed the port, there was a tract of ewenty stadia in breadth, perfectly level, and full of

mud. Over this his foldiers and mariners drew eighty triremes in one day, which threw the Car-thaginians into a great consternation. The admiral destroy it, immediately set sail, and left the Mosyans to the mercy of the enemy (4).

therefore, fearing the Syracufians would first block up his seet in the mouth of the harbour, and then

as many of them as would chuse it, to return to their former habitations. Some a few, for fear of being plundered, listened to this proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to the enemy, together with the Halicyaans, who sent embassadors to Carthage, to renew their antient alliance with that state. Dionysius, not meeting with a sufficient reinforcement, and in consequence of the resolution he had taken, marched with great precipitation to Syracuse, plundering and laying waste the country all along as he passed. Himilco, stushed with his success, advanced towards Messana, of which city he was very defirous to possess himself, on account of its situation; for being once mafter of it, he could eafily intercept all fuccours fent to the enemy, either from Italy or Greece; and besides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which confisted of fix hundred fail and upwards. Before he invested b the city, he concluded a treaty with the people of Himera and Cephaladium, and reduced the city of Lipara (K), the capital of the island of that name, putting it under contribution, by which he exacted from the inhabitants thirty talents. From thence moving with his forces towards Messana, his fleet at the same time attending him, he encamped upon the promontory of Peloris, now the Capo di Faro, about an hundred stadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themselves about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the Carthaginians, seeing themselves deserted by their confederates, as well as in great want of their horse, which were then at Syracuse, and knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, c and that they had not time then to make the necessary preparations for their defence, were for submitting to the enemy. Others were resolved to hold out to the last, and chearfully facrifice their lives in the maintenance of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an ancient prophecy, whereby it was foretold, That the Carthaginians should be one day carriers of water in that city. This they interpreted, as if the Carthaginians should be slaves in Messana; and being thereby greatly animated, were determined to undergo all extremities, rather than furrender themfelves to the common enemy. Their wives and children, with all their treasures, they fent to the neighbouring towns, before the place was invested .

And advance afterwards to Messana.

Which place Himilco invests.

In order to prevent any incursions of the enemy, they sent a strong detachment d of the flower of their troops towards the promontory of *Peloris*, who for some time defended the frontiers. But *Himilco*, rightly concluding, that the garrison must be greatly weakened by the absence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby lest so very much exposed on the sea-side, that it would be no difficult matter for his sleet to enter, commanded two hundred galleys to advance towards the town. His orders were instantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing fresh,

b Dion. Sic. ubi fup.

(K) Lipara was the principal of the Eolian islands, in number seven, not far from the north coast of Sicily. The names of these islands were Strongyle, Evonymos, Didyme, Phænicusa, Hiera, Vulcania, and Lipara (1). According to Diodorus, both the island Lipara, and its capital city, received their name from Liparus, the son of Auson (2), king of these islands, who built the city Lipara, and cultivated all of them. The Liparese were antiently formidable, had a good sleet, and grew very rich, by reason of the great revenue brought them in by alum, with which mineral their island (3) abounded. Their capital city, according to Diodorus, was beautised with large and fair harbours, and famous for the baths in its neighbourhood, which were medicinal, and of singular service to the people of Sicily, when seized with any strange and unusual disease. Pliny makes Eolous to have preceded Liparus in this island; but Diodorus tells us, that Eolus married Cyane, the daughter of Liparus, and, in right of his wife, succeeded that prince. About the fistieth olympiad, a colony of Cnidians, (4), under their captains Gorgus, Thesior, and Epithersides, entered into a league with

the antient inhabitants, and incorporated themselves with them. Lipara was noted amongst the antients for the great quantity of delicious fruit it produced, and is at this day remarkable for the excellent railins it supplies several parts of Europe with, particularly England. That the inhabitants were pretty opulent in the times we are now speaking of, is evident from the contributions which Dionysius exacted of them, amounting to about five thousand four hundred pounds sterling. It must be observed, that Diodorus, not only here, but in other passages, where he mentions a talent, means the Attic talent, which was worth about an hundred and eighty pounds(5) of our money, and not the Sicilian, amounting not to above three Roman denarii, or a two thousandth part (6) of the Attic. The island is now called Lipari, and has its capital fo fortified, that it stood a short siege in the year 1719, when it was taken by an Imperial detachment under the command of general Seckendorf; as was likewise the castle, whose garrison of four hundred men thought proper to furrender the next day at discretion.

<sup>(1)</sup> Strab. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c, 7. Strab. l. vi. & alib. Plin. l. iii. c. 9.
(2) Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
(3) Strab. Plin. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
(4) Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
(5) Fest. subi voc. Talentum.
(6) Aristot. apud Jul. Pol. l. ix. c. 6. & Fest. ubi sup. See Univ. hist. vol. iii. p. 10.

a they were carried with a full gale directly into the harbour. The Meffanians, being now sensible of their mistake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late, for the fleet had already entered, and having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that fide, upon which the inhabitants haftened in crouds thither to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. Himileo took advantage of this confusion, and attacking the city on the land-side, entered it And takes it. without opposition. All those who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the spot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or, getting into narrow creeks about the harbour, threw themselves into the sea, imagining they could reach the opposite shore; of which however not above a fourth b part made their escape to the coast of Italy. Himilco entered Messana with his whole army, and, in order to render his conquest complete, proposed reducing all the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of that city; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely strong, he altered his measures, and returned back to Messana. Here he halted a short time to refresh and recruit his army, and then marched at the head of all his forces against Syracuse.

Himileo, considering that Messana was very remote from the cities held by the Car- He orders it to thaginians, and the most commodious port in Sicily on account of its situation, had, be razed. before his departure, ordered it to be razed, that it might be of no advantage to the enemy. His orders were executed with the utmost severity, infomuch that there c was not left one house standing in the whole city; nay, Diodorus tells us, that scarce any traces of it remained, the very rubbish being carried away, and thrown into the fea; which sufficiently discovered the implacable hatred Himileo, as well as the

whole Carthaginian nation, bore to the Greeks i.

THE Siculi having Dionysius in perfect detestation, and a fair opportunity now Most of the offering of shaking off their allegiance to him, all of them, except the Assarines, Siculi revolt revolted to the Carthaginians. Dionysius, being hereby deprived of the means of from Dionyraising recruits, was obliged to present all the slaves and servants of the Syracusians with their liberty, and with them he manned fixty galleys. He received likewise a supply of a thousand men from the Lacedæmonians, his antient and faithful allies. d Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he took care to fortify the castles and forts of the Syracusians, and the cities in their dependence, and to store them with provisions. Those of the Leontini, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely strong, and persuaded the Campanians to leave Catana, the place he had given them to reside in, and remove to the city of Æina, a fortress of great strength, for their farther security k.

Dionysius, upon a review of his land-forces, found them to amount to thirty thou. Not with stand fand foot, and above three thousand horse. With these he took the field, and ing which, he encamped near a place called Taurus (L), about an hundred and fixty stadia from wards the Car-

Syracuse. thaginians.

1 Idem ibid.

k Idem ibid.

(L) This Taurus was undoubtedly the mountain of that name, upon the declivity of which stood the famous city of Taurominium. According to Diodorus (1), a great number of Sicilians had fixed their habitations here before the time of this war. Dionysius had given the country of the Nazians to thele Sicilians; but they, induced by the promises of Himileo, now dwelt upon this hill, which was naturally fortified. The same author adds, that, as they had fettled here in times antecedent to this war, fo they continued there after it, and inhabited the city called Taurominium, from its fituation upon mount We learn farther from this historian (2), that Andromachus, the father of Timau: Siculus, about forty years after the commencement of this war, affembled all the fugitives of Naxos, a city which Dionysius the tyrant had destroyed, and settled them on this hill, and that this was the origin of Taurominium. These two accounts seem to clash, since the first makes the foundation of Taurominium to have happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth

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olympiad, whereas the latter fixes it in the third of the hundred and-fixth. The learned Dr. Bentley (3) takes the former to be nearer the truth, though he endeavours to make them both confiftent with one another. Cluverius indeed prefers the latter, but in this he seems to have Diodorus against him; for that author calls the place Taurominium three several times, before he makes the least mention of Andromachus, viz. at olymp. XCVI. an. 1.(4) olymp. XCVI. an. 3.(5) and olymp. XCVII. an. 1.(6) However this may be, that the Tauromenites were descended from the Naxians, cannot be disputed. Pliny and Solinus fay expresly, that Taurominium was the city which was formerly called Naxos. The medals of the Tauromenites clearly evince the same thing; for there are five several pieces in Paruta, that have on one side TAYPOMENITAN, and on the reverse Apollo's head with this inscription, APXATETA, and that Apollo 'Agxayeras was a deity of the Naxians, we are informed by Thucydides (7) and Appian (8). To conclude, our author Diodorus himself, in the place

(1) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7. (2) Idem, l. xvi. c. 2. Phal. p. 182, 183. (7) Thucyd. c. 6. (4) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7. (8) Appian. de bel. civil. Vol. VI. Nº 10.

(3) Dr. Bentley in his differt. upon the epift. of . (5) Idem ibid, c. 10. (6) Idem ibid. c. 11.

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Syracuse. His fleet, by the accession of the fixty galleys above-mentioned, consisted a of an hundred and eighty galleys. Himilco, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him, his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coast. When the Carthaginians arrived at Naxos, they could not continue any longer their march by the sea-side, but were obliged to take a long compass round mount Æinas which, by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning ashes, and rendered the roads impassable by its staming inundations. Himiko therefore ordered Mago to fail to Catana, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, should rejoin him with the land-forces. Dionysius, apprised of this, hastened with all speed to Catana, with a design to attack Mago, before Himilco's army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the shore would b greatly encourage his own mariners, and discourage the enemy's: besides, if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place of safety to retire to. This was what Himileo had foreseen, when, for the reason above-mentioned, his sleet and landforces were obliged to separate 1.

His flect, under the command of Leptines,

Dionysius having therefore drawn up his army on the shore, sent out Leptines with the whole fleet against the enemy, commanding him to engage in close order, and engages that of not to break his line upon any account what soever. And indeed such a salutary order the Carthagi- could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of Mago's great superiority; for his fleet was composed of no less than five hundred ships of burden, besides a vast number of galleys with brazen beaks. The Carthaginians, c feeing the Greek troops drawn up on the shore, and the navy advancing in good order against them, were struck with terror, and tacking about, began to make to the shore, with a design to save themselves over land, and join Himileo; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more dangerous, they resolved to try their fortune by sea; and accordingly drawing themselves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. Leptines, inconsiderately advancing with thirty of his best galleys, contrary to the express command of Dionysius, fell upon Mago's first squadron, and after a brisk action, sunk feveral of the ships, of which it was composed; but Mago, coming up with the whole fleet, immediately furrounded him, upon which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, a most sharp and bloody engagement ensued.

> THE Carthaginian and Syracusian galleys grappling with one another, (for they were fo close together, that there was no room for them to strike with their beaks) the forces on board fought hand to hand, as if in a battle on land. On both fides they made the utmost efforts to board their enemies, and consequently on both sides many were thrown over-board and flain. In fine, Leptines, though for feveral hours he defended himself perfectly well, being at last overpowered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The flight of the admiral disheartened the Syracustans, and gave the enemy fresh courage; the former therefore sled to the shore, where their land-forces were drawn up, but were closely pursued by the Carthaginians. Many, abandoning their ships, threw themselves into the sea, hoping to save e their lives by swimming to the shore; but the Carthaginian transports, which lay near the shore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of those unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any resistance; so that the land-army faw them perish, without being able to give them the least relief. The Carthagi-

And is defeated.

## 1 Idem ibid.

we are now upon, just after mentioning the city Taurominium, observes that "Himilco marched " with great expedition to the aforesaid place of "Naxia." Probably Naxia here is a corruption of Naxos, fince, if we remember right, Naxia, as the name of a place, is not to be met with in any other author, nor any-where else in Diodorus but here. This passage seems fully to prove, not only that the Naxians were the progenitors of the Tauromenites, but likewise that, in the first year of the ninety-fixth Olympiad, the city, or spot where it afterwards stood, was called Naxos or Naxia. As therefore it appears from another place (9) in Diodorus, that the city was but just built in the third year of the same olympiad, it feems clearly to follow, that Taurominium was founded in the first year of the ninety-fixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in fixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in favour of what Dr. Bentley has advanced, and, to all appearance, intirely fixes the point. We must not omit observing, that Taurominium stood at a considerable distance from the antient Naxos, the one being fituated either on the declivity or top of the hill, and the other much lower towards the fou-thern foot of it (10). 'Tis likely there might have been a town of the same name with the hill, either upon it, or somewhere near the foot of it, as we find Æina was the name both of a mountain, and a town in its neighbourhood. If Dionysius did not ascend any part of the mountain, we may suppose him to have encamped near this town.

a nians sustained great loss in this action; but above an hundred of the Syracusian galleys were either funk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit. After the action was over, the Carthaginian fleet anchored at Catana, where they refitted the Syracusian ships they had taken. This was done to regale the eyes and ears of the Carthaginians and their confederates, who could not but be highly delighted with fuch a trophy, as it enabled them to form some fort of an idea of the great victory they had obtained m.

Upon this misfortune, the Sicilians, apprehending they should be reduced to great streights by returning to Syracuse, and there sustaining a siege, solicited Dionysus to fight Himilco, alledging, that an unexpected attack at the present juncture would b strike terror into the Carthaginians, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loss. This project seemed the more feasible, as the enemy could not but be extremely fatigued with their long and hasty march; and therefore Dionysius at first not only listened to it, but ordered his forces to be ready to march at a minute's warning. But when he was just upon the point of putting it in execution, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that Mago in the mean time with his victorious fleet might possess himself of Syracuse, he altered his resolution, and hastened with Dionysius his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. To this he was likewise strongly returns with induced by the fate of Messana, which had lately been lost by such a point of false Syracuse. conduct as the Sicilians proposed to him. However, many of these, being displeased c at his not falling into their measures, deserted, and either retired to the neighbouring garrisons of the Carthaginians, or withdrew to their respective homes n.

Himilco, in two days march, arriving at Catana, ordered the ships there to be drawn Himilco eninto the harbour, that they might be sheltered from the weather, which was then deavours to exvery boisterous and stormy. Here he halted some time to refresh his troops, and cite the Campanius of fent embassiadors to the Campanians at Æina to excite them to a revolt, promising Ætna to a them large possessions, and that they should be equal sharers in all the spoils taken revolt. from the Sicilians. That his promifes might make the deeper impression, he took care to inform them, that the Campanians of Entella had declared for the Carthaginians, and joined them with a confiderable body of forces. In fine, he defired d them to consider, that the Greeks of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatsoever. The Campanians were not a little moved by these promifes and fuggestions; but as they had given hostages to Dionysius, and sent the flower of their troops to Syracuse, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination,

to adhere to the treaty concluded with him o.

THE Carthaginian general, animated with the good fuccess that attended his arms, He invests marched strait to Syracuse with a design to besiege it; while his sleet, under the Syracuse and command of Mago, sailed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for takes up his. command of Mago, failed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for takes up his the substitute of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city temple of juinto the utmost consternation. Two hundred and eighty galleys laden, and richly piter. e adorned with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a fort of triumph the great haven of Syracuse, and were followed by above a thousand transports with more than five hundred soldiers on board; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain fo great a navy, confisting in the whole of near two thousand fail. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other fide, amounting, according to some authors, to three hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides an additional squadron, of two hundred long ships, attending them. Himilco took up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter, and the rest of the army encamped round it, about twelve stadia from the city P.

BEFORE he directly formed the siege, he advanced with his army in battalia to He takes by the very walls of the city, and offered the Syracusians battle. But finding they were assault the prudent enough to decline accepting the challenge, he returned to his camp, well fuburb of Acrafatisfied at his having extorted from them a tacit confession of their own weakness, and his superiority. At the same time he ordered an hundred of his best galleys to enter the two other harbours, viz. the little port and that of Trogilus, to strike more terror into the enemy, and convince them, that the Carthaginians were likewise masters at sea. In order to gain the affection of his troops, as well as to distress the enemy, he ravaged and laid waste the country many miles round for thirty days

m Dion. Sic. ubi sup.

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

P Idem ibid.

together, cutting down their groves, and doing infinite damage to the inhabitants. 2 He took by affault the quarter, or suburb, of the town called Acradina, where he plundered the rich temples of Ceres and Proferpina, and, in short, succeeded in every measure he pursued for streightening the besieged. Elated with this run of good-fortune. he looked upon himself in effect as master of the place, though he was apprehensive, that the intire reduction of it would be the work of a confiderable time. He erected therefore three forts near the sea at equal distances from each other, one at Plemmyrium, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of Jupiter, in which he laid up vast stores of provision, and all other necessaries, that might enable him to push on the siege. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the most commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs, which stood round the b city, to be demolished, and amongst others that of Gelon, and his wife Damareta, which was a monument of great magnificence. Being very intent on the preservation of his troops, he took care they should want nothing that was proper for their subsistence, and therefore sent transports to Sardinia and Africa for a fresh supply of corn and other provisions. In the mean time the Syracusians, though greatly dejected by their late misfortunes, did not despond, Dionysius being in daily expectation of receiving a confiderable reinforcement from his foreign allies 9.

The Carthaginians are worsted in an action by sea.

BEFORE the storm fell upon Syracuse, Dionysius had fent his (M) kinsman Polyxenus to implore the affiftance of the Italians, Corintbians, and Lacedamonians, against the power of Carthage, which alone he found himself unable to withstand. He like- c wife had dispatched several officers with large sums to Peloponnesus, to raise a body of mercenaries there. All these, returning some time after Himileo had sat down before Syracuse, brought with them, besides some land-forces, a supply of thirty galleys under the command of Pharacidas the Lacedamonian. Soon after Dionysius and Leptines went out upon a cruise, intending, if possible, to intercept some of the Carthaginian transports laden with provisions, of which the city then stood in great They were scarce out of port, when the Syracusians from the city spied one of the transports coming up to Himilco's camp, upon which venturing out with five galleys, they took it. As they were failing away with their prize, the Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole d fleet, and engaging them with great resolution, took the admiral galley, besides several others, and sunk or damaged twenty more. The rest they pursued to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a second time. The Carthaginians, terrified with this unexpected difaster, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them. The Syracustans, fastening the galleys they had taken to the poops of their ships, brought them off triumphantly to the town.

What happened now to the Carthaginians verified the observation, that missortunes feldom come alone. Himilco, who, from his first arrival in the island to this time, had been successful in every measure, and the constant savourite of foretune in all his undertakings, was soon to be reduced to the lowest degree of ignominy and difference, and his people to the extremest misery. All the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and served only to enhance his suture missortunes. This, according to the judicious resection of our historian, may serve as a lively lesson to mankind, to teach them, that the proudest mortal, how great soever he may be, is but an inconsiderable creature, and may be blasted in an instant

9 Diop. Sic. ubi fup.

\* Idem ibid.

(M) The Greek word is xnd'ssins, which Rhodomanus has falfly translated focar or father-in-law. It is a general term, and denotes any person who is related to another by marriage. Sometimes however it is equivalent to the Latin focar, and sometimes to gener, as we learn from Stephanus and Budeus, who produce instances of both those significations. But that it is to be used in a general sense here, is evident from Diodorus himself, who tells us elsewhere, that Polyxenus was uncle to Dionysius's wife, and that that tyrant gave him his own sister

in marriage. Such a complex relation as this cannot be expressed by any one particular word in our language, and therefore we have rendered it by the general term kinsman. We mention this only to have an opportunity of suggesting to our readers, that many faults and inaccuracies are to be found in Rhodomanus's edition of Diodorus Siculus, which yet is the best we at present have; so that it were to be wished some able hand would give us a new edition of that useful and entertaining historian (1).

<sup>(1)</sup> Steph. in thefaur. ling. Grac. Bud. in lex. ed. Baf. 1572. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. See also Univ. hist. vol. iii. P. 53.

a by a superior power. Here we may behold the Carthaginians from the summit of human felicity hurled down into the abyss of calamity and wo; from the most potent and formidable state in all the western parts of the world, become the most weak and contemptible of all nations, and that, as it were, in an instant. However, Providence did not so far favour the perfidious Syracufians, but that their enemies, though treacherous and cruel in many respects, recovered themselves, and came off with reputation at the conclusion of this war '.

Himileo, now mafter of almost the whole island of Sicily, and expecting with great The plague impatience to crown his other conquests with the reduction of Syracuse, was obliged breaks out in the Carthagito desift from all further operations against that city by the plague, which, breaking mian army, and b out in the camp, made great havock amongst his soldiers. This infection was makes dreadful looked upon as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the havock there temples, particularly those of Ceres and Proserpina above-mentioned, and demolishing the tombs round the city, which was confidered as a violence offered to the dead. But, without having recourse to the extraordinary interposition of the gods, they might have ascribed it, as Diodorus infinuates, to natural causes; for the heats that fummer, in the midst of which this pestilential distemper first broke out, were more excessive than they had ever been known in the memory of man; and the adjacent country abounded with fens and marshes, whose unwholsome exhalations, especially at that hot season, which of itself was almost sufficient to have occasioned the c plague, must have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where such an infinite number of people were crouded together: and that these in fact were the two principal concurring causes of that dire malady, is apparent from hence, that the Athenians, who spared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the fame calamity. It began among the Africans, and soon spread through the whole army. As this plague was attended with some uncommon symptoms, carried off above an hundred and fifty thousand men in a very short time, and may be looked upon as one of the most malignant distempers to be met with in history, we shall beg leave here to give a brief account of it, believing, that such a short digression

will not be unacceptable to our curious readers '. BEFORE sun-rising, the patients were seized with a convulsive shuddering, pretty A description nearly resembling that attending the rigor or cold fit in agues, which happens in the of this most beginning of the paroxysm. This was in part occasioned by the fresh breezes coming off from the sea, which at that time of the morning were very piercing. As the fun advanced nearer the meridian, the cold remitted, and the heat grew more intense; so that by noon they found themselves almost suffocated with heat; which made them excessively weak and faint, but gave fresh force and malignity to the disease. The fouth wind moreover greatly increasing the infection, they died in such numbers, that, after some time, it was impossible to inter them; nay, the persons attending the fick were cut off in fuch a manner, that no one durft approach the infected. In e the first stage of the distemper, they were afflicted with catarrhs, swellings of the throat, &c. These were succeeded by violent dysenteries, raging severs, acute pains in all parts of the body, loathsome ulcers, &c. Some were even seized with madness and fury, falling upon all those that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the physician (A), this terrible malady eluding all his art; so that those infected with it expired the fifth or fixth day in exquisite torture. Justin seems to intimate, that almost the whole Carthaginian army perished by it, and that in a manner all at once, as it were in an instant; which may serve to give

## \* Idem ibid.

t Idem ibid.

(A) It appears from the antient historians, that the plague raged pretty frequently amongst the Car-thaginians, especially in their African dominions: and it is worthy observation, that those parts are still often visited by that terrible malady, particularly Algiers, Tunis, &c. It is probable, that the Carthaginians brought the feeds of the distemper with them out of Africa, fince the petitlence had made great havock there just before the breaking out of this war; which Dionysius (1) urged as a reason to the Syracusians for his attacking the Car-

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thaginians, whom he supposed to have been there-by extremely weakened. It may be inferred from this paffage, that the Carthaginians had physicians with them in their camps, and confequently that the art of physic was not unknown to that people. This likewise in some measure appears from the worship of Esculapius (2), which prevailed in the territories subject to the state of Carthage, though at what degree of persection herein the students arrived, we cannot pretend to fay.

(1) Diod. Sic. 1 xiv. c. 7. (2) Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. Serv. aliique multi. Vol. VI. Nº 10. 9 I

us an idea of the great malignity of it. Diodorus however informs us, that a considerable body of Africans and Iberians survived this dreadful calamity; though he at the same time affirms, that an hundred and fifty thousand carcasses of those who perished did not meet with any interment, and consequently infinuates, that a greater number died, since, according to the same author, the dead were buried for some time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy observation, that not a single person of those who attended the sick escaped.

Dionyfius attack, the enemy, and defeats them.

Dionystus, being apprised of the deplorable condition to which the Carthaginians were reduced, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking them. Having therefore manned eighty galleys, he ordered Pharacidas and Leptines to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the b With this view, having affembled his troops before the moon was up, he advanced to the temple of Cyane, and fetting out from thence about midnight, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp by the time appointed. He then detached a throng body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp, which lay at the greatest distance, pretending, that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real defign was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having a great aversion to him, and being ready to mutiny on all occasions. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to retire as foon as the infantry was engaged. His orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off to a man. Dionysius, upon the c return of the cavalry, at the same time attacked the enemy's camp, and the forts in their possession. The suddenness of the attack so surprised the Carthaginians, that they were some time before they could put themselves into a posture of desence, which gave him an opportunity of taking the fort called Polichna by storm; and the horse at the same time advancing in good order, with some galleys, to that near Dascon, likewise carried it. By the reduction of these forts, the Syracusians were enabled to enter the great haven with all their fleet, and to fall furiously on the enemy's galleys anchored there. The Carthaginians in the camp for some time defended themselves with great bravery; but feeing their navy now in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the d shore, to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. But all their endeavours were ineffectual; for the Carthaginian ships, not being able to sustain the shock of the Syracusian galleys, many of them were sunk at the first attack, others quite disabled, and a great number burnt and taken. The flaughter on this occasion was so dreadful, that the shore was covered with dead bodies; which afforded a melancholy spectacle to Himilco, and filled all the Carthaginians with great horror, who, bewailing their unhappy fate, were now reduced to a state of desperation. In the mean time the camp, being deferted by the body of troops above-mentioned, was left very much exposed; which Dionysius taking advantage of, redoubled his efforts, and finding but a feeble refistance, soon broke into it, putting all to the sword who opposed him. After this, he moved with his forces towards the gulf of Dascon, where e finding forty Carthaginian ships of fifty oars apiece, with a great number of transports, and some galleys, he immediately set fire to them. This completed the destruction of the enemy's fleet; for the wind being at that time very high, and the cables of many of the ships burnt, they were all, excepting a few that were afterwards taken, either contumed by the violence of the flames, or, falling foul one upon another, broken to pieces. Diodorus fays, that when the ships were all in a blaze, and the flames afcending above the mafts, a most dreadful scene was exhibited, the gods themselves feeming to destroy the enemy with lightning from heaven; which punishment, he infinuates, they deserved, on account of their great impiety. Such a spirit of joy and gladness distused itself over the whole city on this happy occasion, that old and f young, women and children, in fine, almost all the inhabitants of Syracuse, posted to the walls and eminencies in the greatest hurry, to be spectators of so glorious a victory: at the sight of which, listing up their hands to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in so signal a manner the many facrileges, which the Carthaginians had committed since their arrival in Sicily. Night putting an end to this action, Dionysius, with his troops, retired, and encamped near the

Justin. l. xix. Diop. Sic. ubi fup. Oros. l. iv.

a enemy at the temple of Jupiter, with a delign to renew the fight early the next

morning w (B).

THOUGH Dionysius penetrated into the Carthaginian camp, put great numbers of the enemy there to the fword, and even intirely ruined their fleet, yet he could not, by this last effort, oblige them absolutely to raise the siege: this he reserved to the day following. But Himilco, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent em- Himilco with bailadors privately to him, offering him three hundred talents (C), all the ready great difficulty cash he had then with him, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to makes his return to Africa. Dionysius was unwilling utterly to destroy the Carthaginians, lest the Syracufians, when free from the apprehensions of so formidable an enemy, should b feek to regain their antient liberty, and thereby give him fresh disturbance; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the Syracusians, nor their confederates, would fusfer him to grant the enemy such terms: he therefore replied, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow Himileo, with all the citizens of Carthage, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred This being agreed to, Dionysius retired with his forces into the city, whither Himi co privately fent him the promifed fum, and then began to make the necessary preparations for his departure. The fourth night after the agreement, Himileo, with forty galleys full of the citizens of Carthage, was ready to fet fail, leaving the rest of the army behind him. But the Corintbians, who served under Dionysius, discovering, c from the noise and motion of the vessels, that Himileo and his friends were making off, fent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat; but as his orders were but flowly executed, they grew impatient, and, without his permission, gave them chace; and coming up with the rear, by piercing them with the beaks of their vessels, sunk several of them. Upon the deseat of the Carthaginians, the Siculi, who joined them, dispersed, and slying through the heart of the country, retired to their respective homes. In the mean time Dionysius posted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none of those lest behind might make their escape; and marching by night with his forces, took possession of it. This he met with no d opposition in doing; for the Africans, finding themselves betrayed by Himileo and the Carthaginians, and that the Sicilians had deferted them, were thrown into fuch a

left in the camp, were delivered up as plunder to the foldiery x. This victory was the more extraordinary, inalmuch as before the plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp, Dionysius found himself reduced to the last extremity, e and actually consulted with his friends about the most proper method of making his escape. In this melancholy situation, his friend Ellopides advised him to resume his courage, and by no means to renounce his fovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. The tyrant closed with this advice, and, notwithstanding the Siculi had joined the enemy, by the incident abovementioned, became victorious. Diodorus and Plutarch both omit this circumstance,

consternation, that they immediately dispersed, taking a great variety of routs. Being therefore incapable of making any resistance, they either sell into the hands of the above-mentioned detachments, or furrendered to Dionysius himself at discretion. But the *Iberians*, keeping together in a body, fent a herald to capitulate with *Diony*fius, who took them into his fervice. All the enemy's baggage, and valuable effects

w Dion. Sic. ubi sup.

\* Idem ibid. c. 7.

(B) Polyanus seems to intimate, that Dionysius amused the Carthaginians with some proposals for an accommodation, and at the same time offered to deliver into their hands a great number of castles and fortresses, if they would put garrisons into them. The Carthaginians, closing with this offer, posted great numbers of their troops, according to our author, in those places; but hereby so weakened their army, that Dionysius found himself strong enough to arrack them; which he did, and gained a complete victory. If we admit this story to be true, which perhaps our readers may scruple doing, fince Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Orosius, have passed it over in filence, it is probable the stratagem was made use of after the plague had made great havock in the Carthaginian camp; for Himilto's forces were at first so vastly superior in strength to Dionysius's army, even according to Polyanus himself, that he might have garrisoned all the fortresses becausing to the Superior and yet have been much longing to the Syracusians, and yet have been much more than a match for Dionysius (1).

(C) According to what we have lately observed, this was about fifty-four thousand pounds sterling; which was no extraordinary fum for the military cheft, confidering what a numerous army Himilco

(1) Polyan. strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 9. Vide etiam Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat. l.i. c. 8. ex. 11.

though the former of those historians mentions something of this nature to have hap- a pened to the tyrant upon the revolt of the Syracusian army, when he was shut up in his capital city. However, Ijocrates, an author of undoubted credit, who lived at the time of the transaction, has furnished us with this fragment of history, which has likewise been transcribed by Ælian; so that we shall make no scruple to insert it

Thus ended this campaign, one of the most remarkable, for the variety of incidents, and viciffitudes of fortune observable in it, to be met with in history. A large field for reflections here opens itself; but as these have been already in some measure anticipated, and as our province is chiefly confined to facts, we shall be obliged at present to supersede them. In general however we may remark, that all human b grandeur is vanity; that Providence frequently makes use of some wicked men as its instruments in scourging of others, and consequently that villainy must be frequently triumphant; and lastly, that a strict attachment to the dictates of justice and humanity is not only laudable, but politic, in all states, how elevated soever, since a deviation from these cannot be secured by the most formidable and extensive power from a retaliation.

fea-forces.

Advice being brought to Carthage of the terrible fate that both the land and seanisns are in the forces of the republic had met with in Sicily, the whole city was overwhelmed with utmost conster-nation upon re- forrow. Every part of it was filled with outcries and lamentations, and the people ceiving the me- were under the same dismal apprehensions, as if the enemy had actually made them- c laucholy news selves masters of the town. All the houses in the city, as well as the temples, being thut up, an intire stop was put to every kind of business, and even to their religious their land and worship. This happened when the Carthaginians were seized with the first impressions of terror; for soon after, recovering themselves, they began to entertain hopes, that, upon the general's arrival, things might possibly turn out better than they had been represented. They did not however continue long in a state of suspense; for in a little time the poor remains of their shattered troops landed near Carthage, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this, all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themselves intirely to despair, and giving a full vent to their grief, made the shore ring with their groans and lamentations. In d short, a greater scene of horror, except the spot of ground where the Carthaginian army encamped before Syracuse, than Carthage now was, cannot well be conceived y.

Himilco. not being able to furvive his misfortunes, kills himfelf.

Himilco in the mean time, landing at Carthage, appeared in mean and fordid attire. He was immediately met by a vast concourse of people, bemoaning their sad and inauspicious fortune. Joining with these forlorn wretches, and listing up his hands to heaven, he bitterly bewailed his own hard fate, but most of all that of his country. Afterwards impiously taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the fole authors of his misfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to esteem it as a fingular happiness, that their present calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could assume to themselves no e merit from it: "The enemy, said he, may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have "no reason to glory in it. The troops we have lost did not fall by their valour, " nor did they oblige those that are now arrived safe here to abandon their island We return victorious over the Syracusians, and are only defeated by " the plague. As for the baggage found in our camp, this ought not to be looked " upon as the spoils of a conquered enemy, but as moveables, which the casual " death of the owners has left the Syracufians in possession of. No part of the disaster, " continued he, touches me fo much, as my furviving fo many gallant men, and my being referved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so dire " a calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to Carthage the remaining part f " of the army under my conduct, I shall speedily follow those brave men, who or perished in Sicily, and thereby demonstrate to my country, that it was not out of " a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the " plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which, by my more early death, they would have been exposed, that I survived them." After this, going directly to his house, and shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himself the fatal stroke. This violent death Diodorus interprets as a signal punishment inflicted upon him, for his having so frequently violated the fanctity of

a temples and tombs at Syracuse, which, according to our author, was a crime of a most flagrant and enormous nature 2.

THE fame of Dionysius's success being spread all over the Carthaginian dominions, and those of their consederates in Africa, the affairs of this state there were soon almost in as bad a situation as in Sicily. The Africans bore a natural hatred to the Carthaginians, and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in Africa, that Himileo had faved only the citizens of Cartbage, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy. Incensed therefore to the last degree, and revolt from the moved with a thorough contempt of the Carthaginians, who now were become despi- Carthaginians. cable to all their neighbours, the cities and states which had sent them auxiliaries, b took up arms, intending to take signal vengeance of them, for the late affront offered them in the persons of their countrymen. They dispatched expresses into all parts, notifying the ill usage they had met with in the most aggravating terms; by which means, supplies coming from every quarter, they soon assembled a considerable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. And now their defign being publicly known, and that they had forces likewise to put it in execution, the whole country rose; so that their army in a short time amounted to above two hun-

dred thousand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took

their rout towards Carthage 3. On their march, they took Tunis, a city in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which They take Tuc furrendered at the first summons. This gave a dreadful alarm to the citizens of Car-nis, and adthage, who now gave up every thing for loft. However, upon the approach of the neighbourhood enemy, they engaged them; but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to of Carthage. retire within their walls. As the Carthaginians, in all public calamities, carried their superstition to a very great excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods, particularly Ceres and Proserpina, whose temples they had violated at Syracuse, and therefore considered this fresh melancholy incident as the effect of their resentment. Before, these deities had never been heard of in Africa; but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priefts selected from amongst the most distinguished samilies of the city for their serd vice; and all their facrifices ordered to be offered after the Greek manner, those Greeks amongst them, who were versed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worship of these goddesses, being appointed to officiate in this service. Having by this means sufficiently, as they apprehended, atoned for past offences to these deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all necessary preparations to reduce the rebels, and those who supported them, to reason b.

THOUGH the African forces were very numerous, yet, happily for the Carthagi- But are obliged mians, they wanted a general, as well as subordinate officers, of experience, and had at last to neither warlike engines to carry on a fiege, nor provisions to support so vast a multitude; whereas the Carthaginians, being masters of the sea, were supplied with every e thing in great plenty from Sardinia. Such an army as this was like a body uninformed with a foul. As there was no discipline or subordination in it, every person might fet up himself for a general, and claim an independence on the rest; which would soon cause numberless sactions and divisions amongst them, and consequently soon dissolve the whole. Thus in fact it happened with this rabble of an army; for diffensions arising therein, the famine daily increasing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the Carthaginians to defert, the individuals of it withdrew to their respeclive homes, and by this means delivered Carthage from one of the most imminent

dangers that had ever threatened it c.

AFTER the late disafter in Sicily, Himilco had left Mago to take care of the Carthaf ginian interest there, and settle their broken assairs in the best manner possible. In order to this, he treated all the Sicilians Subject to Carthage with great mildness and humanity, and granted his protection to all those who were persecuted by Dionysius. He also entered into alliances with several Sicilian cities, which had an aversion to that tyrant. Strengthened by these alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from Carthage, he formed an army, and made an incursion into the territory of Messana. Having ravaged this in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, Dionysius and retired to Abacanum, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. Dionystus, routs Mago at advancing to Abacanum with his army, offered him battle; which challenge Mago Abacanum.

JUSTIN. OROS. & DIOD. Sic. ubi fup. DIOD. Sic. ubi fup. b Idem ibid. e Idem ibid. c. 10. Vol. VI. No 10. 9 K accepted,

accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loss of above eight hundred men. a Upon this defeat, the Carthaginian general, with his broken troops, entered Abacanum; and Dionysius returned to Syracuse d.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great losses the Carthaginians had sustained in the course nians, not with- of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the island of Sicily. standing their Their officers were therefore sent, as usual, to levy forces in Africa, Sardinia, and some losses, meditate a fresh attempt of those parts of Italy not inhabited by Greeks. As they had hitherto had such bad whom the island fuccess with their fleet, they proposed determining the fate of Sicily by a decisive battle in the field; for which reason they fitted out a much weaker squadron of long ships. than in any of the former expeditions. The Carthaginians armed all their troops on this occasion in the completest manner, and appointed Mago, who was defeated the b year before at Abacanum, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in the island above-mentioned would foon receive a very confiderable alteration.

Mago, affembling his land forces, found them to amount to eighty thousand fighting men, with which he landed in Sicily. On his march through the territories of the Siculi, many cities fell to him; which gave him great encouragement. At last he encamped on the river Chrysas in the country of the Agyrineans, and attempted to bring over that people to his party; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that Dionylius was advancing against him at the head of twenty thousand men, he thought proper to continue some time in his camp, and put himself Dionysius wins there into a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time the tyrant, being arrived c Agyris, tyrant in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp, sent to Agyris, prince of the Agyof the Agyrinæ-rinæans, to join him with all his forces, and supply his troops with some provisions. This tyrant was next to Dionysius in power of all others in the island, his city containing no less than twenty thousand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treasure; for he had lately put to death some of his principal subjects, and confiscated their estates. Dionysius therefore making him a visit, with some of his particular friends, prevailed upon Agyris to come into his measures; in consequence of which he received a supply of provisions, and a strong reinforcement of troops. What induced Agyris to fall in so readily with the Syracusian tyrant's views, was the promise of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in case their arms were d

interest ;

attended with fuccess in this war . In the mean time Mago, finding himself in an enemy's country, and reduced to great streights for want of provisions, began to be very uneasy. The Syracusians were for coming to a battle immediately with him; but this Dionysius opposed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without striking a stroke, by starving them to a furrender. And indeed he had good reason for what he advanced; for the Agyrinaans, being well acquainted with all the passes and by-ways of the country, every day furprised the Carthaginian parties, and, after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the provisions they were carrying to their camp. However, the Syracusians, being disgusted at Dionysius's refusal to comply with their motion, directly e quitted his camp. This threw the tyrant into a great consternation, and obliged him to manumit all the flaves, as he had done once before. Soon after, the Carthaginians, moved by the dreadful prospect of a famine, thought proper to send embassadors to him, to propose an accommodation. This being as necessary for Dionysius in his present circumstances as the Carthaginians, a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, without any further effusion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all particulars with the former; only by an additional article the city of Taurominium was given up to Dionysius, who driving from thence the Siculi, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As for Mago, as foon as the treaty was figned, he returned to Carthage, leaving his allies in Sicily to shift for themselves. Thus this f war ended, notwithstanding the terrible blow they received before Syracuse, very little to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians f.

And concludes a peace with Mago.

> FROM this time, for nine years, the Carthaginians enjoyed an uninterrupted repose, at least history is filent as to any military transactions they were concerned in during that interval. But, in the second year of the ninety-ninth olympiad, Dionysius, meditating a war against them, formed a project of putting his finances upon (A) such a

> > d Diop. Sic, l. xiv.c. to. de Idem ibid. c. tt. f Idem ibid.

(A) Aristotle and Polyanus affirm, that Dionysius, likewise a large ship with a body of horse on board, with which making a descent, he plundered the in his expedition to Etruria, had a hundred galleys, as

a footing, as might enable him to carry it on with a prospect of success. This, by the affiftance of that good fortune, which had always attended him through the different scenes of his life to that time, he easily put in execution. Having fitted out fixty galleys, under colour of clearing the seas of pyrates, he made a descent in Etru-Dionysius ria, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, carrying away, besides plunders a rich the rich moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred temple in Etruria, talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils, and, with this money, set on foot a numerous army. He now wanted nothing but a plaufible pretence to break with the And breaks Carthaginians, for which he was not long at a loss. Observing, that the Carthagi- again with the nian subjects in Sicily were inclined to a revolt, he took as many of them under his Carthaginians, b protection as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the consequence of which was an admission of his troops into their cities. The Carthaginians, being apprifed of this, first remonstrated against such a proceeding, as a manifest infraction of the treaties then subsisting between them, by ministers sent to the tyrant

for that purpose; but this not availing, they declared war against him s.

The people of Carthage, suspecting his design against their state, upon the first notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had strengthened themselves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other necessary measures to secure themselves against the impending storm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was c joined by a strong body of foreign mercenaries they had engaged in their service. To give a greater diversion to the tyrant, they divided their army into two bodies, one of which they fent to Italy, and the other to Sicily; and this obliged Dionysius likewise to divide his forces. The main army however was to act in Sicily, under the command of Mago, who, soon after his arrival, was attacked by Dionysius at a place called Cabala. The encounter was rude and bloody; but at last the Carthaginians And defeats were overthrown, and forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, that was indeed strong them at Cabala by its situation, but destitute of water. In the battle they had ten thousand men in Sicily. killed upon the spot, together with Mago their general, who behaved with great bravery and resolution, and five thousand taken prisoners. The Carthaginians, terd rified by this defeat, and finding themselves blocked up by Dionysius on the hill, where they were like to die of thirst, were forced to sue for a peace. Dionysius answered the embassadors they sent him with great haughtiness, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate Sicily, and to defray all the expences of the war. These hard terms they pretended to comply with; but at the fame time representing, that it was not in their power to deliver

\* Diop. Sic. l. xv. c. 2.

temple of Leucothea, from whence carrying off feventy talents in money, besides other valuable effects, he immediately put to sea again. The same au-thors relate, that, upon his re-imbarquing, he was informed, that the soldiers and seamen had privately conveyed on board the fleet a thousand talents of filver; whereupon he issued out an order, before he landed in Sicily, requiring every person to bring to him half of his treasure, upon pain of death, promiling each of them the other half for his own use, in case of a compliance herewith. When the land-men and mariners brought him in their respective halves, he knew what riches remained still in their possession, and obliged them to refund those likewise(1). Ælian takes notice of this expedition, telling us (2), that Dionysius impiously carried off all the treasures of Apollo and Leucothes, and amongst other valuable moveables a filver table, placed near the statue of Apollo; and that the men who took it out of the temple, at the same time drank, or offered, to the god, the cup of the good Genius; which they did by way of joke or ridicule, that cup or health going round the company amongst the antients, after the conclusion of their meals,

1 2

when the tables were taken away. We must not omit observing, that the learned Perizonius imagines Aristotle's text here to have been corrupted, and thinks it may be corrected by Elian, viz. by inferting Troi (nris a or Troi (nris r instead of Tuppinviav, and this in contradiction to the manuscripts. But we must beg leave to diffent from that great man in this particular; for that this very passage of Ælian is corrupted, he himself allows; nay, so corrupted, that it has embaraffed most, if not all, of those learned men, who have endeavoured to translate and explain that author, particularly Gefner, Scheffer, and Justus Vulteins, none of whom have been able to come at his meaning. Besides, all the manuscripts of Polyanus, an author who did not occur to Perizonius, and who lived within a very few years of Elian, if he was not cotemporary with him, in the passage referred to, which was most certainly taken from Aristotle, have Tuppnviar. This authority is of much greater weight than the testimony of Panjanins, in proof of there having been in antient times a temple facred to Apollo at Trazene; which, we cannot help thinking, is little, if any thing at all, to the purpose.

<sup>(1)</sup> Ariflot. acconom. l. ii. Polyan. firat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 21. (2) Alian, var. hift. l. i. c. 20. 6 Jac. Perizon. com. in loc. Vide & Athen. in deipnosoph. l. xv. sub fin.

But is overthrown at

Cronion.

they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to Carthage. In the mean time they buried Mago, who, at the time of his death, was one of their suffectes, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the present melancholy situation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his son Mago to command the troops in his room h.

Dionysius, much elated with his good success, now looked upon himself as sovereign of all Sicily, not doubting but he should foon be in a capacity of giving laws to all his neighbours. But in this he was greatly mistaken; for the Carthaginians intended nothing less than in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occasion was calculated only to amuse the tyrant, till they had an b opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, in the time of the truce Mago their new general railed and disciplined fresh troops, and improved that short interval allowed him so well, that, at the return of the express sent to Carthage, he took the field with a powerful army. As Mago, though young, had, on many occasions, given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his conduct shewed great impatience to come to blows with the enemy. Observing therefore their ardour, immediately upon the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle not far from Cronion, and intirely defeated him (C), killing fourteen thousand Syracusians on the spot, and among the rest Leptines (D), his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly regretted, even by those who hated the tyrant. In the beginning of the c engagement, Dionysius had the advantage, repulsing those that charged him with great bravery; but when he heard of the death of Leptines, and that the body he commanded was broken and dispersed, he immediately betook himself to slight, and was hotly purfued by the Carthaginians. A dreadful flaughter was made of the runaways in the pursuit; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the rest must all have been cut off to a man, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to escape. This made the Carthaginians ample amends for the blow they received at Cabala, and left them in full possession, not only of their own towns, but also of a good part of the Syracusian territories. Dionysius, with the remains of his shattered army, fled to Syracuse, where he expected soon to be besieged by the victorious enemy. d But the Carthaginian general used his victory with great moderation, and, instead of pursuing the routed enemy, retired to Panormus, whence he sent embassadors to Dionysius, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, viz. that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, fave only that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus, and that part of the territory of Agrigentum adjoining to it, which extended as far as the river Halyeus, and besides pay a thousand talents, to defray the expences of the war. In other respects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to subsist in their sullest extent.

The Carthaginians make an expedition to Italy, in favour of the people of Hippo, who

are their con-

federates:

The Carthaginians make an army in Italy, and restored the inhabitants of Hippo, or, as Strabo calls it, Hipponium, expedition to their city, from whence they had for some time been expelled. This city was very

h Idem ibid. & Polyen. ftrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1. Idem ibid.

(B) Polyanus relates this in a manner something different from Dindorus. He says, that the Carthaginians pretended they had not the power of concluding a peace with Dionysius, without the confent of their admiral; and therefore begged they might be permitted to remove their camp into the neighbourhood of their fleet, which would enable them to comply with the conditions prescribed them. The tyrant granted this request, though against the advice of Leptines; which brought upon him the disaster here mentioned (3).

(C) According to Polyanus, the Carthaginiums had a strong party in the city of Cronion, who were desirous of opening the gates to them. The Carthaginian general, being apprised of this, when the wind savoured his project, set a wood on fire, which grew close by the town, the smook of

which being driven by the wind into the face of the enemy, who lay encamped over-against him, prevented them from discovering any motion he might make. Taking advantage of this, he approached the place, and was admitted by the Cronians in his interest into the town (4).

(D) Frontinus relates, that this Leptines was the author of the following stratagem: he ordered a detachment of his troops to lay waste his own lands, and burn several Syracusan castles and villages in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp in the night-time. The Carthaginian, imagining this to have been done by their own men, sent a strong body of troops out of the camp to support them; but these failing into an ambuscade, which Leptines had laid for them, were intirely deseated, and driven back to their camp with great slaughter (5).

(3) Polyan. strat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 11. (4) Idem, l. v.'c. 10. ex. 5.

(5) Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat.

a antient, as being mentioned by Scylax, and was, according to Strabo, built by the people of Locri. The Romans called it Vibo, Valentia, and Vibo Valentia; but Ptolemy made use of the old name, following herein Scylax and Strabo. If the last author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and wore them in honour of Proserpina, who, according to an antient tradition prevailing amongst the natives, came thither on purpose to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the Carthaginians, who made this expedition purely with a defign to reinstate them in the possession of their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating b them with great kindness, they returned to Africa.

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of the troops from Italy, Carthage had a most terrible calamity to struggle with: the plague broke out afresh there, and swept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This feems to have raged with greater violence than any diffemper the city was ever visited with before; for such vast multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The Africans and Sardi, encouraged by the extreme weakness to which that state The Africans was hereby reduced, attempted to shake off the Carthaginian yoke; but were at and Sirdi relast, not without some essusion of blood, reduced to their obedience. The pestilence bel; but are a we are now speaking of, was of a very singular nature; for panic terrors, and vio-their former e lent fits of frensy, seized on a sudden the heads of those afflicted with it, who fally- obedience. ing fword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. Justin seems to intimate, that the Carthaginians laboured under such a grievous sickness as this several years, with little or no intermission; for it appears from a hint he has given us, that they were

delivered from the plague not long before the death of Dionyfius k.

Towards the beginning of the hundred and third olympiad, Dionysius, assembling a great number of forces, refolved to fall upon the Carthaginian, who were then in a very bad fituation, on account of the ravages the plague had made, and the war with the Africans and Sardi, which had not been long finished. As he had not d the least colour or pretext for such an open violation of treaties, he was obliged to have recourse to a downright falsity, viz. that the Carthaginians made incursione into his dominions. Without putting himself to the trouble therefore of making a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, attended by a navy of three hundred With this formidable force he foon reduced the cities of Selinus and Entella, plundering and laying waste all the adjacent country. Then he made himself master Dionysius of Eryx, and laid fiege to Lilybaum; which, being defended by a numerous garri-takes Eigx son, baffled his efforts in such a manner, that he was obliged to rise from before it. from the Car-Being informed, that the arsenal at Carthage was consumed by fire, he concluded, thaginians; but that this state would find it impossible to equip a fleet, and therefore laid up thirty of fleet surprised. his best galleys in the haven at Eryx, and sent back all the rest to Syracuse. The by them in the Carthaginians, being apprifed how little the tyrant was upon his guard, immediately for of that manned two hundred galleys, and unexpectedly entering the port of Eryx, surprised elly. that part of his fleet laid up there, and carried most of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. Dionyfius did not long furvive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was fucceeded by a fon of the same name in the government of Syracuse 1.

THOUGH Diodorus does not say express, that the Carthaginians, upon the last The Greek lanrupture, sent a body of troops to Sicily, yet Justin gives us some reason to believe, suage is expelrupture, sent a body of troops to Sicily, yet Justin gives us some reason to believe, suage is expelled Carthage, f that they either did, or designed it, and that the commander's name was Hanno. on account of a The same author farther informs us, that Suniator, or Suniates, a person of great treasonable corauthority in the city, bore an implacable hatred to Hanno, and, in order to do him respondence a prejudice, endeavoured to give the enemy intelligence of his motions. This he carried on in it did by writing in Greek to Dionysius; but his letter, wherein he made very free with thaginian and Hanno's character, was intercepted, and he thereupon found guilty of treason by the Dionysius. fenate. This occasioned the passing of a law at Carthage, whereby all the inhabit-

n. 1. & p. 150. n. 7. Cic. pro Planc. c. 40. & ad Attic. iii. ep. 3. Plin. l. iii. c. 5. 1 Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 8.

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ants were forbid learning either to write or speak the Greek language, that they might a be deprived of all means of corresponding with the enemy m.

Orofius miftaken.

We are told by Orofius, that the Carthaginians concluded their first treaty with the Romans in the four hundred and second year of Rome, which was not far from the time we are now speaking of. But this we must by no means give credit to, because it is contradicted by Polybius, an author infinitely superior in point of authority to Orofius, who affirms, that the first treaty the Carthaginians entered into with the Romans happened in the year after the regifuge; and that this was the fecond. And here we cannot forbear expressing our surprize at M. Rollin, who quotes Orosius as affirming this to have been the fecond treaty concluded between the two republics; whereas that author expresly afferts it to have been the first. The articles of this b treaty may be seen in a former part of this work, and therefore we shall not here repeat them. However, it may be proper to observe, that the people of Utica and Tyre, according to Polybius, were comprised in the treaty, and that the Romans were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country, in any part beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. The Carthaginians, being at this time in full possession of Sardinia, and a great part of Africa, thought it consistent with justice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourse betwixt the Romans and these countries. From the treaty here mentioned it farther appears, that both the Romans and Carthaginians applied themselves with great diligence at this time to commerce. Soon after this event, the Romans gained a fignal victory over the Samnites; upon which the c Carthaginians fent to compliment the republic on her success, and made a present of a crown (E) of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to Jupiter Capitelinus, by way of thanksgiving for so glorious an action ". But to return to the affairs of Sicily,

Dionyfius the lecond comes to an accommodation with the Carthagi-

THE prince now upon the throne was of quite a different character from his father. being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising; but this mildness and moderation being rather the effect of a slothful and indolent disposition, than of a wise and judicious understanding, his subjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himself the government of Syracuse, he changed the truce with the Carthaginians into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with that neighbouring state. As Dio- d dorus ascribes this peace to his indolence and sloth, and consequently, in some meafure, feems to upbraid him for it, we have fome reason from hence to believe, that the terms of it were not very advantageous to the Syracusians.

A war com-Dionytius and the Carthaginians on the other.

Some years after, the people of Syracule, being agitated by civil dissensions, were mences between involved in the greatest miseries (F). Dionysius was obliged to quit his throne, and and the Corin- continued an exile for ten years; but at last, the city being rent into parties and thians on the factions upon the death of Dion, he found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. one hand, and His past missortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very savage and brutal. In short, the better fort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, implored the aid of Icetas, who was by descent a Syracusian, and at that time tyrant of the Leontini; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but

"Justin. ubi fup. l. iii. c. 5. Mel. l. ii. c. 4. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 40, &c. "Oros. l. i. ad A. U. C. cdi. M. Rollin in hist. anc. des Carthag. p. 223. à Amsterdam, 1733. Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. Liv. l. vii. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 595. Odod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 2.

(E) This must have been a mere compliment, proceeding from some political motive to us unknown; for it was by no means the interest of the Carthaginians, that the Samnites should be subdued by the Romans. The latter, at this time, began to rival the Carthaginians in trade; whereas the former feem to have been their good and faithful allies; at least it is certain they sometimes supplied them with bodies of auxiliary or mercenary troops, as we shall find towards the close of this section. This passing seems to intimate, that fupiter was a deity well known at Carthage, and that his image there was adorned with a crown of gold, agreeably to what has been before observed of Baal in the Phænician history (6).

(F) It appears from Diodorus, that the Carthaginians were at the bottom of these civil dissensions at Syracuse; for Dionysius had never been dethroned by Dion, had not Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minos, a city in the territory of Agrigentum, supposed to have been built by Minos, given the latter a kind reception there, permitted him to land five thousand arms, and supplied him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse. This was certainly good policy in the Carthaginians, whose in-terest it was to endeavour rending the city of Syracule into as many factions as possible, that the inhabitants might destroy one another, and thereby become a more easy prey to the state of Carthage (7).

a because they had no other resource. Besides, they entertained some hopes of his being both able and willing to protect them, as he was in some respect their countryman, and had an army able to cope with that of Dionysius. The Carthaginians, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themselves absolute masters of Sicily, fitted out a great fleet, and for some time hovered about the coasts of that island, not being at first determined where to make a descent. This so alarmed the Syracusians, that they apprehended themselves upon the brink of ruin, and in this extremity resolved to have recourse to the Corinthians, from whom they were originally descended, and whose assistance had several times extricated them out of great difficulties. The Corinthians, being the most samed of all the Greek nations for their professed aversion to tyranny in every shape, readily granted their request, and gave their embassadors a b most kind reception. Icetas, whose only view was to make himself master of Syraeuse, in the mean time seemed to concur with these measures, though he had actually entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. He was in hopes fome domestic broils or other would prevent the Corinthians from affifting their relations, and then; by his complying with this motion, he doubted not he should win over to his interest those very persons who made it, which would enable him the more easily to accomplish his design. He therefore dispatched deputies himself along with the Syracusian ministers; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the Corintbians from fending any forces into the island, which, according to his last treaty with the Carthaginians, was, after the expulsion of Dionysius, to be divided between him and c them. However, the Corinthians, then enjoying a profound tranquillity, were at leifure to fend a body of troops to Syracuse, which, in a general assembly, it was refolved should be done. As the Syracusians in particular defired they would send them an able and experienced general, they appointed Timoleon, the fon of Timodemus and Demariste, a person of distinguished merit, to take upon him the command of the Syracufian army, in conjunction with their forces, and with these he was to act against Dionysius and the Carthaginians P.

THE Syracusian embassadors were scarce set out for Corinth, when Icetas took off Icetas endeathe mask, and openly joined the Carthaginians, intending, by their assistance, to fuade the Copostess himself of Syracuse, and that under colour of assisting the inhabitants against rinthians from d Dionysius. But being apprehensive, that a body of forces from Corinth, under the sending any conduct of a skilful general, would defeat his measures, he dispatched an express to forces to Syrathe Corintbians, acquainting them, that the Carthaginians, apprifed of their defign, cufe. were waiting to intercept their squadron with a strong sleet; and that their slowness in fending him fuccours had obliged him to call in even the Carthaginians to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any further levies, or exhausting their treasures by great, but useles expences, since he could, with the affistance of his allies the Carthaginians, drive out Dionysius, and restore Syracuse to its antient liberty. The Corintbians, hereby plainly discovering, that the tyrant aspired to the sovereignty of Syracuse, and being justly at that time celee brated for the generous notions they entertained in behalf of liberty, were incenfed to the last degree at such a persidious conduct; and therefore those who had before either opposed the expedition, or been cold and languid in promoting it, now readily concurred with the rest, and all the necessary dispositions were made for Timo-

leon's sudden departure 9.

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Plutarch tells us, that when the troops were ready to embarque, the goddess Pro-Timoleon, enferpina, attended by her mother Ceres, both in travelling habits, appeared to her couraged by sefemale priests in a dream or vision; and that both these deities declared they would veral good fail with Timoleon to Sicily, an island in a peculiar manner facred to them. This greatly omens, sets fail fail with Timoleon to Sicily, an island in a peculiar manner facred to them. This greatly for Sicily. encouraged Timoleon, who, confecrating the best trireme of his squadron to the goddesses, f called it the facred ship of Ceres and Proferpina. The same author likewise relates, that Timoleon going to Delphi, in order to facrifice there to Apollo, and descending into the place where the responses of the oracle were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with crowns and trophies, flipping from among the confecrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly upon his head; which he interpreted as a happy omen, Afollo thereby feeming to crown him with success, and to assure him of a triumph over Icetas and the Carthaginians. He fet fail from Corinth with feven galleys of his own nation, two of Corcyra, and a tenth, which was fent him by the

Leucadians, with only a thousand soldiers on board; a very small force, considering a the enterprize he was going upon. Our author farther informs us, that Timoleon, getting out of port by night, was carried by a prosperous gale into the ocean, and preceded in the night by a flame, resembling those torches that were used in the facred mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina, which conducted him to that part of Italy where he intended to land; and that this being interpreted by his foothfayers as a confirmation of what those two goddesses had before declared, he looked upon it as a fure token of victory. Pursuing his voyage therefore over the Ionian sea with great alacrity, he foon arrived fafe with his small fleet at Metapontum, now Torre di Mare, on the coast of Italy r.

Upon his arri. of Italy, he amuses lectas and the Car. thaginians.

THE first advice he received here was, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and b val on the coast having made himself master of the greatest part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel. At the same time he was informed, that the Carthaginians had, by the treaty with Icetas, engaged themselves to hinder the Corinthian squadron from putting in at any of the Sicilian ports, that being by this means obliged to return home, they might from thence meet with no farther obstruction in dividing the island between them. This gave him great uneafiness; however, he advanced with his small fleet to Rhegium, where he found embassadors from Icelas, who were charged to acquaint him, that, if he thought proper, he might come to Syracuse, and affist him with his advice; and that he should meet with a kind reception there, and even be a partaker of his good fortune, provided he would difmis c his troops; but otherwise the Syracusians, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into the city. These ministers were convoyed to Rhegium by twenty Carthaginian galleys, who had orders to block up the road, and oppose Timoleon, if he offered to approach Syracuse. That general, finding himself unable to force his way, by reason of the superior strength of the enemy, and that, even provided he could land at Syracuse, his handful of troops would not be able to engage those of Icetas, flushed with victory, and supported by a numerous Carthaginian army, was resolved to have recourse to artifice at this critical conjuncture. He therefore demanded a conference with the embaffadors, and the chief commanders of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. He presented to listen to the d proposal offered him; but insisted, that as the Rhegians were Greeks, and common friends to both parties, he ought first to hear what they had to say, and act, if possible, by their advice, that he might, on his return to Corinth, have wherewithal to justify his conduct; alledging further, that the Carthaginians themselves would more scrupuloufly observe the articles of a treaty they had figned before so many witnesses. The Rhegians were privy to the delign, and dreaded nothing more than the confequence of having so formidable a nation in their neighbourhood as the Carthaginians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themfelves folely to the affair in hand. In the mean time the Carthaginians, being amused, e and verily believing, that Timoleon would be persuaded to return home, had not made the least preparation to attack him, in case he should attempt steering his course towards the coast of Sicily.

And lands his Ly a stratagem.

Timoleon, that he might not give the Carthaginians the least room to suspect his forces in Sicily delign, did not offer for a confiderable time to stir out of the assembly, which being met, long speeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, though without coming to a point, on purpose to gain time; nay, Timoleon, farther to prevent any ground for suspicion, frequently made signs, as though he was going to begin a speech in support of the resolution he had seemingly formed. But while the Carthaginian commanders were bufy in the council, nine f Corintbian galleys, according to the orders they had received from Timoleon, fet fail, and passed in sight of the Carthaginian sleet, unable at that time to act, by reason of the absence of its captains, and moreover believing, that their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who, it was supposed, were then in the city. When Timoleon was privately informed, that his galleys were at fea, by the affistance of the Rhegians about his chair, he slipped through the crowd, and making to the galley that was left, embarqued, and rejoined the rest of his squadron. The Carthaginians, being thus deluded, were extremely chagrined, making bitter coma plaints of the Rhegian perfidiousness and fraud. The Rhegians, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to see the Carthaginians overcome at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them thereupon. The affembly not having broken up till it was dark, the Carthaginians could not come up with Timoleon, so far was he got before them, though they gave him chace for some time. He arrived therefore sate with his whole fleet at Taurominium s.

THE Carthaginian general, apprifed of Timoleon's landing at Taurominium, di- The Carthagi spatched an express on board one of his galleys thither, threatening Andromachus, nians threaten tyrant of that city, with his resentment, if he did not immediately drive away the with their re Corintbians from thence. The form of the menace, according to Plutarch, was this: sentment, if he b The barbarian, stretching out his hand with the inside upward, and then turning it continued to down again, threatened to turn the city topfy-turvy just so, in as little time, and harbour Tiwith as much ease. Andromachus, laughing, made no other reply to this insolence, than by repeating the same motion with an air of contempt, and ordering him to be gone immediately, upon pain of having that trial of dexterity exercised first upon the vessel which brought him thither. This single circumstance, slight as it is, seems clearly to point out the Carthaginian original, such kind of insolent denunciations having been common in the east, as may be learned from scripture, to omit what

may be collected on this head from profane authors.

Icetas no sooner received intelligence of Timoleon's arrival in Sicily, than he was Timoleon dec thrown into a great consternation, and defired the Carthaginians to send a squadron feats Icetas as of galleys with all possible expedition to guard the coasts. Soon after, he put the Adranum. Carthaginian fleet, confifting of an hundred and fifty galleys, in possession of the harbour of Syracuse, and dispatched an express to Mago, the Carthaginian general, pressing him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time Timoleon, drawing his forces out of Taurominium, which in the whole did not amount to above a thousand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the dusk of the evening, and arrived the next day at Adranum, a place to which Icetas had advanced a little before at the head of a Carthaginian detachment of five thousand These he surprised at supper, and therefore meeting with but a faint resistd ance, easily made himself master of their camp, putting three hundred of them to the sword, and taking six hundred prisoners. In order to follow his blow, and Arike the greater terror into the enemy, he flew like lightning to Syracuse, and even broke into one part of the town, before any thing of his march was known. Here he immediately took post with his troops, and defended himself with that intrepid resolution, that the whole united power of Icetas and the Carthaginians found it imposfible to diflodge him ".

THE Carthaginians, being informed, some time before this war broke out, that The situation the whole island of Sicily was soon like to be in a slame, greatly caressed all those of affairs in sities with whom they were in alliance to which many other neighbouring states Sicily, when cities with whom they were in alliance, to which many other neighbouring states Timoleon e were invited to accede, particularly Icetas, tyrant of the Leontini, the Syracufian broke into Sygeneral, with whom a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, as above-men-racuse. tioned. In order therefore to make good their engagements, and support their confederates, especially Icetas, they raised a great number of forces both by sea and land, and transported them to Sicily, under the command of Hanno their general. Upon a general muster here, the army was found to consist of fifty thousand men, and three hundred chariots. These were attended with two thousand carriages drawn by two horses a-piece, an immense quantity of provisions, besides a prodigious number of arms, engines of battery, and all forts of warlike stores. The sleet, destined to concur with these land-forces in the operations of the campaign, was composed of f an hundred and fifty long ships or galleys, as related above. Hanno, with his forces, moved first towards Entella; which city he caused to be blocked up, having before ravaged and destroyed the country all round it. The Campanians however, then in garrison, found means to notify their distress to the neighbouring cities, and to defire their affistance; but none of them durst stir, except Galeria, which fent them a reinforcement of a thousand men, who, being intercepted by the Carthaginians, were all cut to pieces. The Campanians indeed, who inhabited Ætna, seemed at first, on account of their confanguinity, disposed to assist them; but receiving advice of the terrible fate the Galerians had met with, they judged it more convenient to lie still. In the

PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid.

\* 1 King. xx. 10. & alib. paff.

" PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup.

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mean time Icetas, moving from Leontium with his army, encamped at Olympus, for- a tifying his camp with a trench and a parapet, that he might be the better enabled to receive Dionysius, in case he should think proper to attack him. Provisions failing him, he was obliged to return to Leontium for a fresh supply. This Dionysius interpreting as a flight, fell directly upon his rear; which brought on a general engagement. But, after a sharp conslict, Icelas routed him, killing three thousand of his men upon the spot, and pursuing the rest with so much ardour, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town of Syracuse; by which means he possessed himself of the whole city, except the island on which the citadel stood. This was the situation of affairs in Syracuse, when Timoleon broke into the city, and gave Icetas the deseat above-mentioned w.

The Sicilians at

BEFORE the action at Adranum, the Sicilians in general were so far from being first not disposed disposed to join Timoleon, that they were prejudiced against him as a foreign commander; which was chiefly owing to the calamities they had formerly suffered by the treachery of Calippus an Albenian, and Pharax a Lacedæmonian general; for these persons, under the specious pretext of delivering them from tyranny, had treated them in a more rigorous and oppressive manner than the worst and most despotic of their own tyrants. The people of Adranum only were divided in their fentiments, fome preferring the Carthaginians and Icetas, and others the Corintbians. Hence it came to pass, that both parties were folicited for succours by their respective confederates; and both fides accordingly advancing to the relief of their friends much c about the fame time, engaged in the manner above related. The Corinthians, being victorious, intirely through the valour and conduct of Timoleon, according to Plutarch, were received with open arms by the people of Adranum, and, after their example, other cities opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined him with all their forces. In the mean time Dionysius, as we have already observed, possessed the island of Ortygia, Icetas Neapolis and Acradina, Timoleon all the rest of the city, and the Carthaginians the port, having moreover their army encamped at a small distance from the town. This deplorable fituation threw Timoleon into great perplexities, so that he was at a loss what course to take. Whilst he remained in a state of suspense, he was reinforced by a body of the Adranita and Tynderita; Marcus or Mamercus d also, prince of Catana, an able warrior, and master of an immense treasure, advanced at the head of a powerful army to his relief. Upon such an unexpected flow of success, many forts and castles surrendered to him; and lastly, to crown all, he received advice, that the Corinthians had fent him a farther supply of soldiers on board ten galleys, which were happily arrived at Thurium, together with money to pay all their troops at Syracuse x.

Dionylius furrenders the

Dionysius, seeing himself besieged on all sides, without any hopes of relief, sent prirenders the vately embassadors to Timoleon, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer cuse to Timo. defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. Timoleon, immediately closing with so advantageous an offer, readily agreed to what the e tyrant defired, and detached Euclid and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. As the Carthaginians had a strong guard upon the haven, and consequently were masters of that part of the town adjoining to it, where *Icetas* was posted, the *Corinthians* could not march in a body to the citadel, and therefore they entered it in small parties. Dionysius received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike stores and provifions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with a vast number of horses, darts, military engines, all the old magazine, containing feventy thousand complete suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which Timoleon incorporated among his own. After this, Dionysius was fent to Corinth by Timoleon in a single galley, with- f out any convoy, where he arrived fafe, notwithstanding the Carthaginians, being apprised of his departure, had laid several vessels in wait for him. The Carthaginians were so disheartened at these missortunes, coming as it were one upon the neck of another, (for Plutarch tells us they happened all in the space of fifty days) that they did not offer to make the least movement, either with their fleet or land-forces, tho' the latter were above ten times as numerous as the Corintbians y.

According to Diodorus, the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians was figned this year, which was the first of the hundred and ninth olympiad. As

a this corresponded with the four hundred and fourth or four hundred and fifth year of Rome, (if, with Fabius Pictor, we place the foundation of that city in the first year of the eighth olympiad) it is not improbable, that Orofius, in the passage abovecited, followed Diodorus Siculus. But neither of them, in the point before us, deserves any consideration; for the we do not pretend to deny, that there might have been a treaty concluded this year between the two republics aforefaid, yet, that it was the first, we can by no means allow; fince Polybius, who undoubtedly consulted both the Roman and Carthaginian archives, does not only affure us, that they entered into a treaty above an hundred and fixty years before this time, but likewife gives us the express words of that treaty. His authority therefore, in this case, as well as in b all others relating to the Roman and Carthaginian affairs, as interwoven, must be looked upon as incontestable 2.

But to return to the Carthaginian transactions in Sicily: Towards the conclusion of The Corinthis, and the beginning of the following year, the Carthaginian forces, that were to thian garrifon in the citadel act in favour of Icctas, received a strong reinforcement, and Mago was appointed to defends itself command them. Upon the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas laid siege to the citadel of against the Syracuse, which was desended only by sour hundred Corinthians, left there by Timoleon, united sorces of under the conduct of one Leon, an experienced and brave officer. Timoleon, who Carthaginians. had withdrawn to Catana, fent the garrifon frequent supplies of provisions; but they were for the most part intercepted by Icetas, who kept the place closely blocked up c on all fides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, Timoleon found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. This he did by the affistance of small fisher-boats and skiffs, which got a passage through the Carthaginian sleet in the most tempestuous weather, sliding over the waves and billows up to the citadel, when the enemy's galleys were either beat one against another, or dispersed by the violence of the wind. Whilst these things happened, Icetas formed a defign to affaffinate Timoleon at Adranum, to which place he had for a fhort time retired, and employed two foreigners, probably Carthaginians, for that purpose; but they were prevented from executing their execrable design in a very providential manner, a full and minute account of which remarkd able event may be seen in Plutarch. Timoleon, after his escape, returned to Catana, and continued supplying his troops in the citadel with provisions, as often as an opportunity offered. The besieged were however greatly satigued, by being obliged to be continually under arms, in order to repel the enemy's assaults, which were frequent and vigorous, and to repair the breaches made by their battering engines. Nevertheless they defended themselves with incredible bravery, and, having their

renowned general himself so near at hand, despised all the efforts of the enemy a. Icetas, being much chagrined at his late difappointment, and finding his foldiers Icetas introdesert in great numbers to the enemy, dispatched an express to Mago, the Carthagi-duces the Carnian general, desiring him to advance with his troops to the gates of the city. As armyinto Syrae soon as he arrived, Icetas, without any scruple, admitted him at the head of the whole cuse. Punic army, confisting of fixty thousand men, into the town; which was a point the Carthaginians, in all their struggles with the Siculo-Greeks, could never gain before. As Mago's fleet of an hundred and fifty sail at the same time rode in the harbour, the city feemed to be intirely in the enemy's hands. Timoleon, being informed of this, kept his troops together, but for the present remained at Catana, that he might be at hand to encourage and fuccour the Corintbian troops in the citadel; which he did so effectually, by continuing to supply them with corn and other provisions, in the manner above related, as well as by giving them hopes of obliging the enemy to raise the siege, that they were not under the least apprehension for the safety of the place 5.

Mago and Icetas, finding it impossible to reduce the citadel, as long as Timoleon The Corinthian was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in Syracuse, and with garrison in the the rest either drive Timoleon from Catana, or block him up in that city. Tho' they sally take knew his forces were very inconsiderable in comparison of those with which they Acradina. intended to attack him, yet, having a great opinion of the abilities of that general, they picked out the very flower of their troops on this occasion. They were scarce gone, when Leon, who commanded in the citadel, observing, that those who were left to continue the fiege were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dior. Sic. ubi sup. Oros. l. iv. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, 246, &c. edit. Gronov. b Idem ibid.

a great number of them, put the rest to slight, and having possessed himself of the a quarter of the city called Acradina, fortified it, and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. As Acradina was the best and most opulent part of Syracuje, confisting, as it were, of several towns united, Leon found vast sums of ready money, and great plenty of provisions, in it; which, at that time, were of fignal service to him. A courier was immediately fent away with this melancholy news to Mago and Icetas, who, upon receiving it, returned in great hafte to Syracuse, though they were then but a small distance from Catana; but could not, upon their arrival, dislodge the enemy from the post they had gained. In the mean time a supply of two surply of troops thousand foot and two hundred horse from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having been from Corinth; detained a confiderable time at Thurium by tempestuous weather, and found means b to elude the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron under Hanno, posted to intercept That commander, not imagining the Corinthians would attempt a paffage to Sicily in such a stormy season, lest his station at Thurium, and, ordering his seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and adorn their vessels with bucklers of both the Greek and Carthaginian form, failed to Syracuse in a triumphant manner, where he gave the troops in the citadel to understand, that he had taken the succours Timoleon expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them to a surrender. But whilst he spent his time in such trisling amusements, the Corintbians marched with great expedition through the territories of the Brutii to Rhegium, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were easily wasted over to Sicily. This capital error in Hanno e proved the total ruin of Icetas, and, in its consequences, was of infinite prejudice to the Carthaginians c.

And reduces Mcsana.

Timoleon, greatly animated by this new reinforcement, marched against Messana, which he foon made himself master of, and then advanced in good order to Syracuse. Mago was feized with a panic upon the news of his approach, infomuch that he feemed only to want a pretence to quit the island, tho' the new Corintbian succours, in conjunction with all Timoleon's other troops, did not form a corps of above four thousand men. Soon after, some of Icetas and Timoleon's Greek mercenaries mixing together in conversation, whilst they were fishing for eels in the marshes about Syracuje, one of the Corinthian party addressed himself to those of the other side in the d following terms: " Is it possible for Greeks to attempt reducing so noble a city as "this to the obedience of barbarians, nay, of the most cruel and bloody barbarians " breathing? Is it not much more for their interest, that the Carthaginians should " be removed at the greatest distance from Greece, than that they should be put into of possession of a most rich and fertile island in its neighbourhood? Can any person be fo stupid as to imagine, that they have drawn their forces from the streights of Her-" cules, and the Atlantic ocean, purely to support Icetas, who, if he had acted like an " able general, would never have introduced his country's implacable enemies into its bowels? Was it politic conduct in him to treat his ancestors and natural friends, as the bitterest enemies, which had he not done, he might have enjoyed e "his high dignity, without giving the least offence to Timoleon and the Corintbians?" These discourses being spread through the whole camp, and even reaching Mago's ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary Greeks, he pretended to be afraid of a general defection of his troops; and therefore, without hearkening to the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, who plainly demonstrated to him the weakness of the enemy, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily. No other reason can be assigned for this unaccountable conduct, but the timorous disposition of that general, who, conscious of his guilt, on his arrival at Carthage, laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment his cowardice deserved. His body was hung upon a gallows or cross, and exposed f as a public spectacle to the people, in order to deter succeeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and facrificing their country, in so flagrant a manner. Perhaps a more dastardly action is not to be met with in the whole course of history d.

He takes by form that part
of Syracule possessed by Icetas.

THE next day, Timoleon appeared before the city with his army drawn up in order of battle; when being informed of Mago's precipitate flight, and feeing the haven quite clear of Carthaginian vessels, he was most agreeably surprised, but could scarce believe his own eyes and ears. He could not forbear ridiculing the cowardice of Mago on this occasion, and therefore, in a pleasant humour, by proclamation,

a offered a great reward to any person who could bring him intelligence into what corner of the world the Carthaginian squadron was retired, to make its escape from his formidable sleet. Icetas being determined to defend that part of the town in which he was posted, Timoleon made the necessary dispositions for a general assault. This he divided into three attacks; the first he commanded in person, with a body of chosen troops, against that part of the town situated upon the river Anapus, which was the strongest and most difficult of access; the second he committed to the conduct of Isias, a Corintbian captain, who was to advance from the quarter of Acradina; and the third was to be formed against the post Epipolæ by Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last supply of troops from Corintb. In conformity to b' this plan, the affault was made; and the troops of Icetas being every-where driven from the walls, that part of the city which they held was taken by storm. That Icetas should lose many men in this action, is easy to be believed; but that the Corinthian forces should not have so much as a single man wounded, savours so much of fable and rhodomontade, that Plutarch must excuse us, if we are inclined

to be of a contrary opinion o. Timoleon, after the junction of his forces with those of Mamercus and the cities Timoleon above-mentioned, and the reduction of Syracuse, having left a body of troops to drives several

defend that capital, marched strait to Leontium, Icetas's metropolis, with an inten-tyrants out of tion to believe it. In consequence of this design, he for down before the place. Sicily. tion to besiege it. In consequence of this design, he sat down before the place; c but finding the garrison very numerous, and being repulsed with loss in several attacks that he made, he was obliged to draw off. He next advanced to Engyon, a city that groaned under the tyranny of Leptines, and so terrified the tyrant by his repeated affaults, that he thought proper to capitulate, and was conducted to Peloponnesus. Apollonia, a neighbouring city under the power of Leptines, upon this, applied to Timoleon for his protection, and obtained it, so that this general now began to be looked upon as the scourge of tyrants, and consequently to be in high esteem amongst the Sicilians; but being in great distress for money to satisfy the demands

of his foldiers, he detached a thousand men to make an incursion into the Carthaginian territories. This detachment laying all the enemy's country waste, and pild laging it thoroughly, carried off an immense booty, which they brought to Timoleon, who exposing every thing to public sale, by this means raised a vast sum, and not only paid his army all their past arrears, but likewise advanced them their pay for a considerable time to come. Soon after, he made himself master of Entella, where he put to death fifteen of the citizens, who persisted in their adherence to the Carthaginians, and restored the rest to their liberty. Upon this the Greek cities every-where submitted to him, and were by him restored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewise of the Sicani and Siculi, subject to the Carthaginians, sent embassadors to him, desiring to be admitted among his confederates. Icetas, in the mean time, in conjunction with some Carthaginian auxilie aries, formed the siege of Syracuse. This, in the beginning, he pushed on with vigour; but as Timoleon's garrison behaved with incredible resolution, cutting off a great part of his army by their frequent fallies, and as Timoleon himfelf was now

advancing a second time towards Leontium, he was at last forced to abandon the

Icetas, having thus lost the best part of his troops in this fruitless expedition, marched And reduces back with great precipitation to Leontium, in order to cover that important fortress Leontium. from all attempts of the enemy, who, as he received intelligence, were advancing towards it. In this he was not milinformed; for Timoleon judging it of the highest consequence to his affairs to reduce Icetas, before the Carthaginians returned into the f island, which they threatened to do in a short time, moved directly towards his frontiers, and appeared before Leontium, without giving him time to recruit his shattered troops, and re-establish his affairs. The tyrant, terrified at this sudden approach, and finding himself incapable of resisting an army so animated by success, was glad to come to a composition with the Corintbian general; the terms of which were, that he should renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians; that his forts should all be demolished; and lastly, that the Leontini should be governed by laws of their own, he residing amongst them as a private person. Having thus detached Icetas from the Carthaginian interest, and extirpated tyranny out of the Greek part

of Sicily, he returned to Syracuse, designing to carry the war into the Carthaginian 2 dominions without delay s.

The Carthagitions for carrying on the war with Timoleon.

The senate and people of Carthage, being highly offended at the conduct of their great prepara- and references the last campaign, deprived most of them of their commissions; and refolving to new-model the army, filled the vacant posts with persons of known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in Sicily with all possible vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took besides into their service a numerous body of mercenaries, raised in Spain, Gaul and Liguria. Their naval preparations were in all respects proportioned to those made by land; both which being completed, they fent Asdrubal and Hamiltar, two experienced commanders, over to Sicily with an army of seventy thousand men, two b hundred ships of war, and a thousand transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all forts of provisions. In the mean time Timoleon, having just concluded the war with Icetas, and, by the accession of his troops, considerably reinforced his army, advanced against them with great intrepidity upon the first news of their landing at Lilybaum, though his forces did not amount to above seven thousand effective men. He had, before the arrival of the Carthaginians, detached Dinarchus and Demaretus with a body of choice troops to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they did not only live for a confiderable time at difcretion, but likewise obliged several of their cities to side with the Greeks, and at their departure carried off a vast sum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they c had laid under contribution. By this means Timoleon was enabled to fettle a military cheft, and establish a fund sufficient for the present exigences of the war. The Carthaginian generals had no sooner landed their forces, but they were apprised of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their whole army towards Timoleon, they at last encamped upon the banks of the river Crimesus or Crimessus. The Corinthian commander was by no means tardy in his approaches to their camp; but on his march one of his mercenaries, by name Thracius, a profligate fellow, who had fome time before been concerned in plundering the temple of Apollo at Delphi, cried out, that Timoleon was not in his right senses, otherwise he would never propose with such a handful of men to attack the Car- d thaginian army. He farther urged, that as the general was leading them to inevitable destruction, if he was not distracted, he must certainly have a design to facrifice them, perhaps because he was not able to pay them their arrears. In fine, therefore, he advised them to go and demand their pay at Syracuse, and not think of attending Timoleon in fuch a desperate expedition h

camp.

THE mercenaries, naturally prone to mutiny and sedition, received the harangue his address, pre- of this hot-headed incendiary with applause, and were all of them upon the point of vents a mutiny deserting their standards. But at length Timoleon, by his intreaties, large promises, and from breaking fingular address, brought them back to a sense of their duty, excepting a thousand, who were determined at all events to follow the desperate fortunes of Thracius. After this he wrote to his friends at Syracuse, informing them of what had happened, but e at the same time injoined them to treat the deserters with moderation and humanity, and order the mercenaries their pay. By this means having extinguished all the sparks of sedition, and regained the affection of his troops, he advanced to attack the Carthaginian forces with great ardour and celerity i.

He engages and defeats the Carthaginian

It happened that as he was ascending an eminence to take a view of the enemy's army, he met some mules loaded with parsley, an herb with which the sepulchres of the dead were usually adorned by the antients. This trifling event threw the foldiers into a great panic, as taking it for an omen of very bad fignification. Timoleon, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring that, as the victors at the Istbmian games were crowned with this herb, particularly the Corinthians, it ought f to be esteemed as a symbol of victory, and therefore intreated them to banish all gloomy apprehensions. To remove intirely all impressions of terror from their minds, he made himself a crown of parsley, and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With these round their heads, they approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been sure of a triumph, and thereby inspired the troops with as much resolution as Timoleon had done before the last occurrence happened, by a pathetic speech, wherein he put them in mind of Gelon's signal

a victory over the barbarians with an inconfiderable force, and exhorted them to enable him to follow so great an example. Plutarch, an author not a little tinctured with credulity and superstition, adds, that the soothsayers discovered two eagles slying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial fort of noise (A). These they shewed to the soldiers, and interpreted them as a token of certain fuccess, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auspicious day. Timoleon therefore, taking advantage of their present disposition, and of the confusion the Carthaginians were in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the Crimefus, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the b river, were defeated and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assist-Great numbers of the enemy perished in this first action; for Timoleon himfelf being at the head of the particular body of troops engaged, they performed But in the mean time the whole Carthaginian army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful. Sicilian horse, under the conduct of Demaretus, charged the enemy in front, before they could form themselves; but could make no impression, the armed chariots (B)

(A) Plutarch says, that just before the beginning of the engagement there ascended so thick a fog out of the river, that neither the enemy's camp, nor any part of the plain, nor even the river itself, was visible, the Greeks only hearing a confused noise of a vast multitude advancing towards them. But the sun-beams at length dissipating the vapours, they observed the Carthaginian army approaching them in the following order: First, the armed chariots, which appeared very terrible; secondly, a body of ten thousand infantry, with white targets on their arms, whom, from the brightness of their armour, and their flow regular march, they took to be native Carthaginians; and lastly, the gross of their army, composed of different nations, who followed the rest in such a disorderly manner, as gave Timoleon great encouragement to attack them. By this it feems to appear, that the national troops in the Carthaginian armies were distinguished in a particular manner from the mercenaries, as well as those of the provinces subject to Carthage (1).

(B) The custom of fighting in armed chariots was undoubtedly of great antiquity. That it prevailed amongst the Greeks, Phrygians, and neighbouring nations, at the time of the Trojan war, is evident from Homer. Herodotus affures us, that the Greeks learned this method of fighting from the Libyans or Africans; and Xenophon intimates, that it was particularly in use amongst the people of Cyrenaica. In the earliest ages the Medes, Syrians, Arabs, &cc. fought in chariots, but especially the Libyans and Ethiopians, as we are informed by scripture. The sacred writings farther speak of two sorts of chariots, one for princes and generals to ride in, the other designed to break the enemies battalions, by being let loose against them. These last were armed with iron, which made terrible havock in the troops that opposed them (2).

The most antient chariots of war mentioned in history are Pharaoh's, which were overwhelmed in the Red sea. The Canaanites, to whom Joshua gave battle at the waters of Merom, had cavalry, and a multitude of chariots; Sifera, Jabin the king of Hazor's general, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army; the tribe of Judah could not take poffession of all the lands allotted to them, because some of the antient inhabitants were strong in chariots of iron; the Philistines, in the war carried on by them against Saul, had thirty thousand chariots, and fix thousand horsemen; David, having taken a thoufand chariots of war from Hadadezer, king of Syria, ham-strung the horses, and burnt nine hundred chariots, referving only an hundred to himself. These, with many more passages, that might be produced, plainly evince, that armed chariots were used amongst the Phænicians, Syrians, and Egyptians, in very remote

Erectheus or Erichthonius, king of Attica, is faid first to have introduced these armed (4) chariots into Greece, though he, in all probability, received them from the Barbarians, amongst whom they were in use long before his time, as is intimated by Eusebius. At the Trojan war the Greek chariots had for the most part only a pair of horses, to which however fometimes a third was added, called by Homer παρήορ , which was tied to them in a more lax manner, according to Eustathius. Dionysius of Halicarnassus fays, that in his time this fort of chariots was used among the Romans, but left off by the Greeks. Sometimes also the most antient Greeks had two pair of horses to their warlike chariots, as may be inferred from *Homer*. The drivers were frequently persons of the highest distinction, as *Pandarus* the son of *Lycaon*, and *Hestor* the son of *Priamus*. The person armed in the chariot directed the charioteer which way to drive, and was likewise frequently a person of prime quality, as Æneas, Nestor, and one of Priamus's sons. He generally leaped out of the chariot to engage his enemy, as Paris, Agamemnon, Hercules, and Cygnus, &cc. did. Princes and generals had their chariots adorned with gold and filver, and much curious workmanship, as that of Rhesus in Homer, and even fometimes covered with plates of gold and tin, as that of Diomedes in the same author. The kings of Persia were forbidden by the royal law fo much as to touch the bridles or reins of horfes fastened to a chariot, it being looked upon as inconfistent with the high dignity they enjoyed (5).

The Rhodians consecrated horses and chariots to

the fun annually, in conformity to the practice of their Phænician ancestors, as we learn from Festus; and Pausanias, Heliodorus and Strabo affure us, that the Spartans, Massageta, and Ethiopians antiently did the same thing. The scripture observes, that some of the kings of Judah preceding Josah did offer chariots to the sun; which superstitious custom was in imitation of the pagan nations, principally of the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Plutarch. ubi sup. (2) Hom. in Il. & Odys. pass. Herodot in Melpom. Xenoph. in Cyropad. l. 6. 2 Chron. xvi. 8. Calmet in diff. bibl. (3) Exod. xiv. 7, 10, 17, &c. Josh. xi. 4. Jud. iv. 3. Jud. i. 19. 1 Sam. xiii. 15. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. 2 Sam. viii. 4. (4) Euseb. in chron. p. 99. & Erasm. Vinding. in Hel. apud Gronov. in these. ant. Grav. s. xi. p. 188. (5) Hom. Il. 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16. & alib. pass. Dodys. 13. & alib. pass. Everard. Frithius in antiquit. Homer. l. iv. c. 11. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Hessod. in Scut. Herc. &c.

posted there keeping them at a distance, and pushing them with such vigour, that a they found it difficult to maintain their ranks. Timoleon, observing this, ordered them instantly to wheel about, and attack the enemy in flank, whilst with the foot he formed a fort of phalanx, joining man to man, and shield to shield, by which the van being rendered firm, he bore down with great fury upon the Carthaginians. These sustained the shock of the Sicilian foot with great intrepidity, and repelling the enemies javelins with their iron and brazen armour, foon came to a close engagement. The Carthaginians had now apparently the advantage, because in such actions as these thrength contributes as much to victory as discipline and military skill. But whilst the enemy were fighting with great courage in this manner, and endeavouring to hem in and furround on all fides Timoleon's small army, there arose on a sudden b a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which beating on the faces of the Carthaginians, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any longer. At the same time the Crimesus overflowing its banks, occafioned such an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embarassed by it, which heightened their consternation and confusion, and forced them to retire in disorder. The Greeks then, encouraging one another with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigoroufly, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them The facred cohort or brigade, as the Carthaginians called it, which were drowned. confisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of Carthage, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they c were all cut off to a man. Plutarch relates, that, of ten thousand men who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thousand were native Carthaginians of

Persians, as father Calmet thinks, who had horses and chariots consecrated in honour of that luminary. The reason the Rhodians gave for throwing a chariot every year into the sea, in honour of the sun, was, because they believed, that every day he travelled round the earth riding in a chariot (6).

The description of the scythed chariots, mentioned in the Maccabees, as the antients have given it us, is as follows. The beam to which the horses were fastened, was armed with pikes having iron points to them, which projected forward; the yokes of the horses had likewise two long points of three cubits. To the axle-tree also were fixed iron spits, armed at their extremities with fcythes; between the spokes of the wheels were placed javelins, and the very felloes of the wheels were furnished with fcythes, which tore every thing they met with in pieces. The axle-tree was longer than usual, and the wheels stronger, that they might be able to resist the shock of the motion, and the chariot be less subject to overturn. The driver's seat was a kind of little tower made of very folid wood, and raifed breast-high. The charioteer was armed all over, and covered with iron. Sometimes several men well armed were put in the chariots, who fought with darts and arrows (7).

Such chariots as these the Romans sound amongst the antient inhabitants of this island when they first landed here, which very much galled them in their engagements with that people. They were likewise common in the neighbouring parts of Gaul, which is a plain proof, that both these countries were known to the antient Phænicians, except it be admitted, that these machines were invented before the progenitors of the Gauls and Britons sirst came out of Asia. Diodorus affirms, that the military chariots of these remote nations were of the same kind with those used by the antient Greek heroes at the siege of Troy. It appears from different authors, that the Britons had several sorts of chariots, viz. the benna, the carrus or carrum, the covinus, the esseum, and the rheda, all of which, from their

names, appear to have been of Phoenician extraction. The effeda seem to have been of the same kind as the Carthaginian armed chariots, from the description Cafar gives us of them; for he tells us, that the charioteers drove through every part of the armies engaged, and threw their darts upon the enemy; that, with the terrible appearance of their horses, and the noise of their wheels, they usually broke the enemies ranks; that, when they had intermixed themselves with the cavalry, the armed men in the chariots flung themselves out, and fought on foot; and, that the drivers in the mean time retiring out of the battle, posted themselves in such a manner, that, if their party was overpowered, they might enable them to make good their retreat. For a full account of their incredible dexterity and agility on these occasions, as well as their particular manner of engaging, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Cafar and Dio, or to a future part of this history, to which it will more properly belong (8).

According to father Calmet, it does not appear, that the Hebrew kings ever made use of chariots in war. For though the scripture says, Solomon had fourteen hundred chariots, it does not appear, that they were ever employed by him in any military expedition. Perhaps, as the territories of these princes were very mountainous, chariots, being only fit for the plains, could not be of any great use there. This seems to be confirmed by an observation in scripture, vix. that the tribe of fudah could not disposses the ancient inhabitants of the valleys in their district, because they had chariots of iron. The Carehaginians, who were descended from the old Phoenicians or Canaanites, imitated their ancessors in this particular. They generally posted their chariots in front, and intermixed them with the horse, that when the former had made an impression upon any part of the enemies troops, the latter might be able to charge with the greater vigour, and cut off all those who were put into disorder and confusion (9).

(6) Fest. voce October. Pausan. in Laconic. Strab. l. xi. Heliodor. in Æthiopic. l. x. Vid. & Dan. Clafenium in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 11. (7) 2 Macc. xiii. 2. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. D. Curt. l. iv. Kenoph. Cyropad. l. 6. (8) Cas. de bel. Gal. l. iv. Dio Cass. l. xii. p. 706. in Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov. 1606. Diod. Sic. l. iv. p. 209. (9) 1 Kings x. 26. Jud. i. 19. Christ. Hendr. in republ. Carthag. l. ii. c. 2. p. 515, 516.

a the best families in Carthage, and that, according to the Punic records, such a number of persons of distinction never fell in any battle before, the Carthaginian armies being for the most part made up of Africans, Spaniards, Numidians, &c. so that when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expence of other nations. Besides the slain, there were above fifteen thousand taken prisoners; all their baggage and provisions, with two hundred chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thoufand shields, fell into Timoleon's hands, and were either sent to Corinth, and there dedicated to Neptune, or hung up in the temples of Syracuse. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to Plutarch, so immense, that the whole Sicilian army was three days in colb lecting it, and stripping the slain. In fine, after Timoleon's troops had passed the river, and taken possession of the enemy's camp, they found there such an incredible quantity of gold and filver in different forms, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded; for the commander in chief divided the whole among the foldiers, referving nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory. It must not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh day of the month Thargelion, which was Timoleon's birth-day, nor that all the other engagements of note he was concerned in, if Cornelius Nepos may be credited, happened on the same day. The wonderful success it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of superstition; for, next to the violent storm above mentioned, this e unparallelled victory was owing to the happy turn Timoleon gave to a frivolous accident confidered as a fatal omen. This certainly shewed him to have been a man of genius, and perfectly well acquainted with the dispositions of his countrymen, as well as with the general bent of mankind at that time; and Polyanus takes notice of it as an instance of the great military capacity of that general k.

THE news of fo fignal a victory obtained over the professed enemies of the Greek Which occasions name, could not but be highly agreeable to the people both at Corinth and Syracuse, great joy at Corinth and especially at it was like to be attended with such happy consequences. The Corin-Syracuse, thians adorned their temples with the Carthaginian spoils, which they hung up there with inscriptions upon them, importing, that the people of Corinth, and Timoleon d their general, offered them to the gods as an acknowledgment for their having made them the instruments of delivering Sicily from Carthaginian servitude. Timeleon having left his mercenaries upon the enemy's frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole country, returned to Syracuse with the rest of his army, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. 'Tis worthy observation, that all the punishment he inflicted upon the thousand mercenaries, who were accomplices of Thracius, for their infamous desertion above-mentioned, was only banishment

from Syracuse; however, he ordered them all to be gone before fun-set 1.

Icetas, according to Plutarch, after this, being tired with his private station, shewed Icetas conan inclination to reinstate himself, if possible, in his dominions; and in order thereto, cludes another e found means, in conjunction with Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, to strike up another Carthaginians, treaty with the Carthaginians. In consequence of this fresh alliance, that nation equipped a fleet of seventy sail, and took a strong body of Greeks, of whose valour they had now a great opinion, for the first time, into their service, intending to try their fortune once more in Sicily. Gisco, the brother of Hanno, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from banishment to command the troops destined for the new expedition. This news soon reaching Sicily, occasioned fresh commotions there. The inhabitants of Messana, entering into an affociation against Timoleon, put four hundred of his men, left as a garrison in that place, to the sword; a detachment of mercenaries under the command of Euthymus the Leucadian, being f drawn into an ambuscade by the Carthaginian troops at Hiera, were all cut off to a man; and whilst Timoleon was on his march to Calauria, Icetas, being reinforced by a Carthaginian party, made an incursion into the territories of Syracuse, carrying off a confiderable booty, and, in contempt of Timoleon, passed by Calauria itself, the place where that general was then posted. However, he pursued the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with some of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. This Icetas perceiving, passed the river Damyrias with some pre-

<sup>\*</sup> PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup. Corn. Nep. in vit. Timol. c. 5. ed. August. Van Staveren, Lugd. Bat. 734. Vid. & Bosium in loc. Polykn strat. l.v. c. 12. ex. 1. Dion. Petav. ration. temp. p. 1. l. iii. 10. ed. Par. 1641. 

PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup. c. 10. ed. Par. 1641.

And is overthrony by Timolcon.

cipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other fide, put himself into a posture a to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a dispute arising amongst Timoleon's officers, who could not agree which of them should pass the river first to attack Icetas, the general ordered them to cast lots, upon which every one of them threw a ring into Timoleon's robe, and the first that was taken out, and exposed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a feal upon it. This greatly encouraging the troops, they fell with incredible fury upon Icetas, who not being able to sustain the shock, was put to flight, with the loss of a thousand men killed upon the spot, and pursued to the city of Leontium. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himself, his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own foldiers to Timoleon. The two first were immediately executed, as tyrants and tray- b tors, and the last murdered in cold blood. Icetas's wives and daughters likewise fuffered death, after a public trial. Plutarch blames Timoleon (C) for not preventing this last execution, which, he infinuates, that general might have done, had he interposed in the affair, and censures it as the only blot in his character; tho' we think his conniving at the murder of Euthymus, a brave man, who was put to the sword by the Corintbian foldiers for speaking with some contempt of them, ought to be looked upon as another of the same kind. After this, he moved with his forces towards Catana; and meeting Mamercus, gave him battle in the plains of the river Abolus. The dispute was for some time warm and bloody; but at last the tyrant was overthrown, his army intirely dispersed, and above two thousand men left dead upon c the field of battle. As the greatest part of these last were auxiliaries sent to Mamercus by Gifco, the Carthaginians themselves suffered considerably in this action m.

A peace conthe Carthaginians.

NOTWITHSTANDING the warlike preparations they were making at Carthage eluded between for the invalion of Sicily, the senate had sent embassadors to Timoleon to attempt Timoleon and striking up a peace with him, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he faw them in a condition to continue the war. The two last blows given their confederates disposed them still more strongly to an accommodation, to which they found Timoleon not averse, as he was apprehensive of fresh troubles from Mamercus and others, against whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly fettled on the following terms: That all the Greek cities should d be set free; that the river Halycus, or, as Diodorus and Pluarch both call it, the Lycus, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse, or its dependences, with their families and effects; and lastly, that Car-

## m Iidem ibid.

(C) We have already observed, that Timaus Siculus exalted Timoleon to a superiority above the highest divinities, and that he was greatly censured for this by Suidas. The last author's words are to this effect: " If Callisthenes descreedly suffered death "for deligning to deify Alexander, a prince infi-initely more illustrious than Timoleon, what did "Timeus deserve? Gre." This passage seems to contradict most, if not all, of those writers who have given us any account of Alexander's atchievments, viz. Justin, Q. Curtius, Plutarch, &c. who represent Callishenes as inflexibly determined not to deity Alexander, nor even to allow him that kind of adoration which the Persians paid their king, when many of his fycophants, particularly Anaxarchus, would have made him that high compliment. Nay, these writers seem unanimously to agree, that he lost Alexander's favour by his obstinacy in this particular, and even at last was put to death by him. Now, in order to reconcile Suidas with these authors, it must be observed, that Timaus extolled Timoleon in his history; and therefore Suidas must intimate, that Callishenes had an intention to deify Alexander in his bistory of that prince, otherwife the comparison is impertinent and absurd. Admit this, and the passage in Suidas does not at

all clash with what the authors above-mentioned have observed of Callisthenes, because it bears no relation to them as taking notice of that philolopher's refusal to adore Alexander whilst at the head of his army in Asia. Arrian assures us, that Callisthenes, out of a vanity peculiar to himself, declared, that Alexander should in future ages be esteemed as a god from the history he would write of him, and not from those idle stories his mother Olympias imposed upon the world. This comes up to the point, and feems to be what Suidas had particularly in view. As for that author's affirming, that Callisthenes suffered death for his intention to deify Alexander in his history, no more can be meant by it than this, viz. he was put to death by that very prince whom in this history he intended to deity, which was a just punishment inflicted upon him by the gods for his great impiety. That this reconciliation is just, will appear from a perusal of the passages referred to in Suidas and Arrian, as likewise from the drift and scope of Suidas's observation: we cannot therefore help expressing our surprize, that M. Bayle should not have been able to discover the confishency betwixt Saidas and the above-mentioned historians (10).

(10) Suid. in Tipato. Juftin. l. xii. c. 7. D Curt. l. viii. c. 5. Diog. Laert, in Ariftot. Plutarch in Alex. & Arrian. l. iv. p. 165. Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1704.

a thage should not for the future give any assistance to the remaining tyrants against the Syracustans 1.

ABOUT this time one Hanno, who, according to Justin's account of him, was the Hanno endeamost opulent and powerful citizen in Carthage, formed a design of subverting the vours to make constitution there, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accomplish this, at Carthage. he proposed to invite the senators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage; and there, by mixing poison with his wine, to destroy them all, not doubting but such a tragical event would at once make him master of the republic. Though the scheme was carried on with great secrecy, yet it came to be discovered by some of his servants; but his interest in the city was so great, that the govern-b ment did not dare to punish so execrable a crime. The magistrates therefore contented themselves with only preventing it, which they did by passing a law prohibiting too great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on fuch occasions. Hanno, seeing his stratagem deseated, was resolved to have recourse to arms, and for that purpose assembled all his slaves, and fixed upon a day a second time to put his defign in execution. However, he was again discovered; but, to avoid punishment, he retired with twenty thousand armed slaves to a castle, that was very strongly fortified, and from thence applied to the Africans, and the king of the Mauritani, for assistance, but without success. He was asterwards taken prisoner, and carried to Carthage, where being severely whipped, his eyes were put out, his c arms and thighs broken, that punishment might be inflicted on every part; and at last he was executed in the presence of all the people, to deter others from such flagitious attempts; after which his body was hung on a crofs or gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. Plutarch mentions one Hanno as admiral of the Carthaginian fleet in the beginning of the late war between Icetas and Timoleon, who, in all probability, was the very person Justin reprefents as so infatuated with ambition, especially as he was, if that author may be credited, very fond of shew and parade. However this may be, since Justin makes d him cotemporary with the younger Dionysius, and Orosius affirms this conspiracy to have happened in the time of Philip king of Macedon, we think from hence we are

fufficiently authorized to place that event here o. WE must likewise observe here, that Diodorus Siculus places Alexander's reduction Q. Curtius of Tyre in the first year of the 112th olympiad, and Agathocles's descent on Africa in suits of a the third of the 117th; and consequently that Q. Curtius must have been out in his missake. chronology, when he makes these two events to have happened about the same time, as anticipating the latter full twenty-two years by this synchronism. What the last of these authors relates of the arrival of certain Tyrian embassadors at Carthage, to implore the affistance of that potent republic against Alexander, has a greater appearance of truth; fince not only a good understanding, but a most cordial friendship, e always subsisted between Carthage and Tyre, and even at this time most of the inhabitants of the latter were transported to the former of these cities. The extremity to which their countrymen (for fo these two states always called one another) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians in a most sensible manner, though, by reason of some domestic troubles, they were then incapable of sending them any succours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them on this melancholy occasion, and therefore dispatched to Tyre thirty of their principal citizens to express their grief, that the bad situation of their own affairs would not permit them to spare any troops. The Tyrians, though frustrated of their hopes, did not despond, but took all the necessary measures for a vigorous Their wives and children they put on board some vessels, in order to fend them to Carthage; by which being delivered from all apprehensions of danger, with regard to what was the dearest to them of any thing in nature, they were prepared against all events, and thought of nothing but making the most strenuous efforts to repel the enemy. Curtius intimates, that the Carthaginians offered annually a facrifice to the tutelary gods of Tyre, confidering them as their protectors; and that when their embassadors came to Tyre on this occasion, they persuaded the Tyrians to stand it out to the last, promising powerfully to support them. As this very

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<sup>\*</sup> PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid. . Justin. l. xxi. PLUT. & OROS, ubi fup.

historian observes, that the seas at that time were blocked up by the Carthaginian a fleets, and that by the hopes of mighty succours they spirited up the Tyrians to oppose Alexander's whole force, 'tis not very probable, that they should be then engaged in fo dangerous a war as that with Agathocles was, or be reduced to fo deplorable a condition as they must have been in, when that general, after giving them a notable defeat, advanced to the very walls of Carthage. He therefore seems not to be intirely confistent with himself in this particular; for which reason, as well as upon account of Diodorus's superior authority in the point before us, we must be g leave to diffent from him, and look upon the arrival of the Carthaginian embaffadors at Tyre, as coincident with the transactions of the period we are now upon ?.

The Carthagimians fend Ha. micar Rhodasions.

THE Carthaginians, hearing of the reduction of Tyre, and the great progress Alex- b. ander made in the east, began to be under some apprehensions for their own salety, nus to Alexan as fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundless as his ambition. But der, in order to they were much more alarmed, when they received advice, that he had made himdiscover that felf master of Egypt, was advancing towards the west, and had built alexandria prince's intenupon the confines of Egypt and Africa, in order to rival them. They imagined now he might in reality have an intention to unite Africa and Afia under his dominion, and aspire to universal monarchy. They therefore chose one Hamilear, (or, as Gellius intimates, Astrubal) surnamed Rhodanus, to sound the inclinations of that prince, and endeavour to pry into his counsels. Being a person of wonderful address, as well as great eloquence, though at the same time of great subtilty and art, he made it c his utmost endeavour to infinuate himself into Alexander's favour. Having obtained an audience by means of Parmenio, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, banished Carthage, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which being granted, he did his country fignal fervice by communicating many important discoveries relating to Alexander's schemes. The manner of this communication being somewhat singular, we shall give it our readers from Gellius. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epiftle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the custom of that age, without any characters upon it, sent them away as blanks. This the people at Carthage being before apprifed of, decyphered d the contents; which could not have been eafily done by others, had the dispatches been intercepted, because the manner of writing then was upon the wax itself, and confequently the whole must have been looked upon as a blank. We do not find, that Alexander ever discovered the treachery of this Carthaginian, or even entertained the least suspicion of him; which is a further proof of the refined genius of that nation for all works of intrigue. Upon his return home, notwithstanding his eminent services, he was considered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at Carthage, by a fentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful 1.

In the fecond year of the hundred-and-fourteenth Olympiad, Thimbro, after he had affaffinated his friend Harpalus in Crete, failed with a body of mercenaries to e Cyrenaica, and being joined by fome exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the by-ways and passes there, endeavoured to make himself master of that country. Having given the natives a defeat, they were obliged to apply to the Carthaginians, whose dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that state, in point of good policy, could not well resuse them. This we learn from Diodorus; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by Ophellas, and delivered into the hands of Ptolemy, 'tis very probable the Carthaginians were not then at

leisure to assist them.

The Syraculians elect Aga-Schiftratus.

A few years afterwards, Sosistratus, who had usurped the supreme power at Syracuse, having been forced by Agathocles to raise the siege of Rhegium, returned with his shat- f thocies their general against tered troops to Sicily. But soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was obliged to abdicate the sovereignty, and quit Syracuse. With him were expelled above six hundred of the principal citizens, who were suspected by the populace to have formed a design of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in the history of Syracuse. As Sosistratus and the exiles thought themfelves ill treated, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the Syracusians recalling Agathocles, who had before been banished by Sosistratus, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, principally on

P DIOD. Sic. I. xvii. Q. Curt. l.iv. c. 3. 9. Justin, l. xxi. c. 6. Frontin. frat. l.i. c. 2. ex. 3. Aul. Gell. noct. At. l. xvii. c. 9. Onos. l. iv. c. 6. Vid. & Ene. in Poliorcet. c. 31.

a account of the known aversion he bore to that tyrant. The Carthaginians supplying Sosistratus with troops, he immediately affembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himself, and his fix hundred adherents, justice. After the two armies approached one another, feveral marches and counter-marches, and even fome skirmishes happened, each side striving to gain some notable advantage. Agathocles, in all these military movements and falsifications, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy. He frequently contrived some stratagem or other, which turned out much to the advantage of the Syracufians, of which the following was one of the most remarkable r.

THE Syracustan army having encamped near Gela, Agathocles, with a detachment Agathocles b of a thousand men, found an opportunity of entering the city in the dead time of makes an the night; but being instantly charged by Sosistratus with a strong body of troops, surprise Gela, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three hundred men. All the rest now looked but is repuljed. upon themselves as lost, though Agathocles behaved with great intrepidity and resolution. However, having received seven wounds, being ready to faint for loss of blood, and hearing the enemy advancing from all parts to furround him, he ordered his trumpets to found a charge at both parts of the walls. This greatly alarmed the Carthaginians, who now imagined, that another party of the Syracufians had forced their way into the town to relieve their companions. As the darkness of the night did not permit them to discover the truth, they thought proper to put an c end to the pursuit; and dividing their forces, posted away to the places from whence the trumpets founded, in order to defend the walls. In the mean time Agathocles, at the head of his detachment, arrived fafe in his own camp. By this artifice, he not only preserved the seven hundred men that first entered, but seven hundred more that were fent afterwards to his affiftance'.

THIS war did not continue long; for Sosistratus, and the exiles, being foon received Agathocles again into the city, a treaty of peace was concluded between Carthage and Syracuse. Swears to do The Syracusians now finding, that Agathocles began to exercise a sovereign power over Syracuse, to his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed, that he aimed at mo- the prejudice narchy, had recourse anew to Corinth for a general to command their forces. Accord- of the demod ingly one Acestorides was sent them to fill this post, who, upon his arrival, found cracy there. that Syracuse could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity as long as Agathocles was alive; and therefore formed a defign of dispatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner already related in the third volume of this work. But Agathocles by a stratagem eluded that attempt; and making his escape, raised a body of forces in the heart of the island, with which he prepared to attack Syracuse. The Carthaginians being apprised of this, were struck with terror as well as the people of Syra-

cuse; and therefore, at the instigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal consequences of a civil war; however, he was obliged to swear in a solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the e democracy (D).

Notwithstanding the solemn oath he had taken, Agathocles still pursued the But breaks point he had before in view, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens, this oath. at last raised himself to the throne of Syracuse. Not content with this, he proposed makes himself to turn his arms against the other cities of Sicily, having a design to make himself cuse, and conmaster of the whole island. Beginning therefore with Messana, he seized upon a cludes a treaty fort in the territory of that city; and being informed, that the walls were in a rui-with the Metanous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horse to surprise Messana mediation of itself. But missing his aim, he laid siege to the castle of Myla, which surrendered the Carthagito him. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon Messana; but the citizens, knowing nians. f what treatment they were to expect, if the city fell into his hands, defended them-

\* Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 1. Idem ibid. Max. l. vii. c. 4. Univ. hist. vol. iii. p. 81.

DIOD. SIC. ubi fup. Justin. l. xxii. VAL.

(D) It appears from Diodorus and Justin, as this last author's text is emended by Sebifius, that these folemn oaths were usually taken in the temple of Ceres, and that at taking them the persons generally put their hands on the altar of that goddess. Juve-

nal and Virgil illustrate this point to satisfaction. Scheffer, Tanaquil Faber, and Gronovius, agree with Sebisius, but Vorslius differs from him; though the passage this last author produces from Plutarch, equally supports both opinions (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 1. Justin. l. xxii. c. 2. Juvenal. sat. xiv. 238. Virg. En xii. 102. T. Liv. l. xx. Plaut. in rudent. 5, 2, 49. Plut. in Dio. Fid. & Brisson. formul. l. viii.

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felves

selves with great bravery, and repulsed him in several attacks. In the mean time, a the Carthaginians, being applied to, sent embassadors to him, complaining of such a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not caring to draw upon himself the whole power of Carthage, submitted to the terms prescribed him; and in consequence of his peace with the people of Messana, concluded by the mediation of Carthage, he not only drew off his army from before their city, but restored likewise the castle of Mylæ to them. Upon which the Carthaginian embas. sadors, having happily executed their commission, returned back to Africa .

Several Sicihim, but at last make a thagmian ge-

But the restless spirit of Agathocles would not suffer him to be quiet. The cities lian cities enter therefore of Gela, Messana, and Agrigentum, entered into a confederacy against him, into a confeder and fent to the Lacedæmonians for a general, not daring to trust any of their own b principal citizens, as suspecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But observing that Acrotatus, who came from Sparta to command their forces, was peace with him more cruel and bloody than even Agathocles himself, they not only refused to act tion of Hamil- under his conduct, but even attempted to stone him. Hamilear therefore, the Carcar, the Car- thaginian general, judging this a favourable juncture to accommodate matters between Agathocles and the confederated cities, proposed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at last made upon the following conditions: First, that the Carthaginians should remain in possession of Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera; and secondly, that all the other cities dependent on the Syracustans should be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it seems to appear, that the cities above-mentioned were at that c

time greatly in the interest of the Carthaginians w.

Agathorles breaks this treaty, and prepares for a war with Carthage;

Agathocles, finding his subjects disposed to second his ambitious views, shewed as little regard to this last treaty as he had before done to his oath; and therefore, in violation of the second article of it, he first made war on the neighbouring states, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the island. He was attended in these expeditions with extraordinary success, insomuch that in the space of two years he brought intirely under subjection all the Greek part of Sicily. This rapid progress alarmed the Carthaginians, who faw their territories there threatened with the fame fate; especially as the tyrant had strengthened himself by many alliances, and besides a potent army, made up of his own forces, and those of his allies, had a body of d mercenaries, confisting of ten thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, all excellent troops. On the other hand, Agathocles, being sensible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the Carthaginians, and that they were very angry with Hamilcar for being instrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the necessary preparations, not only to put himself into a good posture of defence, but even to act offensively, in case of a war with Carthage. Things being in this fituation, it was morally impossible but that a rupture must soon commence r.

And commits great depredations in the territories of

IT is intimated by Justin, that Agathocles was at first supported by the Carthaginians, or rather by Hamilcar, their general in Sicily; nay, he affures us, that the tyrant effected the massacre above-mentioned by the assistance of five thousand Afrithe Carthagi- cans fent him by Hamilcar. After the reduction of the other parts of Sicily, he made incursions into the Carthaginian territories, and those of their allies, where he committed great depredations, Hamilear not offering to give him the least disturb-This highly incenfed the people of those districts, who looked upon themfelves as betrayed by Hamilcar; and therefore fent letters to Carthage, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct, and Agathocles's tyranny; adding moreover, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with Carthage had been facrificed and delivered up into the tyrant's hands. This greatly exasperated the senate; but as Hamilear was invested with great power in Sicily, they judged it prudent to suspend their resentment till the arrival of Hamilton, the son of s Gisco. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous resolution concerning him; but, for the reason just hinted, did not think proper to declare this openly, but threw all the fuffrages that passed it into an urn, which they sealed up, till the other Hamilear came from Sicily. But the general, being surprised by death, escaped thereby the punishment prepared for him at Carthage; and Hamilear, the son of Gisco, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. This incident hastened the rupture between Agathocles and the Carthaginians y.

Dion. Sic. ubi fup. c. 4. 7 Justin ubi fup.

THE last place that held out against Agathocies was Messana, whither all the He enters into Syracusian exiles had retired. His general Pasiphilus at first marched against it with a second treaty an army; but having before received instructions from Agathocles to act as he should fanians, and think fit for the good of his service, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, infringes it. he cajoled the inhabitants into a treaty. This Agathocles likewise infringed when in possession of the town, cutting off all such as had formerly opposed his government; for as he intended to prosecute the war against Carthage with the utmost vigour, he thought it a point of good policy to deltroy, if possible, all his enemies in Si-

In the mean time the Carthaginians arrived with a fleet of fixty fail at Agrigen- The Carthagib tum, and obliged Agathocles to defift from an attempt upon that place, which a little mans prevent before he had projected. But as they had not brought a sufficient body of land forces, Agrigentum; he ravaged all the adjacent country, plundered the subjects of the Carthaginians, notwith andand took several of their forts by storm. Whilst he was thus employed, another ing which he Carthaginian squadron of fifty ships entered the great harbour of Syracuse, and sunk ravages all the two transports, one of them an Athenian, which were all the vessels then in port. try, and takes The Carthaginians, according to their usual cruelty, cut off the hands of all those several Carthey found on board, though they had not offered them the least injury, it being this mind forts impossible for them to make any resistance. This barbarity was soon retaliated by from. Agathocles upon the Carthaginians; for several of their galleys, having been separated

c from the rest of the fleet upon the coast of Italy, fell into his hands, when he served

all the prisoners taken therein in the same manner .

THE Carthaginians, being informed that Agathocles had pillaged their territories The Carthagiin Sicily, and that his forces grew very numerous upon the frontiers, refolved to nions offenible affemble an army without delay, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they had received army to appose advice, that he had offered battle to a confiderable body of their troops posted upon him, and the hill Ecnomos, who were obliged to decline his challenge, they were determined to encamp near pursue the war with more vigour than they hitherto had done. Having therefore Himera. reinforced the troops intended for the Sicilian expedition with two thousand native Carthaginians, among whom were many persons of quality, a thousand Etruscan d mercenaries, as many slingers from the Balearic islands, and two hundred chariots, they transported them to that island, under the command of Hamilear, as abovementioned, to put a stop to the tyrant's conquests. The sleet, consisting of an hundred and thirty long ships, in the passage was dispersed by a violent storm, in which Hamilear loft fixty ships of war, and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. Many persons of the best families of Carthage were lost by this disafter, which caused a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with black, as usual on such melancholy occasions. Hamilear, notwithstanding his loss, being joined on his arrival by such of the Sicilians as hated Agathocles, found upon a muster, that his army consisted of forty thousand foot, and five thousand e horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of Himera, defigning to come to blows with the enemy as soon as a fair opportunity offered b.

In the mean time Agathocles, finding the Carthaginians much superior to him, Agathocles concluded that many cities would join them, particularly that of Gela. What con- deleated by the firmed him in this opinion was, a blow he had lately received, twenty of his gal-Carthaginians leys, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians. To prevent the inhabitants of Gela from declaring against him, he found means gradually to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thousand of the citizens to the sword, threatening to use all others in the fame manner, who did not immediately produce their treasure. Having thus

\* Diod. Sic. ubi fup. c. 6.

a Idem ibid.

b Diop. Sic. ubi fup. c. 7.

(E) In the midst of these troubles, Dinocrates asfembled a large body of troops, which confifted chiefly of Syracusian and Messanian exiles. Having a great antipathy to Agathocles, he sent a considerable detachment under the command of Nymphodorus. one of his captains, to reduce the city of Centuripe, which was then garrisoned by that tyrant's troops; but Nymphodorus was killed in this attempt, and his men forced to raife the fiege with great

loss. Dinocrates sent to the Carthaginians for affistance in this expedition; but whether or no he received any from them, Diodorus tells us not. However, Agathocles took from hence an occasion of accusing the Centuripians of having formed a conspiracy against him, which gave him an opportunity of cutting off all those whom he suspected to be disaffected to his government (2).

filled his coffers with wealth, and left a strong garrison in the place, he moved with a his forces towards the Carthaginians; and possessing himself of an eminence opposite to the enemy, there encamped. The Carthaginians had posted themselves upon the hill Ecnomos, on which Phalaris's castle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly stood; and Agathocles took post in another of that tyrant's castles, which from him was called Phalerios, upon the opposite height, being separated from Hamilear by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed there, that a great battle should be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vast carnage should be made, neither side for a long time shewed any disposition to begin the attack, both armies having a superstitious dread upon At last a party of Africans, by way of bravado, passed the river, and an- b other of Agathocles's troops, to return the compliment, did the same; and this brought on a general engagement. For the Sicilians, driving off some cattle and beafts of burden belonging to the enemy, were pursued by a Carthaginian detachment, which immediately upon its arrival on the opposite bank, fell into an ambuscade, that Agathocles, forefeeing what would happen, had laid there to intercept it; and not having time to form itself, was easily routed. This first instance of success greatly encouraged Agathocles, who hereupon moving out of his camp, attacked Hamilcar with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he fustained great loss from the slingers of the Balearic islands, who (F) with stones of a large fize broke to pieces the shields and armour of his foldiers, and destroyed c him abundance of men. But at this critical juncture a strong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from Carthage, which intirely changed the face of affairs; for the Sicilians having before made their utmost efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of these succours, and, almost as soon as the enemy rallied, took to their heels, and were so hotly pursued, that all the plains of the Himera were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then excessive, great numbers, that were ready to perish with thirst, drank too copiously of the river-water, which was salt and brackish, and thereby lost their lives. The Carthaginians had sive hundred men killed in this battle, but Agathocles at least seven thousand c.

Upon which the people of Carana, Leontium, Taurominium, Abacœnum, and Messana. submit to them.

AFTER this defeat, Agathocles, collecting the shattered remains of his army, burnt d his camp, and retired with great precipitation to Gela. He had not been there long, before some of his troops, by chicane, deluded three hundred African horse into the place, all of whom to a man he caused to be cut off. The tyrant remained fome time in Gela, that he might draw the enemy thither, and thereby prevent the siege of Syracuse, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harvest. Hamilear, being informed, that Gela was defended by a strong garrison, supplied abundantly with all forts of provisions, and military stores, did not think think fit to make an attempt upon it, but contented himself with reducing the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of that place, all of which furrendered upon the first summons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of Camarina, Catana, Leontium, e and Taurominium, fent embassadors to him to implore his protection; as did soon after those of Messana and Abacanum, though they were before at variance amongst themselves. In such perfect abhorrence did the people over the whole island hold the tyrant and all his adherents d(G). Agathocles, finding the Carthaginian general not disposed immediately to under-

And Agathocles shuts himfelf up within the walls of Syracuse.

take either the siege of Gela or Syracuse, repaired to the latter of these places; and having filled his magazines, reinforced the garrison, and perfected all the works, he shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians

· Idem ibid. & Justin. 1. xxii.

d Diop. Sic. ubi fup.

(F) Diodorus tells us, that all these Balearic slingers had been trained up in the art of slinging from their infancy, and consequently were very expert in that art; that they frequently attacked the enemy with stones of three pounds weight, which did great execution; and that in fine the Carthaginians wrested many victories out of the enemies hands almost intirely by their efforts. Our readers may expect a further account of them from Lycophron, Diodorus,

Vegetius, and others, when we come to the history of Spain (3).

(G) Justin intimates, that there was a second action between Hamilear, the son of Gisco, and Agathoeles, before the Carthaginians laid siege to Syracuse, wherein the latter was totally routed, and obliged to shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis (4).

a followed him, and laid close siege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would foon have put them in possession of the whole island .

THE Carthaginians having cut off a great part of Agathocles's army, stripped him The Carthagiof his confederates, and got all Sicily, except Syracuse, into their hands, the tyrant mans push on now found himself driven to a state of desperation. Being therefore abandoned by that metropohis allies from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, he formed a design of so lis, and Agabold, and, in appearance, so impracticable a nature, that nothing but the success, thocles, with with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking of it. This design was to a body of troops, transfer the war into Africa, and besiege Carthage at a time when he himself was Africa. besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city lest him in Sicily. His project

b he communicated to no person whatsoever, but only told the Syracusians in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chofe the most daring and intrepid among the foldiers and citizens of Syracuse, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horsemen to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. Before his departure he gave free permission to all persons, who were not willing to go through the fatigues of a siege, to (H) retire out of the town, which many of the principal citizens, Justin says sixteen hundred, accepted of; but were scarce got out of the place, when they were cut off by parties posted upon the roads for that purpose. He

- c fet at liberty all the slaves who were able to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, incorporated them among his troops. Having seized upon the estates and effects of those persons who left the city, he raised a considerable sum, which was intended in some measure to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon; however, he carried with him only fifty talents to supply his present wants, well affured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necesfary to his subsistence. His forces being all embarqued, he appointed his brother Antandrus governor of Syracuse in his absence, with forces and provisions sufficient to hold out a long siege; and taking with him his two sons Archagathus and Heraclides, he went on board last himself, where he waited some time for a fair wind. d All people were at a loss to conjecture, what design he was going upon: some ima-
- gined his intention was to fail to the coast of Italy or Sardinia, to plunder those countries; others, that he proposed ravaging that part of Sicily belonging to the Carthaginians; but most persons agreed, that it was a desperate project he had in view. As the Carthaginians had a much superior sleet, and blocked up the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to watch several days for an opportunity to set sail. At last a large fleet of transports appeared laden with corn and other provisions for Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians put to sea, and Agathocles no sooner faw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewise hoisted sail, and, by the great activity of his rowers, foon got out into the main ocean f.

THE Carthaginians, seeing a squadron of fixty galleys, (for so many did this of And after a Agathocles contain) at first imagined, that the enemy's fleet was fent to defend the flight engagetransports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared for an engagement. But observ-Carthaginian ing that this foundron continued its course strait forward, and was for before the ing that this squadron continued its course strait forward, and was far before them, sleet, makes a they immediately gave it chace, crowding all the fail possible. However, Agatho- descent there. cles so bestirred himself, that, night coming on, they lost sight of him; and in the mean time the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn, and all other provisions. The next day a most remarkable (I) eclipse

e Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi fup. POLYEN. Strat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.

f Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 1. & Justin. ubi sup. Oros. l. iv.

(H) Polyanus relates, that vast numbers of Syraeustans having crowded on board the fixty vessels, of which Agathoeles's fleet consisted, the tyrant gave free liberty to all who were not willing to be engaged in a desperate expedition, to retire with their effects. Many, embracing this offer, withdrew into the town, all of whom Agathoeles, who looked upon them as

cowards, ordered to be put to the sword 15).
(I) Diodorus and Justin both affirm this to have been a solar eclipse; but Frontinus makes it a lunar

one. The last author has however been corrupted in the passage referred to, so that the critics can scarce make sense of it. From the two former writers, as well as many others, that might be produced, it appears, that the antients believed the eclipses of the luminaries to have portended great revolutions in human affairs; and it must be owned, that this notion, as well as some other points in judicial astrology, is of a very high antiquity (6).

(5) Polyan. Arat. 1.v. c. 3. ex. 5. (6) Diod. Sic. Juftin & Frontin. in loc. citat. Vid. & Peucerum de divinat. p. 661. Vol. VI. Nº 10.

of the fun happened, when the stars appeared every-where in the firmament, and a the day seemed to be turned into night. As the Sicilians were not a little superstitious, this event struck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a presage of their approaching destruction. But Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his foldiers, by telling them, that if they had feen this before their departure from Sicily, it would have portended a disappointment to them; but that, as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of disasters to the Carthaginians, whose dominions they were going to invade. He further remarked, that these eclipses always foretold fome instant change; that therefore happiness was taking its leave of the enemy, and coming over to them. The Carthaginian admiral, finding that, by pursuing two sleets at once, he had missed them both, and that Agathocles did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and prevent him from kindling the b war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights steering his course towards Africa, he at last came up with the Sicilian sleet, then upon the point of landing the forces on board. As both fquadrons had the coast of Africa in view, the Carthaginians made the utmost efforts to attack Agathocles before he could reach the shore; and on the other hand the tyrant, knowing what his fate would be, if he fell into the hands of fo cruel an enemy, was no less active in his endeavours to land, before the Carthaginians could engage him. In fine, he had just begun to execute his defign, when part of the Carthaginian fquadron coming up with his rear, a flight engagement enfued. The weapons chiefly made use of on this occasion were bows and slings, the vessels not being close enough to grapple. As c but a small part of the Carthaginian fleet found it possible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, Agathocles gained the advantage; whereupon the Carthaginians, tacking about, stood off a little above the cast of a dart. This gave him an opportunity of landing his troops at a place called the quarries, without any farther opposition 8.

Scon after his

Agathocles, having landed his forces in the enemy's country, and fecured for the bans his ships. present his shipping by a breast-work or parapet, offered a solemn sacrifice to Ceres and Proferpina, the guardians of Sicily. After this he summoned a council of war, composed of such officers as were intirely at his devotion; where, appearing in his royal robes, he acquainted them, that when they were so closely pursued by the d Carthaginians, he had applied himself to the two goddesses, promising, upon his arrival in Africa, to confecrate all the vessels of the squadron to them, by reducing them to so many burning lamps; and that, fince they were now delivered from the enemy, his intention was to perform his vow by burning the whole fleet. He exhorted them to distinguish themselves on the present occasion, declaring that by the facrifices the gods promifed great fuccess. He likewise observed, that the only way to draw the enemy out of Sicily was to carry the war into their own country; that the Carthaginians were foftened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the Africans under their subjection, as well as the neighbouring states, being highly incensed at the Carthaginian insolence, would join them on the first news of their & arrival; that the cities of Africa were not fortified and built on mountains, as in Sicily, and therefore could not make any defence; that the boldness only of their attempt would quite disconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their own gates; that no enterprize could redound more to their honour and advantage, fince this would, if attended with fuccess, make them masters of all the wealth of Carthage, and transmit their names and same to the latest posterity. In fine, he desired them not to be dismayed at the loss of their ships, fince the two goddesses above-mentioned would hereafter return them a far greater number. Having uttered these words, a servant brought him a torch, which he eagerly catching hold of, went on board his own ship, and set it on f fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the foldiers. As the flames mounted up, the trumpets founded from every quarter, and, after a joint prayer to the gods to grant the army a fafe return home, the whole shore echoed with joyful shouts, and loud acclamations. In short, the soldiers fanfied themselves already masters of Africa; and not having been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made them, the whole fleet was in a moment confirmed.

a This feems to have been one of the most desperate actions to be met with in

THE motives for this altonishing point of conduct were various: First, Agatho- The motives cles was desirous of putting his troops under a necessity of conquering, which he for this conduct. imagined might be done by the destruction of his fleet, since this would leave them no other refuge but victory. Secondly, he considered that he had not one good harbour in Africa, where his ships could lie with safety; wherefore, as the Carthaginians were masters at sea, they would infallibly possess themselves of all his shipping, which was no-ways in a condition to cope with theirs. Thirdly, in case he had left as many troops as were necessary to defend the fleet, he would have b thereby fo weakened his army, which was at best but inconsiderable, that he could not have ventured a battle with the enemy, and of course would have rendered himself incapable of drawing any advantage from this unexpected diversion. These, with other reasons, determined him to act in the manner above-mentioned, and exert that prodigious courage necessary to work up his troops to such an unparallelled resolution. As they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, when they began to cool, things appeared in another light. They now confidered themselves as in the midst of an enemy's country, separated from their own by the vast ocean, without the leaft hopes or means of escaping. Upon this, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy, which but a moment before had been c so general in the army i.

But to dissipate all gloomy apprehensions, Agathocles marched instantly at the He advances head of his troops against a place in the territories of Carthage, called the Great towards Carthage, leaving the foldiers here again no time for reflection. The whole country, place called through which he passed, afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect imagin-the Great City, On each fide were spacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of and gives the cattle, country-houses built with extraordinary magnificence, delighful avenues planted flunder of it with all forts of fruit-trees, charming gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. The whole tract was likewise watered by beautiful streams, and full of towns adorned with stately palaces belonging to the nobid lity of Carthage, many of whom inhabited this particular province. As they had enjoyed a long peace, nothing but a face of plenty and abundance here appeared, and an immense quantity of wealth was amassed in every part. This inchanting

scene raised the drooping spirits of the soldiery, who thought the possession of so fine a country would make full amends for all the toils and fatigues that could be undergone. They advanced therefore with intrepidity to the Great City, which, after a feeble relistance, they took by ftorm. As Agathocles was defirous of inspiring his troops with fresh courage, he abandoned the plunder of the place, which was very considerable, to them. That this was a town of importance, and called

in the Punic language Samath, Sumeth, or Samatho, is in some degree probable from e Alexander Polybistor, Stephanus, and others k. FROM hence the tyrant moved with his army to Tunis, a city of eminence in the He likewife neighbourhood of Carthage, which being intimidated by so unexpected a visit, sur-takes Tunis, rendered on the first summons. The troops would willingly have garrisoned both as mell as the these places, and laid up in them the plunder they had got; but Agathocles would above-mentiby no means liften to such a motion. He, with some difficulty, convinced them, oned city, with that this was not confistent with the plan he had laid down, nor at all expedient in the ground. their present circumstances. Being therefore determined, that his men should have no place to retire to in case of any missortune, that they might place all hopes of fafety in victory, he caused both the cities lately reduced to be levelled with the

h Diod. Sic. Justin. Frontin. Polyæn. & Oros. ubi fup. 1 Diod. Sic. Justin. &c. ubi fup. Vid. & Polyb. l. xxii. & Athen. deipnosoph. l. iii. 1 Diod. Sic. & Just. ubi fup. Alexand. Polyhist. in Libyc. l. iii. apud Steph. de urb. & Bochart. Chan. l. ii. c. 12. 1 Diod. Sic. ubi fup.

(K) This conduct of Agathocles, how wild and highly approved of by Scipio, as we learn from Polybius. That great general looked upon Agathocance of time, who are not so well acquainted ith the springs and motives to it, nor the cir
forme points of his conduct, which much facilitated extravagant foever it may appear to us at this di-flance of time, who are not fo well acquainted with the fprings and motives to it, nor the circumstances of his and the Carthaginian affairs, was the conquest of Carthage (7).

f ground, and encamped in the open fields 1.

The Carthaginins are

In the mean time the Carthaginians on board the galleys, that came up with Aga- a greatly alarm thocles, just before he made his descent, expressed great joy upon seeing the Sicilian ed at this mo- ships all on a blaze, imagining this to be the effect of fear. But they changed their note, when they observed the enemy marching in good order up into the country, being then convinced, that a push was intended to be made at Carthage itself. Hereupon they immediately spread a great number of hides upon the fore-castles of their ships, which was with them a constant signal of some impending public calamity. They also carried on board their own vessels the iron beaks belonging to the Sicilian ships that had been destroyed, and dispatched an express to Carthage to give the senate a particular account of every thing that had happened. But the whole country was so alarmed upon the first appearance of the enemy's squadron on the b African coast, that, before his arrival, the news of their unexpected descent had reached Carthage, and thrown the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They all concluded, that their army before Syracuse had been deseated, and their fleet lost; for that, in any other situation of affairs, it was possible for Agathocles to leave Syracuse, and pass over into Africa, they could not believe. The people hastened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might fave the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait, till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore were c for fending embassadors to Agathocles to propose an accommodation, and at the same time to discover the posture of the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true state of affairs, before any public step was taken; and this opinion prevailed m.

Who bowever make preparations to give the enemy a warm receb-

WHILST the city was in this ferment, the courier fent by the Carthaginian admiral arrived, and informed the fenate of the destruction of the Sicilian fleet, and that Agathocles was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However, he gave them to understand, that their troops in Sicily were all sase and in good condition; that they pushed on the siege of Syracuse with the utmost vigour; that the body of forces under Agathocles was not very confiderable; and that the d advantage he had lately gained by sea was attended with no other consequence in his favour, than that it enabled him barely to land his troops. This pacified the minds of the people, so that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the fenate feverely reprimanded the fea-officers for their negligence in suffering the enemy to make a descent, when they were masters at sea. It was now refolved, that the citizens should be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry, with two thousand armed chariots. They appointed Hanno and Bomilcar to command the forces, notwithstanding the grudges that had long subsisted between their respective families, hoping that, laying aside all private animosities, they would e jointly exert themselves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this however they were deceived; for Bomilear, having long thirsted after arbitrary power, passionately wished for an opportunity of subverting the republican form of government at Carthage; which believing the post above-mentioned would enable him to do, he readily accepted of it with that view only. As the Carthaginians frequently brought false accusations against their generals after the conclusion of a peace, and through envy put many of them most unjustly to death, 'tis not to be wondered at, that sometimes, in order to avoid such perfidious treatment, they either resigned their commissions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power. Of this Bomilear was an instance, as will more fully f appear by-and-by n.

Agathocles commits great ravages in Africa, and prepares to engage the Carthaginians.

In the mean time Agathocles committed great ravages, razing several castles, and burning many villages on his march, though his army did not confift at most of above fourteen thousand men. The Carthaginian generals, to find him other employ, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, at last possessed themselves of an eminence in sight of his camp, and drew up their a forces in battle-array. Hanno commanded the right wing, supported by the (L) facred cohort; Bomilear the left, making his phalanx very deep, fince the nature of the place would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed, as usual, in the van. Agathocles, on the other hand, made a proper disposition of his forces, which were composed of Syracusians, Samnites, Etruscans, Celtes, and Greek mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his fon Archagathus; the other, at the head of the troops of the houshold, and a thousand cuirassiers, opposite to the Carthaginian sacred cohort, he commanded himself; and lastly, the slingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were distributed in both wings to the best advantage. Finding several of his soldiers b unarmed, he obliged them to draw the covers and cases of shields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpose, and to carry those before them, as if they had been real. By this stratagem, though none of the most refined, he imposed upon the enemy, who were at some distance from him, and prevented the nakedness of his troops from being exposed to their view .

Agathocles was in no small consternation, when he saw so numerous an army ready to And by a straengage him. However, he dissembled his fear, and, in order to encourage his men, tagem, together who were quite dispirited, and under great apprehensions of the enemy's horse and with Bomil-car's treachery, chariots, he let out several owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. intirely over-These slying about the camp, and lighting on the soldiers shields, so raised their throws them.

c spirits, that of their own accord they began to advance against the enemy, not doubting but by the affiftance of Minerva, to whom that bird was facred, and therefore looked upon by the whole army as a good omen, they should gain a complete victory. The first charge was made by the enemy's chariots, and the cavalry intermixed with them; but the body of Sicilian troops opposed to them, did not only withstand their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced some of them through with darts and arrows, and drove the rest back into the midst of their own soot. This naturally threw the foot into confusion, and occasioned the defeat of the horse; for these, finding themselves deprived of their chief support, were easily broken, and never afterwards made the least attempt to rally. However Hanno, with the sacred cohort, d which confisted of the flower of the troops, sustained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them into disorder; but being overwhelmed with showers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the last. His death obliging the right wing to give ground, inspired Agathocles and his troops with such ardor, that they bore down all before them, though for some time they were most vigorously opposed by the enemy. Bomilcar, understanding that his collegue was flain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of possessing himself of the sovereignty, to which he had long aspired. Tho' therefore it was in his power to have changed the face of things, yet being sensible, that he could not accomplish the design he had in view, if the army of Agathocles were e destroyed, but might easily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he resolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting but he should be able to get the better of Agathocles whenever he pleased. Accordingly acquainting his men with Hanno's death, he injoined them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to escape the sury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was so precipitate, that it looked like a downright flight, the Africans in the rear imagined, that all the rest of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into disorder; which being observed by Agathocles, he took advantage of this confusion, and pursued them so

(L) The facred cohort confifted of the fons of fenators, and the prime nobility, who feem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. His aids de camp were taken out of this body, and the officers of it were his principal companions. The precise number of this corps cannot be determined; but from Appian we may conclude, that it consisted of about four thousand men. It was known to the Romans by the appellations facra cohors, stipatores,

pratoriani, deletta cohors, and answered to the evocati and ablecti of that nation. In fhort, it was a body composed of voluntiers of distinction, who might be looked upon as the general's guard, and particular friends. Curtius intimates, that Amyntas had a guard of Macedonian youths something refembling these. For a further account of them, we must refer our readers to the authors cited in the margin (8).

(8) Diod. Sic. l. xx. Appian, in Libyc. D. Curt. l. v. & Chrift. Hendr. de rep. Carehag. l. ii. § 2. m. 1. Vol. VI. Nº 10, 9 R close. close, that they were obliged to take to their heels, as their companions before had a done, whereby he gained a complete victory: The facred cohort however fought with great bravery, even after the death of Hanno, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-foldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being furrounded by the enemy. Then indeed they thought it proper to have some regard to their own safety, and therefore retiring in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head against those who pursued them; but not being supported by Bomilear, they were either cut off, or forced to fave themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to Cartbage, not having been pursued far by Agathocles, who returned back with b great expedition to take possession of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his soldiers to plunder for their further encouragement; where, among other rich spoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanship, that carried twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the Sicilian prisoners, not doubting but they should fill all the dungeons in Carthage with them. Of the Sicilians, according to Diodorus, not above two hundred were flain, and about a thousand Carthaginians, or, as others will have it, six thousand. Justin makes the loss to be pretty equal on both sides; for he tells us, that two thousand Bicilians, and three thousand Carthaginians, fell in this battle. As Bomilear quitted the field of battle without fighting, and Agathocles did not long continue the pursuit, it is pro- c bable, that the flaughter was not very confiderable, and that both fides suffered pretty much alike, especially since the facred cohort behaved to the last with such unparallelled resolution. Justin likewise differs from Diodorus in his account of the strength of the Carthaginian forces in this action; for whereas the former will have that hoft to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it confifted only of thirty thoufand men. Be this as it will, the Carthaginians received a notable defeat, when they thought themselves in a manner certain of victory; God, as our historian here observes, being pleased, by this instance, to let them know, that HE is the supreme disposer and arbiter of events P.

The Carthaginians endeawour to appease some deities, whom they imagined they had effended.

THOUGH the Carthaginians had sustained no very considerable loss in the late d engagement, they were extremely disheartened, believing the gods fought against They could not imagine it possible for Agathocles, after his whole army had been totally routed in Sicily, and he reduced almost to the necessity of surrendering his metropolis, to land in Africa, in spite of a powerful fleet, with the shattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interpolition of some superior being. Under the influence of this persuasion, they make it their first endeavour to appease the offended deities, particularly Hercules and Saturn, whom they confidered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had fent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to Tyre, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector both of Carthage e and its mother city. This custom for many ages had been religiously observed; but their revenues at last growing immensely large, they not only had omitted to raise the tenths facred to Hercules in proportion, but even discontinued their antient acknowledgment to that deity. For this facrilegious avarice they now imagined themselves punished; and therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confession of their infincerity, and sent the golden shrines of their other deities to Hercules at Tyre, having a notion, that fuch facred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. As for Saturn, in antient times it was usual to facrifice children of the most noble families to him, as has been above observed; but for some years past in these sacrifices they had substituted children of mean extraction, secretly bought and f bred up for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. This they now considered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honours due to him, and consequently were conscious of having given him just cause of offence. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a facrifice of two hundred children of the first rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other persons, in a sense of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the fentiments of the Carthaginians at this juncture, and

fuch the method, they apprehended, would prove the most effectual in reconciling the offended deities to them, whom they imagined the immediate authors of the bad success that attended their arms; though it is probable, that soon after, upon the discovery of Bomilear's perfidious conduct, they admitted at least of the concurrence of an inferior cause 4.

AFTER these expiations, the Carthaginians thought it not improper likewise to And recal Hamake use of human means for their preservation; they therefore dispatched messen milcar from gers to Hamilcar in Sicily, with advice of what had happened in Africa, and express orders to hasten over to the relief of his country. When the messengers arrived, Hamilear commanded them not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on b the contrary, to give out amongst the troops, that he had been intirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet destroyed by the Carthaginians. The senate of Carshage had fent to Hamiltar by the messengers all the beaks of the Syracusian ships, that this report might more easily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he had caused it to be propagated. Hamilear therefore, in consequence of these orders, immediately fent the persons newly arrived from Cartbage to Syracuse, to publish this anelancholy news there, and at the same time, in confirmation of it, to produce the iron beaks of the ships pretended to be taken from the enemy. This they did, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, fince they could expect no soccours, their army and fleet in Africa being utterly ruined. At first this sad account e was generally believed, and greatly affected the whole city; but the leading men, to prevent all commotions, dismissed the messengers without any answer, and soon after expelled eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed disposed to an insurrection. This threw every part of the city into the utmost confusion, the women running about the streets in a distracted manner, and every house being filled with outcries and lamentations. Some bewailed the death of Agathocles and his sons; others the loss of their friends, who were supposed to be cut off in Africa; and great numbers their own hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children, into the hands of the enemy. But Hamilear entertained the exiles with great kindness; and being informed by them of the deplorable condition the city was in, he resolved to make a a general affault on all quarters at once. Tho' he expected easily to carry the place, as believing it to be almost destitute of troops to defend it, yet he first sent new deputies to Autandrus the governor, promiting to spare him, and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, at which all the principal officers were invited to assist; when, after much debate, Antandrus, being a man of a mean spirit, and very unlike his brother, declared himself for a capitulation; but Eurymnon the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had left to affift his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. Hamilcar, being apprifed of the reso-Intion the garrison had taken, prepared his battering-engines to play afresh upon e the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions to storm the town without delay r.

WHILST matters remained in this situation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in Who, upon this, the harbour of Syracuse, whose rowers, crowned with garlands, and singing the Io raises the siege Pean, made directly to the city. This vessel Agathocles caused to be built immedi- and sends a ately after the battle; and having manned it with some of his best rowers, under the detachment of conduct of his intimate friend Nearchus, dispatched it to Syracuse, to carry thither five thousand the agreeable news of his late victory. The Carthaginian guard-ships, discovering it, mento Atrica. gave it chace so briskly, that it narrowly escaped falling into their hands; which it must infallibly have done, had not the Syracusians advanced to its relief, when it was within a dart's cast of the shore. Hamilcar, observing that the garrison slocked down f to the port on this occasion, and believing that he should find the walls unguarded, ordered his foldiers to rear up scaling-ladders, and begin the intended assault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite exposed, the Carthaginians mounted them without being discerned, and had almost possessed themselves of an intire part lying between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm dispute enfued; but at last the Carthaginians were repulsed with considerable loss. Hamilton therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege, after such glad tidings had restored life and resolution to the Syracusians, drew off his forces from before the place, and fent a detachment of five thousand men to reinforce the troops in Africa.

POLYB. p. 944. Q. Curt. I. iv. c. 2, 3. Pescen. Fest. apud Lactant. divin. instit. i. c. xxi. Diod. Sic. ubi supra, &c. r Idem ibid.

Agathocles,

Agathocles, after his victory, reduces most of the places of note in the proper territory of Carthage.

Agathocles, after his victory over the Carthaginians, finding no enemy to oppose a him, reduced many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Many cities likewise, either out of fear, or aversion to the Carthaginians, joined him, by which his army being confiderably reinforced, he moved towards the maritime towns. having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at Tunis. The first place he attacked was the New City; which he carried sword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to Adrumetum, and laid siege to it. The Carthaginians, by degrees recovering from the consternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progress Agathocles made, as also of his being supported by Elymas king of Libya, immediately assembled another army, and marched against Tunis. After a stout resistance, they made themselves b masters of the enemy's camp, and by their repeated attacks so pressed the town, that it was soon reduced to great extremity. Agathocles, receiving intelligence of the enemy's success, lest the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege of Adrumes tum, and, with a small body of troops, privately posted himself on the top of a mountain between Adrumetum and Tunis (M), from whence he could take a view both of his own camp and that of the Carthaginians. Here he ordered his foldiers in the night to make large fires, that the Carthaginians might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of Tunis; and, on the other hand, the garrison of Adrumetum might be induced to believe, that a strong reinforcement was coming to his camp before that place. The stratagem answered both these views; c for the Carthaginians raised the siege of Tunis hereupon with so much precipitation, that they left all their battering-engines behind them; and the Adrumetines were fo intimidated, that they immediately capitulated. Thapfus he afterwards took by storm, and reduced in that tract above two hundred cities and towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. Justin intimates, that he put a great number of people to the fword in this expedition; but as the contrary seems to appear from Diodorus, we must suspend our belief of this particular. Perhaps the author above-mentioned took this article from Timœus Siculus, who painted all the expeditions of Agathocles, and his whole life, in the blackest colours. Be that as it will, he made himself master of the whole territory of Carthage; but hearing that Elymas, king of Libya, in violation of the late treaty, had declared against him, he immediately entered d Libya Superior, and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the fword a good part of his troops, and the general that commanded them. This blow obliged the Libyan monarch to recal the body of auxiliaries he had fent to aid the Carthaginians, and enabled Agathocles to march against that nation, who, he was acquainted, had formed the fiege of Tunis a second time. Advancing with great expedition, he at length encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy, and commanded his foldiers not to make any fires at all. This prevented the Carthaginians from having any suspicion of his approach; so that marching all night with wonderful celerity, he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their camp; where meeting with a body of their forces, that had been plundering and laying waste the adjacent e country, he charged them with fuch vigour, that two thousand were killed upon the spot, many taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. The Carthaginians, being extremely mortified at this disaster, and receiving advice, that Elymas had been obliged to recal the troops sent to their assistance, without waiting for Agathocles, abandoned the siege t.

Hamilcar intians, and his head fent to Agathocles in

It has been before observed, that Hamilear sent only a detachment of sive thoutirely defeated fand men to the relief of his distressed country: keeping therefore the main body of by the Syracu- his forces together, he still entertained hopes of obliging Agathocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of his own dominions. He spent some time in making

Dion. Sic. ubi fupra.

(M) The learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw supposes mount Zow-aan, or Zag-wan, a conspicuous mountain in the inland part of the fummer circuit of the Tuniseens, to have been the place from whence Agathocles was entertained with a view both of the country of the Adrumetines and Car-

thaginians. Solinus intimates, that the foot of this mountain was one of the limits of Africa Propria; which, in conjunction with the name, renders it fomething probable, that the Regio Zeugitana re-ceived its denomination from it (9).

<sup>(9)</sup> Dr. Shaw's geograph. observat. relating to the kingdom of Tun. c. 3. p. 184, 185. Solin. c. 27. Vide & Strab. l. x. p. 326.

- a himself master of such cities as sided with the Syracusians; and after having brought all their allies under subjection, returned again to Syracuse, hoping to surprise the city, by attacking it in the night. The Syracufians were, before the approach of the Carthaginian army, reduced to some streights; for Hamilear had not only cut off all supplies of provisions, that might have come to their relief by sea, but likewise destroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could meet with in their territory, and had attempted to possess himself of the castle of Olympia or Olympiaum, lying before the town. However, they were not discouraged, but took all the necessary measures for a vigorous defence; and suspecting Hamilton to have formed a design of furprising the city, they, by way of precaution, ordered a body of three thouland b foot and four hundred horse to take post in Euryalus, the citadel of Epipola (N). About midnight, Hamilear advanced, at the head of a strong party, to begin the attack, and was supported by Dinocrates, general of the horse. His army was divided into two phalanxes, one formed of the Carthaginian forces, the other of the Greek mercenaries, which were followed by a confuted multitude, composed of various nations (O), who attended the army for the sake of plunder. The passes being then rough and narrow, this unwieldy rabble for some time found it impossible to move forwards; and therefore the barbarians, of which it confifted, quarrelling for the way, came at last to downright blows; which put the whole army into confusion. The Syracusians posted at Euryalus, taking advantage of this, made a fally, and after c having terribly galled the Carthaginians with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked them in form. Hamilear at first received the enemy with great resolution, crying out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to sustain the shock of the enemy; but the Syracusians having seized upon the passes, and there not being room for so numerous an army as Hamilear's to act, great numbers of the Carthaginian foot were trod to death by their own horse; and the confusion they were at first thrown into being heightened by the darkness of the night; one part of their army engaged the other; so that the rout became general, and the flaughter dreadful. Hamilcar therefore, being deserted by all his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five d thousand horse, was taken prisoner, and carried into Syracuse. Diodorus relates, that an baruspex, or foothsayer, before the beginning of the action, predicted, that Hamilear should sup the next night in Syracuse; which though it proved true, yet the entertainment he there met with was not much to his fatisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbaroufly murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city, and after having vented their rage on their miserable captive by all forts of torments, struck off his head, and sent it into Africa, a welcome present to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders with the utmost
  - difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to Carthage ". THE day after this defeat, the Carthaginians rallied their shattered troops at some The Agrigendistance from Syracuse; but having lost their general, they could not agree amongst veral places themselves about the choice of his successor: the exiles and Greek mercenaries there- from the Carfore pitched upon Dinocrates for their commander, and the Carthaginians vested with thaginians and the supreme command of the national troops the Carthaginian officer who was next Syracusians. in dignity to the late general. The Agrigentines, finding the Carthaginians and Syra-

DIOD. Sic. l. xx. c, 1. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7. sub init. & Oros. l. iv. c. 6.

(N) Diodorus here makes a fine reflection on the uncertainty of war, and infinuates, that neither valour nor conduct has the greatest share in bringing it to a happy conclusion. Agathocles, one of the greatest captains of his age, at the head of a numerous army, was routed by Hamilcar at the battle of Himeta; and yet soon after, this very victorious army, weakened only by an inconsiderable detachment sent to Africa, and consisting then of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was intirely deseated by a small party of the routed enemy, supported only by the advantageous situation of the post they were ordered advantageous situation of the post they were ordered to defend (10).

(O) From this passage it appears probable, that the Carthaginian armies were attended by a numerous rabble in all remarkable expeditions. This will enable us to account for the prodigious carnage made of their troops when the enemy was victorious; for such an undisciplined number of people must first greatly contribute towards throwing the regular troops into confusion; and then, not being able either to resist, or escape, be totally cut off. The Turks labour under the same inconvenience at this day, or at least have done to till of late.

(10) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.

cusians had extremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that the latter a were in great diffress for want of provisions, judged this a favourable opportunity of seizing upon the sovereignty of the whole island themselves; and therefore set on foot a confiderable army for that purpose, appointing Xenodicus, one of their countrymen, general. This army was foon reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the city of Gela, which Xenodicus had found means to engage in the Agrigentine interest. He first made himself master of Enna, and then marched to Herbessus (P), that was defended by a Carthagimian garrison. Upon his arrival there. he immediately caused it to be attacked. For some time the garrison made a vigorous defence; but at last the inhabitants declaring in favour of the besiegers, the town, after a brisk action, was taken; on which occasion a great number of Careba- b ginians were killed, and above five hundred taken prisoners. In fine, the Agrigontines profecuted this war with fuch fuccess, that in a short time they wrested many places of note both out of the hands of Agatheeles and the Carthaginians w.

The Cuthag'nians gain an advantage over the Syra-

THE Syracusians in the mean time being threatened with a famine, and understanding, that some vessels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty galleys to intercept them. As the Carthaginians had entertained no suspicion of cutians by fea. fuch an attempt, the Syracustans found an opportunity of slipping by them, and for fome time pursued their course in quest of the transports above-mentioned. But the Carthaginians, being apprifed of what had happened, purfued them with thirty galleys; and coming up with them off of Hybla, immediately attacked them. At c first the Syracusians seemed to prepare themselves for a warm engagement; but being foon driven on shore, they abandoned their ships, and taking shelter in the temple of Juno, endeavoured there to defend them against the Carthaginians. After a sharp dispute, the latter, by means of their grappling-irons, carried ten of them off; but the rest were drawn on shore by the assistance of the garrison of Hybla, who, upon

the first news of the action, advanced to the relief of the Syracusians.

The Carthaginians greatly dejected at the defeat of their army, and death of their general, in Si-

Agathocles, having forced the Carthaginians to raise a second time the siege of Tunis, and reduced all the places subject to them, prepared now to besiege Carthage itself; and, in order thereto, advanced with his army to a post within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the great losses d they had fullained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when Agathoeles received advice of the defeat of the Carthaginian forces before Syracuse, and the head of Hamiltan their general, who being taken prisoner in the action, had been put to death in Syracuse, as above related. Upon receiving this agreeable news, Agathocles rode up to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head, gave them an account of the total destruction of their army in Sicily. This threw the whole army into the utmost conflernation, and filled every part of the camp with outcries and lamentations. barbarians, according to the custom of their country, proftrated themselves before the head of their prince; for Hamilear, at the time of his death, according to Diodorus, was one of the Carthaginian suffeces. In short, they were so dejected at the first publication of this melancholy account, that, in all human probability, Again thocles would foon have made himself master of Carthage, and put a glorious end to

> w Diod. Sic. ubi fup. c. 2. 3 Idem ibid.

(P) That the cities of Enus and Herbessus were of Phanician or Carthaginian extraction is apparent from the names themselves. The former is undoubtedly a Greek corruption of Ennam or Ennam, which, in Punic or Phanician, imports the fountain of pleasure, or the pleasant fountain. The Greeks, having no words ending in M, frequently expunged that letter from Ociental proper names, in order to accommodate them to their own language, of which Maria, Gehemia, Ge. are sufficient instances (11). The authors referred to in the margin evince this etymon (12). The latter fignifies in Punic or Phanician, the mountain of the cave, or the hollow moun-

tain; and that the town of Herbessus stood upon fuch a mountain, appears from several authors (13). We must not omit observing, that the word begins with an H, fince Pliny (14) enumerates the Herbeffenses amongst the inhabitants of those cities, whose names begin with that letter; nor that, in confirmation of what has been advanced, the place at this day is called Le Grotte, or the caverns. From Polyanus we may infer, that the Greeks sometimes pronounced only one of the words of which this town's name was composed, viz. Beffa, or Veffa, which greatly strengthens Bothart's conjecture (15).

(11) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 28. (12) Ovid. fast. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Cic. ad Ver. 4. Claud. ii. (13) Bochart. ubi supra. Vide & Polyb. l. i. Diodor. Sic. l. xx. Thucyd. l. iv. c. 6. & Strab. l. vi. 4) Plin. l. iii. c. 8. (15) Cluver. & Fazel. de reb. Sic. Vide & Bochart. ubi sup. ut & Po'yan. l. v. (14) Plin. l. iii. c. 8. c. 1. ex. 4.

a the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, which had like to have proved fatal to the tyrant himself, and thrown the game once more into the hands of the Carthaginians Y.

Lycifcus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by Agathocles to supper, and Amutiny in heated with wine, reflected upon the tyrant's conduct in the most opprobrious terms, Agathocles's uttering at the same time against him the most bitter imprecations. Agathocles camp. uttering at the same time against him the most bitter imprecations. Agathocles, having a personal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his insolence and scurrility into a jest; but his son Archagathus, highly resenting such infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, Lycifb cus charged Archagathus with incest, he being suspected of an illicit commerce with Alcia, his father's wife. This intenfed Archagathus to fury and madness; so that losing all moderation, he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guard, and immediately piercing Lycifcus with it, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceased, and many other soldiers, enraged at the fact, filled the whole camp by break of day with turnult and consustion. To these many officers, who were justly obnoxious to the tyrant's displeasure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themselves from all future apprehensions of punishment, joined in exciting the troops to a revolt. The whole army was foon in motion, and determined to take vengeance either of Archagathus or Agathocles, if he refuled to deliver c up his fon into their hands. The troops therefore, electing new officers to command them, foon possessed themselves of the walls of Tunis, to which place the tyrant returned after the arrival of the last express, and surrounded him, and his son, with their whole body of guards. The Carthaginians, apprised of what had happened, dispatched messengers to the Sicilian forces, promising them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and take on in their service. Hereupon Agathocles, seeing himself in the most imminent danger, especially as many of his officers had already closed with the enemy's proposal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own foldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel and infulting enemy, divested himself of his royal robes, and, in the habit of a poor d pealant, appeared in the midst of his troops. This strange fight so confounded them, that there was a deep filence all over the camp, which Agathocles taking advantage of, made a speech suitable to the occasion, wherein he gave a particular detail of the most memorable events of his past life, and the great actions in which he had been concerned, concluding, that he was determined never to forfeit his honour for the fake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to put a period to his days immediately, if they his fellow-foldiers deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his fword, as though his intention was to have killed himself upon the spot; but when in all appearance he was upon the point of thrusting it into his body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear; and defiring him e to refume his purple robe, and other enligns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This greatly disappointed the Caribaginians, who were in continual expectation of being joined by the most considerable pars at least of the tyrane's army, not dreaming of what was really in agitation at that time in the Sicilian camp. Agathocles therefore surprised a strong body of the enemy, who had posted themfelves close by his troops, that they might be at hand to join them, in case the proposal above-mentioned was listened to; and having put them to the rout, forced them back to their camp with great flaughter. Thus Agathecles not only extricated himfelf out of a strange difficulty, in which his son's imprudence had involved him, but likewise deseated the enemy, when they looked upon his situation as desperate. f However, the ringleaders of the mutiny, and two hundred others, who bere Archa-

But notwithstanding the tyrant's affairs took so happy a turn at this critical jun- Which had a cture, when he seemed to be upon the very brink of destruction, yet the effects of bad effect the late mutiny might, in some nienfere, have been esteemed as fatal to him, fince it "ponhis affairs. gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of recovering from the consternation, into which the deplorable news of the total ruin of their army in Sicily, and the death of their general there, had thrown them. Could Againstles have attacked the Carthaginian forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would,

gathus a grudge, went over in a body to the Carthaginians 2.

7 Idem ibid. Vide & Christ. Hendre in Carthag. 1, ii. fect. 1. p. 168. 2 Dion. Sic. ubi fupra. in all human probability, have easily defeated them, and made himself master of Carthage, had he directly sollowed his blow, without any resistance; but this unfortunate incident gave them time to shake off their panic, and make such preparations for their desence, as, in concurrence with other unforeseen events, bassled all the tyrant's suture efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the African princes, to whom he sent embassadors, inviting them to join in the common cause, and assist him in overturning that imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. This, together with the same of his victories, had such an effect upon the Numidians, that, immediately declaring in his savour, they renounced all allegiance to the Carthaginians?

A drawn batthe betwixt Agathocles and the Carthaginians.

THE next year the people of Carthage, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, sent an army into Numidia, to reduce the revolters; which, in conjunction with the (Q) Zupbons, a nation of that country, brought back many of them to their duty. Agathocles being informed of this, and fearing to lose the benefit of so feafonable a diversion, left his fon Archagathus with part of his forces at Tunis, and with the rest, consisting of eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all chosen men, together with fifty African carriages, for the sake of the greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the Numidians. The Carthaginians, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the opposite bank of a deep, and seemingly impassable, river, in order to prevent a surprize; from whence they detached a body of light Numidian horse, to obstruct their march, and harass them by continual c To keep these in play, Agathocles sent out parties of his slingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up in battalia ready to receive him. Upon his first attempting to pass the river, he was charged by a body of the Carthaginians with great fury, and lost a considerable number of men; but his troops, notwithstanding the great resistance they met with, at last carried the opposite bank, where they warmly attacked the enemy. Most of the Carthaginian troops were, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of Greek auxiliaries, under the command of Clinon, for a confiderable time fustained the shock of the whole Sicilian army, where they did great execution, though at last they thought proper to d retire. Agathocles, not judging it expedient to pursue such resolute sellows, sell upon the Carthaginian camp in two places at once, but, by reason of its being strongly fortified, was vigoroufly repulfed. Notwithstanding this, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his Numidian allies; but these, during the heat of the engagement, kept themselves persectly neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the Carthaginians, they durst not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of Agathocles, which was at fome distance, and defended but by a small guard. This they plundered, after having put to the fword, or taken prisoners, all that defended it; of which Agathocles being apprised, he hastened thither, and recovered part of the spoil. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, not only preserved themselves by this desection of the Numidians from Agathocles, but put their affairs in Numidia upon the antient foot-

Agathocles gains over Ophellas, prince of the Cyreneans, to his interest.

Though the tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding him-felf unable to carry on the war alone, he endeavoured to gain Opbellas, one of Alexander's captains, then possessed of Cyrenaica, over to his interest. In order to this, he sent Orthon, a Syracusian, one of his intimate friends, as embassador to that prince. Opbellas had at this time a considerable army on soot, and was forming a project to inlarge his dominions. Agathocles therefore thought proper to flatter his ambition,

· Idem ibid.

b Idem ibid.

(Q) The Zuphons were a hord or canton of those Numidians, who either always persisted in their side-lity to the Carthaginians, or were the first who returned to their duty. It seems probable, that their capital city, if they had any, must have been named Zuphon, or Zupho, and situate not far from the frontiers of Africa Propria. It is impossible however

to determine this fituation with any tolerable degree of precision, especially as none of the antient writers, except *Diodorus* in this place, if our memory fails us not, have taken any notice of them. Cellarius, though an accurate author, has passed them over in silence (16). ļ.

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a by promifing him the fovereignty of Africa, if, by his affishance, he would enable him to subdue the Carthaginians. He suggested, that could he get rid of so trouble-fome a rival, he should easily reduce the whole island of Sicily, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that, had he more extensive views, Italy was near at hand, where he could make farther conquests; that being separated from Africa by a large sea, he had no intention to settle there; and that his last expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but necessity. Ophellas was intirely brought over by these suggestions, and, to succour his new ally the more effectually, sent to Athens for a body of troops. As he had married Eurydice, the daughter of Milliades, who commanded the Greeks at the battle of Marathon, and was made free of the city, he obtained his request, the Athenians not doubting but they should share with him and Agathotles all the wealth of the Carthaginians. The low condition to which that people, as well as the other states of Greece, were then reduced by civil dissentions, and the immediate prospect they had of considerable gain, made them exert themselves on this occasion with the greater alacrity.

Opbellas, having finished his military preparations, found his army to consist of And cuts him ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse, all regular troops, besides an hundred off by treachariots, and a body of ten thousand men, attended by their wives and children, as chery. though they had been going to plant a new colony. At the head of these forces he continued his march towards Agathocles for eighteen days, and then encamped at Automolæ (R), a city about three thousand stadia distant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the Regio Syrtica, but found himself reduced to such extremities, that his army was in danger of perishing, for want of water, bread, and other provisions. Besides, they were greatly annoyed by serpents and wild beasts, with which that desolate region abounded. The serpents made the greatest havock amongst the troops; for being of the same colour with the earth (S),

and

b Idem ibid. Justin. & Oros. ubi fup.

(R) This city feems to be the Automalax of Ptolemy, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of Cyrenaica. Apollodorus and Strabo call it Automala, Diodorus here Automola, and Stephanus Automalaca. It was fituate, according to Strabo, at the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, now called the gulf of Seedra, at a finall distance from the Philanorum ara, the Carthaginian frontier. None of the antients, except Diodorus, have told us how far it was from Cyrena, the capital of Cyrenaica. This last author here gives us to understand, that it stood on the borders of the Regio Syrtica, which agrees with the site assigned it by Ptolemy and Strabo, and that it was three thousand stadia, or about three hundred and seventy-sive miles, from Cyrene; which seems greatly to exceed the truth (17).

to exceed the truth (17).

(S) One remarkable circumstance may be observed in the short description Diodorus here gives us of these serpents, or rather of the mischies arising from thence to Ophellas's army, via. that they were so exactly of the colour of that barren (18) soil, that the soldiers could not diftinguish them from it. This certainly is a strong presumptive proof, that their whole substance must in a manner have consisted of that soil, and consequently that they must have sed intirely upon it. The argument will receive a farther accession of strength from the nature of the region itself, which, Diodorus seems to insinuate, was void of every other kind of sustenance. Further, it may be remarked,

that these serpents were of a most malignant species of that animal; fince Diodorus (19) here intimates, that they were extremely venomous, and destroyed a vast number of men; which seems to point particularly at the cherlydras, one of the most noxious species of serpents, subsisting, according to Nicander (20), upon dust, and found, if Cicero and Ælian (21) may be credited, in vast numbers in the desarts of Libya. Bochart has likewise proved by irrefragable (22) arguments, that the faraph, or, according to feveral authors, the serpent in which the devil beguiled Eve, was of this particular species; and that Arabia, as well as the adjacent countries, abounded with them (23); which is also evinced by Herodotus, Mela, Lucan, Solinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, together with scripture. Let all these particulars be admitted, and the literal sense of a passage in the Mosaic history, which has been hitherto for the most part either allegorically taken, or not fully understood, will be thereby rendered most apparent and incontestable, viz. (24) And the LORD GOD said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the sield: upon thy belly shalt thou go. AND DUST SHALT THOU EAT ALL THE DAYS OF THY LIFE. This (25) feems also to be confirmed in the strongest manner by the prophets Isaiah and Micah. To what has been faid, we may add, if any thing is requisite to be added to so clear a point, that se-veral forts of animals live upon dust, when they can meet with nothing else to eat, as we learn from

(17) Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Slc. l. xx. c. 2. Apollodor. apud Steph. & Steph. Byzant. de surb. (18) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. (19) Idem ibid. (20) Nicand. in Theriac. v. 372. Vide & Talmudic. in traft. de fabbat. & Phil. c. 50. (21) Cic. de natur. deor. l. i. Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 7. Ælian. de animal. l. ii. c. 38. sub sin. (22) Bochart. in hierozoic. part. post. l. iii. c. 13. p. 422, 423. (23) Herodot. l. ii. & l. iii. c. 109. Mel. l. iii. c. 9. Lucan. l. vi. Solin. c. 32. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. Num. c. 21. v. 6. Deut. c. 8. v. 5. (24) Gen. c. 3. ver. 4. Isai. c. 65. v. 25. Mic. c. 7. v. 17. (15) Phil. c. 59. Plaut. in Casm. ast. 1. Bardesan. apud Euseb. de prap. evang. l. vi. Plin. l. x. Porta Cæli, fol. 22. c. Cardan. de variet. l. vii. c. 35.

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and extremely venomous, many of the foldiers trod upon them without feeing them, a and were stung to death. At last, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached Agathocles, and encamped at a small distance from him, to the great terror of the Carthaginians, who apprehended the most fatal consequences from this junction. Agathocles at first highly careffed him, and advised him to take all possible care of his troops, that had undergone so many fatigues (T); but making no scruple to commit the most enormous crimes, in order to promote his own interest, he resolved upon his destruction. Observing therefore, that one day the greatest part of Ophellas's (U) troops were gone out to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his design in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that Ophellas was guilty of the blackest perfidy, fince, under the pretext of affifting him as an ally, he had formed a scheme to deliver (X) him up to the enemy. Incensed at this, the army fell with great ardor upon Opbellas, who, being at that juncture too weak to oppose them, was killed upon the spot; upon which Agathocles, by fair words, and large promises, prevailed upon the Cyreneans, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be intirely at his devotion. Polyanus relates this event in a different manner from Diodorus; for he tells us, that Agathocles, being informed, that Ophellas was addicted to an unnatural species of lust, decoyed him by means of his son Heraclides, who yet preserved himself inviolate, and put both him, and the greatest part of his army, to the sword.

A great revolution like to have happened at Carthage.

WHILST these things were transacting, a great revolution had like to have hap- c pened at Carthage: Bomilcar, then possessed of the first employment in the state, thought this a favourable juncture to obtain the fovereignty of that city, to which he had long aspired. In order to facilitate the execution of this his darling defign, he had fent away all the most eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obstruction, to serve in the Numidian expedition. At the head therefore of five hundred of his affociates, supported by a body of a thousand mercenaries, he advanced from Neapolis to Carthage, and entered the city without opposition. As many citizens as he met with, he cut off, without regard to fex or age; which struck the whole city

d DIOD. SIC. JUSTIN. & OROS. ubi fup. POLYEN. ftrat. 1. v. c. 3. ex. 4. Vide & Theophrast. de plant. 1. iv. c. 4. PLUT. in Demet. & PAUSAN. in Corinth.

(26) Aristotle, Bardesanes in Eusebius, and others; and that though other serpents feed upon fish, frogs, herbs, &c. the chersydrus, or saraph, lives only in such places as the desarts of Libya, Arabia, &c. where there is scarce a possibility of finding any other food than dust or sand to live upon (27).

(T) Diodorus (28) relates, that upon Ophellas's approaching the Regio Syrsica, he came to a double ridge of mountains, with a valley betwirt them, in which was a cave, wherein queen Lamia, a lady celebrated for her beauty, formerly had her residence. It is pretended, that this lady, being bereaved of all her children, out of an invidious and vindictive principle, caused all those of her subjects to be destroyed. This gave all the neighbouring Africans such a frightful idea of her, that they made use of her name as a bugbear to frighten their children with. Being extremely addicted to drunkenness, according to our author, she never made an inquiry into any of her subjects conduct, but permitted them all to do what they pleased. For this reason she was seigned to be blind, and for her cruelty above-mentioned had the face of a monster affigued her. That the was an African (29), Emipides likewise asserts; we may therefore take further notice of her, when we come to treat of the proper African nations.

(U) According to Diodorus, Polyanus, Theophraflus, and others, this prince's name was Ophelas, or Ophellas; but Justin calls him. Aphellas, and others

Opheleas. With these last Tanaquil Faber agrees, though the reason he assigns for this agreement feems to us not to have any great force in it, viz. because Ophelens is a Lacedamonian name, and consequently more likely than Ophellas to be the name of a Cyrenean, fince the Cyreneans were a colony of the Lacedamonians. Now, this supposes Ophellas to have been a Cyrenean, and that Opheltas was a proper name peculiar to the Lacedamonians; neither of which suppositions can be proved, but are both improbable; since the Lasedamonians had few, if any, names, that we know of, peculiar to themsclves; and Ophellas was one of Alexander's cap-

tains, and therefore undoubtedly a native of Greece
(30), probably of Macedon.

(X) Justin relates, that Agathocles endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Ophellas, who frequently supped with him, by the most fawning address, and the lowest adulation; that Ophellas adopted the Syracussan tyrant's fon; and that this Cyrenean prince was cut off by treachery, not having taken the pre-caution to guard himself against a surprize. The fame author likewise informs us, that, after this base and infamous action, Agathoeles cajoled the Openess army into his service, and overthrew the Carehaginams in a pitched battle, with incredible flaughter, though at the fame time he himfelt fultained a very considerable loss. This last article however, not agreeing to wall with Diedorus, will hardly engage our affeat to the truth of it (31).

<sup>(26)</sup> Aristot. de animal. l. viii. c. 5. Pisid. in hexaem. & Bochart. in hierozoic. part. prim. l, i. c. 4. p. 27. (27) Bochart. hierozoic. part. post. l. iii. c. 13. p. 422, 423. (28) Diod. Sic. in loc. cirat. (29) Eurip. apud Diod. Sic. ibid. (30) Pluo. in Demet. Pausan. in Corinth: Theophrast. de plant. l. iv. c. 4. Polyan. strat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 4. Fussin. l. xx. c. 7. Vide etiam Bongarsium, & Tan. Fab. in Justin. loc. cirat. (31) Conf. Justin. ubi sup. cum Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2, 3.

a with incredible terror, every one imagining, that the town was betrayed to the enemy. Dividing his forces into five bodies, he made five different attacks, carrying every thing before him, till at last his troops all met in the forum. However, when it was known, that Bomilear had been the occasion of this disturbance, and had moreover caused himself to be proclaimed king of Carthage, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and, from the tops of the houses, discharged whole vollies of darts and stones upon the heads of his foldiers. The traytor, finding himfelf not able to carry the city, forced his way through the defiles, and retired to Neapolis; but being closely pursued by the Carthaginians, who by this time had affembled a fufficient force, he retired with his troops to an eminence, there intending b to make a vigorous defence, and fell his life at as dear a rate as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general amnesty was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. The rebels surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, except Bomilear their chief; but he, notwithstanding the general indemnity promifed on oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a cross in the middle of the forum, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from the rostra, he harangued the people, reproaching them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he demonstrated in an historical deduction of many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. Having thus infulted both his tortures and the authors of them, he expired, c by his death delivering the Carthaginians from the most dangerous domestic enemy their state had ever produced o.

It is worthy observation, that Agathocles caused Ophellas to be murdered, and Bomilear made the last stagrant attempt upon the liberties of his country, at the same instant of time, though neither of them was privy to the other's design. Had Agathocles been apprised of Bomilear's ambition, or of the disorder and confusion then in the town of Carthage, he might easily have made himself master of it; for if the latter could have been supported by the former in the critical moment, he would undoubtedly have joined him, in order to avoid falling a victim to the fury of his enraged fellow-citizens. On the other hand, had the Carthaginians entertained any d suspicion of Ophellas's impending danger, by joining him, or at least sending him a strong reinforcement, they might, without much difficulty, have overthrown Agathocles, as in some measure appeared from the suture course of this war; but the generals on both fides being chiefly intent on gratifying their own ambition, which they at that time imagined incompatible with the public welfare, their armies were content not to observe one another's motions, and by this means undefignedly con-

tributed to each other's preservation.

Agathocles, now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, in imitation of Agathocles Alexander's captains, who took upon them the dignity of crowned heads, affumed affumes the title of king of the title of king of Africa, intending foon to complete his conquests in that country, Africa, and by the reduction of Carthage. However, for the present, his arms received a const-takes Utica by e derable diversion from the Uticans; which prevented him from putting his design in sorm. execution. Having received intelligence of their revolt, he advanced with such expedition to their city, that he surprised three hundred of them in the adjacent fields, and made them all prisoners. These he placed alive in a warlike engine, which he brought to the walls of the town, and exposed them in such a manner to the darts and arrows of the besieged, that they could not repel his affaults, without destroying their own citizens, among whom were fome of the prime nobility. He then fummoned the garrifon to furrender, imagining they would be induced to this by the fight of their friends and relations; but finding they valued their liberty more than these, he began the siege, and discharged such vollies of stones and missive weapons I from the engine above-mentioned, that the besieged were thrown into a great consternation. At first they refused to defend themselves for sear of destroying their countrymen; but finding the enemy to push on the siege with incredible fury, and that without a vigorous relistance they must soon fall into their hands, they betook themselves to their arms, and in several assaults bravely repulsed them. At last Agathocles, summoning all his courage, made a general affault upon the weakest part of the wall, and carried it; notwithstanding which the Uticans for some time kept their posts; but the tyrant's whole army forcing itself like a torrent into the town, and foon

at the following

driving them, partly into the temples, and partly into their own houses, they were a all either put to the fword, or taken prisoners f.

As likewise Hippo Diarrbytus.

THE tyrant, having hanged all the prisoners, plundered the town, and lest a fufficient garrison in it, marched with his army to Hippouacra, or Hippo Diarrbytus. the Bizerta of the moderns, a place naturally fortified by the lake upon which it Before he could reduce this city, he was obliged to engage the inhabitants upon the water with his galleys; but having defeated them on that element, and followed his attacks closely for some days, he at last took it by storm. Most of the people bordering upon the sea-coasts, and even those inhabiting the inland part of the country, after this submitted to him. The Numidians he found himself not able to subdue; however, many of their hords or cantons thought proper to conclude a b treaty of peace with him 8.

Xenodochus mophilus and Leptines.

In the mean time Xenodochus, general of the Agrigentines, having restored many of defeated by De- the cities in Sicily to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, the subjects both of the Carthaginians and Syracusians entertained hopes of a revolution throughout the island in favour of liberty. Animated by these hopes, great numbers of them took up arms, and entered into an affociation, in order to extirpate tyranny. Agathocles, receiving advice of this from Demophilus and Leptines, the commanders of his troops in Sicily, was (Y) greatly alarmed, and therefore resolved to return home; which, he thought, he might safely do for a while, as his affairs on the continent Agathocles re- were in a very flourishing condition. Having therefore built some open vessels, with c turns to Sicily. fifty oars a-piece, and put two thousand men on board, he set fail for Sicily, leaving his fon Archagathus governor of the conquests in Africa, and commander in chief of the forces there. Upon his arrival at Selinus, he found, that Demopbilus and Leptines had not only affembled a powerful army, but likewise deseated Xenodochus in a pitched battle, and forced him to fly to Agrigentum, with the loss of fifteen hundred men. After this victory, Agathocles advanced to Therma, a city possessed by a Carthagiman garrison; which immediately submitted to him. Cepbalædium, Heraclea, and other places, that had regained their liberty, he likewise reduced; but could not make himself master of the principal cities belonging to the Carthaginians h.

Archagathus meets with great success in Africa.

Archagathus, after his father's departure, greatly extended the conquests in Africa. d He sent Eumachus, at the head of a large detachment, to invade some of the neighbouring provinces, whilst he himself, with the gross of his army, observed the motions of the Carthaginians. Eumachus, falling into Numidia, first took the great city of Tocas, and conquered several of the Numidian cantons, that would not come into a state of amity with Agathocles. Afterwards he laid siege to Phellina, and carried it; which was attended with the submission of the Asphodelodians, a nation, according to Diodorus, as black as the Etbiopians. From hence he marched to Maschala, a city of great importance, built by the Greeks in their return from Troy, and inhabited by their posterity for several succeeding ages, which opened its gates to him. Then he moved to Hipponacra, which, fince its furrender to Agathocles, had revolted to the e enemy, and made himself master of it. Lastly, he possessed himself of Acris (Z), a

f Diop. Sic. ubi fup. 8 Idem ibid.

(Y) Juffin offirms, that not Xenodochus, but the Carthagimans, obliged Agathocles to return to Sicily; and that the latter, after the death of Hamilear, the fon of Gisco above-mentioned, sent another army to that island; nay, he farther seems to hint, that they had laid fiege to that metropolis, before Agathoeles's arrival there; and that this was the immediate cause of the tyrant's abandoning Africa in so precipitate a manner. But as this fragment of history is not taken the least notice of by Diodorus, and even in-consistent with what Justin had himself before re-lated, we are not disposed to give over-much credit to it (32).

The same author likewise tells us, that Agathoeles, after his arrival in Sieily, expelled the Chriha-ginians from thence, and made himself master of the whole island. But as this directly contradicts Diodorus Siculus, we have not thought proper to infert it in the body of the history : 33).

(Z) Neither the city of Tocas, nor those of Phel-

h Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi sup. c. 8.

lina, Maschala, Acris, nor yet the nation of the Asphodelodians, though, according to our author, a very remarkable people, have been mentioned by Cellarius, whose work is yet held in the highest repute. They all seem to have had their situation in that part of Numidia contiguous to Africa Propria, and not far from Hippo Diarrhyius. It is probable those auxiliary troops taken prisoners by Gelon in his engagement with the Carthaginians, which Frontinus calls Nigerrimi, were of this nation, the Melanogatuli, and even of the Nigrita themselves; for that they all were not only known to, but likewise had an intercourse with, the Carthaginians, cannot well be doubted. As not only the cities above-mentioned, but a vast number of others, taken notice of by Heredotus, Diedorus, Pausanias, Appian, &cc. have been omitted by Cellarius, it were to be wished some learned man would give us a new edition of that author, which he might eafily do, with very large additions (34).

(32) Justin. l. xxii. c. 8. sub init.
(33) Conf. Just. ubi sup, cum Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2, 3.
(34) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. c. 3. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18.

a free city, of great opulence, which he gave up to the foldiers to be plundered, and fold the inhabitants for flaves; after which he returned to the camp, loaden with the immense booty he had got in this successful expedition i.

ELATED with such a run of good fortune, Eumachus resolved next to penetrate HisgeneralEuinto the more remote parts of Africa on the fide of Numidia; in order to which, machus penehaving traversed the countries invaded last, and continuing his march, he arrived at more remote a city called Milline, and, at the first attempt, forced his way into it. But notwith-parts of Africa; standing this first instance of success, the barbarians, immediately collecting their but is soon obwhole torce, attacked him in the streets with such sury, that they obliged him to liged to retire retire out of the town in great confusion, after he had lost a vast number of men. tion.

b From hence he advanced to a high mountain, above two hundred stadia over, full of wild cats, but destitute of all kinds of birds, on account of the rapaciousness of those animals. Having passed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called in the Greek language Pithecusa, from the apes (A), with which all the adjacent country abounded. One of these he took by assault, and levelled it with the ground; which so terrified the other two, that they immediately surrendered; but receiving intelligence, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conquests, and retreated with the utmost precipitation towards the sea-coasts k.

e expedition of Eumachus occasioned a very considerable alteration in the face of affairs. thus and the The Carthaginians, being informed of that general's ill success, took courage, and Carthaginians. refolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner to recover their former losses. In order to this, they divided their forces into three bodies: one of these they sent to the sea-coasts, to keep the towns there in awe; another they dispatched into the Mediterranean parts, to preserve the inhabitants there in their allegiance; and the last body they ordered to the Upper Africa, to support their confederates in that country. They had other motives likewise for this conduct: by sending such a number of mouths out of the city, they supposed they should, in some measure, restore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of provisions: the city was fo d strongly fortified, and lay so near the sea, that it was in no danger of being taken by force; and therefore all superfluous hands were rather troublesome than useful: by fending a powerful army to the relief of their allies, they believed they should not only confirm them in their fidelity, and prevent their joining the enemy, but likewife encourage the neighbouring neutral princes to declare in their favour; and lastly, they had reason to imagine, that, by such a various diversion, they should draw the enemy's forces at a greater distance from the city, and consequently give themselves a little time to breath. They were not deceived in their views; for upon the departure of thirty thousand soldiers out of the city, provisions returned to their former price; their confederates abandoned the side, through compulsion they had been e obliged to take; and the enemy were forced to draw their troops off from the neigh-

HITHERTO Archagathus had been the favourite of fortune; but this last unhappy The dispositions

k Drop. Sic. ubi fup. DIOD. Sic. ubi sup. c. 3. Justin. l. xxii.

bourhood of Carthage. Archagathus, being apprised of the motions of the Carthaginians, divided his forces likewife into three bodies: one of these he sent to observe the Carthaginian troops on the sea-coasts, with orders afterwards to advance into the Upper Africa; another, under the command of Eschrion, one of his generals, he polled at a proper distance in the heart of the country, to have an eye both upon the

(A) Diodorus tells us, that the inhabitants of this tract had customs far different from those of the Greeks; that the apes here mentioned were very familiar with them, had admission into their houses, and received divine honours from them, in the same manner that dogs did from the Egyptians. He adds, that when these creatures were hungry, they took meat out of the cellars, butteries, &c. without any disturbance; that parents named their children after them, as the Greeks did after the gods; that whoever killed one of them, was fure to fuffer death, as a notorious atheift; and that for this reason, when any person behaved himself amongst them with

unufual haughtiness and insolence, it was a prover-bial expression. Then hast drunk the blood of an ape. This proverb Erasmus applies to those who die a violent death. Two things may be inferred from Diodorus's relation: first, that the Africans gave these apes names, probably terms of honour and distinction, fuch as the Egyptians, and other nations. conferred upon their gods; and fecondly, that the Greeks applied the names of their gods to themselves, particularly, as there is reason to believe, to their kings and heroes, as the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, &c. did. We shall treat more amply of this people, and their customs, in a proper place (35).

(35) Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Erasm. in adag. p. 492;

enemy there, and the barbarous nations; and with the last, which he led in person, a he kept nearer Carthage, preserving a communication with the other two, in order to fend them succours, or recal them, as the exigency of affairs should require. Things being in this situation, Archagathus kept himself quiet in his camp, well pleased with the dispositions he had made, and with great impatience expecting the event!

The Syracufians defeated by the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginian troops fent into the heart of the country were commanded by Hanno, a general of great experience, who, being informed of Æschrion's approach that way, laid an ambuscade for him, into which being drawn, he was cut off him-felf, with four thousand foot, and two hundred horse. The rest were either taken prisoners, or fled to Archagathus, who lay encamped about five hundred stadia from the place where this action happened. Himileo, who commanded the Carthaginian b forces in the Upper Africa, having advice of Eumachus's march, immediately put himself in motion, and at last took post in a town near that general's camp, with a resolution to engage him. The Greeks, tho' much incommoded by the spoils taken out of several cities, which they carried with them, drew up their army in battalia, and prepared to attack the enemy. Himilco left part of his army in the town, with orders to fally out upon the Greeks as foon as they faw them pursue him. Advancing then at the head of his other forces, he fell upon them with great fury; but soon after his men betook themselves to a precipitate flight, as the they were in the utmost consternation. Eumachus, puffed up with this supposed advantage, permitted his troops to purfue them with fo much eagerness, that they fell into disorder; which being c observed by the forces in the place, they rushed out in an instant upon them, and at the same time the other body facing about, the Greeks were so disheartened, that they endeavoured to retire to their camp; but finding their retreat cut off by the body that iffued out of the town, they fled to a neighbouring eminence. Here being furrounded by the Carthaginians, and in great want of water, they were almost totally destroyed; for of eight thousand foot only thirty, and of eight hundred horse only forty, had the good fortune to escape, the rest either perishing of thirst, or being put to the sword m.

Agathocles, mpon receiving this bad news, leaves Sicily.

Archagathus, receiving the melancholy advice of these two defeats, and being rejoined by the remains of Æschrion's army, ordered the detachments he had sent out to harass the enemy, to return with all speed to the camp. This was a very necessary pre- d caution; for, after the defeat of Eumachus, Himilco moved with great expedition towards Archagathus, blocking up the passes, and securing the country, all along as he advanced, from the enemy's incursions; so that had not the above-mentioned detachments retired in time, pursuant to the order received, they must undoubtedly have been all cut to pieces. Himilco therefore cutting off all communication betwixt the Syracufian army and the fruitful country of Africa on one fide, and Atarbas, another Carthoginian commander, who lay encamped within forty stadia of Tunis, preventing any supplies coming to them by sea on the other, the Greeks in a short time were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. Many of their confederates, being struck with terror at so dismal a prospect, deserted them, and went e over to the enemy, who now hemmed them in on all fides, and feemed ready to swallow them up every moment. Whilft things remained in this melancholy situation, Agathocles received an express from Archagathus, acquainting him with the great losses he had fustained, and the extreme scarcity of provisions the troops laboured under. Upon which Agathocles, leaving the management of the war in Sicily to Leptines, by a stratagem got eighteen sail of Etruscan ships, that came to his affistance, out of the harbour of Syracuse; and then engaging the Carthaginian squadron lying off of that harbour, took five of their ships, and made all the men therein prisoners. By this action he became master of the port, and secured the passage into it for the merchants of all nations; which foon produced a plenty of all things in f Syracuse, where famine before began to make great havock. Supplying himself therefore with a fufficient quantity of necessaries for the voyage he was going to undertake, he immediately loosed from Syracuse, and set sail for Africa ".

Upon his arrival here, he took a review of his forces (B), and found them to

1 Idem ibid. m Idem ibid.

n Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(B) Justin relates, that Agathocles, upon his arrival in Africa, found a mutiny in the army, which arose from a want of payment of the arrears due to the troops. In order to bring them back to

their duty, he made them a florid speech, wherein he told them, That they ought to seek their pay from the enemy; that as they would all of them have a hand in obtaining the victory, so they should all par-

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a confift of fix thousand Greeks, as many Celtes, Samnites, and Etruscans (C), besides ten thousand Africans, who had persevered in their fidelity to him, notwithstanding the difasters that had befallen him, and fifteen hundred horse. As he found his troops reduced almost to a state of desperation, and consequently prepared for any attempt, he thought this a proper juncture to offer the enemy battle; which he did accord- And, upon his The Cartbaginians, though they had the advantage of numbers, having col- arrival in lected all their forces into one body, and were encamped upon an eminence that was Africa, offers almost inaccessible, thought proper to decline the challenge, not being willing to bastle. put all to the issue of a battle with men who were grown desperate, but believing, that by lying still in their camp, where they had plenty of every thing, and prob tracting the time, they could starve the enemy to a surrender, and consequently make themselves masters of their camp without striking a stroke of

Agathocles, perceiving the enemy's design, and finding he could not long continue He attacks the in that camp, refolved at all events to force them to a battle. Moving therefore at Carthaginian the head of his forces to their camp, he attacked it with fuch bravery, that he made camp, but is a considerable impression upon it, and might possibly have carried it, had not his feated. mercenaries basely deserted him, and taken to their heels almost upon the first onset. The Cartbaginians, as much animated by this cowardice as the Greeks were difmayed, redoubling their efforts, soon forced the tyrant to retreat with great precipitation to his camp; whither they purfued him very closely, doing great execution in the purc suit. The Carthaginians spared the Africans in this action, in order to win the affec-

tions of that people; but bearing an implacable hatred to the Greeks, besides the prisoners they took, they put above three thousand of them to the sword P.

THE next night the Carthaginians facrificed all the prisoners of distinction, as a Adjuster hapgrateful acknowledgment to the gods for the victory they had given them. Whilst pens in the Carthey were in the midst of this solemnity, the wind, suddenly rising, carried the slames samp. to the facred tabernacle, near the altar, which they intirely confumed, as well as the general's tent, and those of the principal officers adjoining to it. This occasioned a dreadful alarm throughout the whole camp, which was heightened by the great progress the fire made; for the soldiers tents consisting of very combustible materials, d and the wind blowing in a most violent manner, the whole camp was almost intirely laid in ashes; and many of the soldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms, and the rich baggage of their officers, were burnt to death. Some of those who made their escape out of the flames, met with as unhappy a fate; for after Agathocles had received the last blow, the Africans, as in all reverses of fortune that people closed with the strongest side, deserted him, and were at that very instant coming over in a body to the Carthaginians. These the persons above-mentioned took to be the whole Syracusian army advancing in order of battle to attack their camp; which being foon noised through the Carthaginian army, a dreadful confusion ensued: fome betook themselves to their heels; others fell down in heaps one upon another, imae gining the enemy was at that instant coming upon them; and lastly, others engaged their comrades, mistaking them for the enemy. In fine, five thousand men lost their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the rest thought proper to shelter themselves within the walls of Carthage; neither could the appearance of the day itself, for some

time, diffipate those terrible apprehensions they were under 9. AT the same time an accident, something resembling this, happened in the Greek And another in The African deserters, observing the great confusion the Carthaginians were that of Again, and not understanding the meaning of it, were so terrified, that they thought thocles. proper to return to the place from whence they came. The Syracusians, seeing a

· Idem ibid. & Justin. 1. xxii. c. 8.

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P Drop. Sic. ubi sup. q Idem ibid.

take of the spoil; that if they would but exert themselves vigorously for a short time, the war might be brought to a happy conclusion, and Catthage reduced; in which case there would be riches enough to satisfy their most avaricious desires. The same author adds, that by this speech having appealed all commotions, and calmed the minds of the foldiery, he soon after gave the enemy battle; but being defeated, the troops again grew very clamorous for their pay; which, together with the bad state of his affairs,

obliged him, and his fon Archagashus, by night to abandon Africa (36).

(C) From this passage, as well as from many more that might be produced, it appears, that the Etruscans at this time made some figure by sea; and that they, as well as many other nations of Italy, were afraid of the Carthaginian power, which induced them frequently to affift the Greeks of Sicily against that nation, both by sea and land.

(26) Justin, l. xxii.c. 8.

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body of troops advancing towards them in good order, immediately concluded, that a the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore in an inftant cried out, To arms. The flames afcending out of the Carthaginian camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding from thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly contributed towards heightening their confusion. The consequence of this panic was much the same with that above-mentioned; for coming to blows one with another instead of the enemy, they scarce recovered their senses upon the return of This intestine fray was so bloody, that it cost Agathocles four thousand the light.

U'ho foon after abandons Africa.

THE last disaster, though of no advantage to the enemy, who had themselves fuffered more than the Syracusians on the like occasion, quite disheartened Agathocles. b His mind being now filled with melancholy reflections, he confidered himself as deserted by the Africans; as not having a sufficient number of troops to contend with the Carthaginians; and lastly, as in danger of being assassinated by his own son, and therefore resolved to quit Africa. As he knew the Carthaginians were masters at sea, and was perfuaded they would never make peace with him upon any terms confiftent with his fafety, but take ample vengeance of him for the ravages he had made in their country, he concluded, it would be impossible for him to escape in a public manner, and therefore fet his head to work to find out fome method of flipping away privately. This he at last, though with great difficulty, effected. But as the manner of his escape, which more properly appertains to the history of Sicily, than that c of Carthage, has been already related by us at large, we must refer our readers for farther fatisfaction on this head to a former part of this history'.

Agathocles's troops out off his two fons,

AFTER Agathocles's departure, his two fons fell a facrifice to the wild fury (D) of the foldiers, who immediately put them to death; and chusing leaders from amongst and conclude a themselves, concluded a peace with the Carthaginians upon the following terms: peace with the First, that the Greeks should deliver up all the places they held in Africa, receiving Carthaginians. from them three hundred talents. Secondly, that fuch of them as were willing to ferve under the Carthaginians, should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay. And thirdly, that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. These articles were agreed to, and punctually observed by d the Carthaginians; in confequence of which, all those troops that adhered to the treaty they had concluded, met with a most kind reception; but the cities, which, in hopes of relief from Agathocles, refused to submit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the garrisons obliged to cultivate those parts of the country they had before laid waste and destroyed. Thus this war, after various turns and revolutions, ended to the advantage of the Carthaginians, who, by the last treaty, fettled their affairs upon the antient footing, notwithstanding the great losses they had fustained, and notwithstanding the Syracusian army had brought them to the very brink of destruction '.

Our historian here finely observes, that several most remarkable traces of a divine e Providence appeared through the whole course, and at the conclusion, of this war: Agathocles was routed in Sicily by the Carthaginians, and lost the greatest part of his army; his affairs there were almost desperate, and his capital city upon the point of furrendering to the enemy: notwithstanding which, with a very inconsiderable body of men, he, at this perillous juncture, invaded Africa, defeated the Carthaginians, and reduced them almost to the same unhappy circumstances his own troops laboured under at Syracuse. In Sicily he lost every thing, but his metropolis, which the enemy thought themselves sure of; but in Africa he possessed himself of all places, except Carthage, which, for some time, he closely besieged. By which remarkable steps,

DIOD. Sic. & Justin. ubi fup. Vide & Univers. Hist. vol. iii. p. 86. Sic. l. xx. c. 3. Just. l. xxii. c. 8. fub fin. Univers. Hist. vol. iii. p. 86, 87, 88, &c.

(D) Justin says, that the Syracusian troops, being apprised of Agathocles's flight, were in as great a consternation, as if they had all been actually surprised by the enemy; that Archagathus, being separated by the second sec rated from his father, and losing his way by the darkness of the night, was taken by a Sicilian party. and carried to the camp; that he was put to death by Arceflans, one of his father's intimate friends;

and that, before the fatal stroke was given, Archagathus asked him, How he thought Agathocles would treat the children of Arcestlans, who be-reaved him of his children? To whom the other replied, that it was enough for him, that his children survived those of Agathocles. In other points, this author almost intircty agrees with Diodorus Siculus (37).

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a Providence made it apparent, that it is equally easy for the Supreme Being in a moment to elevate the most afflicted states, and depress the most powerful. After the tyrant, in the height of his prosperity, had murdered Ophellas, in violation of all the laws of friendship and hospitality, Providence distinguished itself likewise in a most extraordinary manner: his affairs in Africa from that instant began to decline; the very month, and day of the month, on which he treacherously murdered Ophellas, and brought over his army, he lost both his sons and his army; and lastly, as he had most perfidiously assassinated his friend, the very troops this friend commanded, afterwards cut off his two fons. As Diodorus made these observations for the sake of those persons, who are too apt to slight, or not duly attend to, such uncommon b instances of an over-ruling power, we thought we could not properly omit them ".

Notwithstanding peace was concluded betwirt the Syracusian troops in Africa Which is ratiand the Carthaginians, yet the treaty was not ratified by Agathocles till the year fol-field by Agatholowing. That prince, being reduced to great streights by Dinocrates, who began cles. to aspire to the sovereignty of Syracuse, found it necessary to court the friendship of the Carthaginians. This obliged him to purchase a peace with them at a very dear rate; for he not only ratified the former treaty, but confented to have an additional article inferted in it much to the advantage of the Carthaginians, viz. that all the cities they formerly possessed in Sicily should be restored to them; which being immediately executed, the Carthaginians left him at liberty to pursue his designs in Sicily; c and, to facilitate the accomplishment of them, sent him three hundred, or, as Timaus Siculus will have it, an hundred and fifty, talents of gold, besides two hundred thou-

fand medimni, or five hundred thousand bushels, of wheat w.

Agathocles, having defeated Dinocrates, and re-established his affairs at Syracuse, Agathocles passed over into Italy, where he subdued the Brutii, rather by the terror of his name, meditates anthan by force of arms. From hence he passed over to the Lipari islands, in order carthage to raise contributions; which he did to the value of an hundred talents of gold, plundered the facred treasure, stripped the temples, and then set sail for Syracuse, with eleven ships laden with the gold and spoils of the temples. Diodorus seems to intimate, that Sicily, for a confiderable time after this, enjoyed the sweets of peace, but d that at last the implacable hatred Agathocles bore the Carthaginians prevailed upon him to make preparations for a new war with that nation. As the Carthaginians, by the last war, had made themselves masters of the sea, they were abundantly supplied with all the necessaries and elegancies of life, and easily secured their country from all foreign invasions. Agathocles therefore fitted out a squadron of two hundred galleys, in order first to prevent the exportation of corn and other provisions from Sicily and Sardinia to Africa, and afterwards to transport a large body of forces into that country, to attempt a second time the conquest of it. But this, as well as the other projects he had formed, fell to the ground by his death, an account of which And dies.

we have already given in the history of Syracuse x.

After the death of Agathocles, Manon, who had poisoned him, usurped the The Syracusifupreme authority at Syracuse. This he did by murdering Archagathus, and bring- ans, being ing over the army to his interest. The Syracustans however resolved to have a struggle by civil dissenfor their liberty, and therefore raised another army, giving the command of it to sions, and in-Icetas, with orders to attack Manon. In the mean time Manon, finding himself vaded by the not firong enough to engage Icetas, industriously avoided fighting, and applied to Carthaginians, the Carthaginians for affiliance. That people always intent upon fomenting divisional Pyrrhus, the Carthaginians for affiltance. That people, always intent upon fomenting divi-king of Epirus, fions in Sicily, in order to inlarge their own acquisitions there, readily granted his to their affitrequest; and joining him with a strong body of troops, obliged the Syracusians to ance. conclude a peace with them upon their own terms, to recal the exiles, and, as a f security for their punctual observation of the treaty, to deliver them four hundred hostages. Soon after, Icetas seized upon the government at Syracuse, and ruled there with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the mean time the rebels and Syracufian exiles, in conjunction with the Agrigentines, who, in the ninth year of his command, revolted from him, advanced, under the conduct of Phintias, to Hybla, where they were attacked and defeated by Icetas. That general, greatly puffed up with this victory, engaged the Carthaginian army upon the banks of the river Teria, but was overthrown with

DIOD. Sic. ubi fup. a Diod. Sic. ubi sup. w Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 4. 2 L l. xxi. in excerptis Rhodomani. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. ii. Oros. l. vii. c. 6. .2 Univ. hist. ubi sup. Diod. Sic.

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incredible

incredible flaughter, and forced to fly to Syracuse. In Icetas's absence, one Thynion a had possessed himself of the sovereign power there; but being opposed by Sosistratus. who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. Thynion maintained himself in the island with a body of ten thousand men, and his rival held the other quarters of the city with the like number of forces; fo that for some time Syracuse was nothing but a scene of blood and slaughter. The Carthaginians, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to Syracuse, and invested the capital itself with a fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of fifty thousand men. Thynion and Sosistratus, finding the Carthaginians to push on the fiege with fuch vigour, that, in all probability, they would foon make themselves masters of the city, unless speedily relieved, united their forces against the common enemy, and dispatched messengers to Pyrrhus, then at Tarentum, intreating him to b come over to Sicily, and deliver the Greeks there from the barbarians, who threatened them with utter destruction. That prince received these messengers very favourably, and, fending Cyneas (E) before-hand to conclude a treaty with Thynion and Sosistratus, after having left a strong garrison in Tarentum, under the conduct of Milo, embarqued with his army for Sicily. He took with him a confiderable number of elephants, and a vast quantity of provisions, and the tenth day after he had loosed from Tarentum, arrived at Locri; from whence steering his course for Italy, he in a few days landed at Taurominium, and, upon his arrival, was joined by Tyndarion, tyrant of that city. With this reinforcement he advanced to Catana, and from thence marched to Syracuse, at the head of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, c all his own troops, befides the Sicilian auxiliaries that joined him, attended by a fleet of two hundred fail. The Carthaginians, then carrying on the siege of Syracuse, having detached thirty of their best vessels to bring in a fresh supply of provisions, did not think themselves strong enough to venture an engagement with Pyrrbus's fleet, and therefore judged it not proper to wait his approach; so that he entered Syracuse without opposition. Soon after he had possessed himself of that important place, embassadors arrived from the Leontini, who had joined with Thynion and Sosistratus in pressing the king of Estrus to come and take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to deliver up their city into his hands, and to join his forces with a body of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Many other cities d followed the example of Syracure and Leontium. In short, Pyrrbus, partly by the terror of his name, and partly by his infinuating and affable behaviour, made fuch an impression upon the minds of the Sicilians in general, that he doubted not soon having them all intirely at his devotion, and confequently flattered himself with the hopes of speedily divesting the Carthaginians of all their acquisitions in Sicily v.

The Carthagiquence of a the Romans decline accepting of. They afterwards offer their mediation for accommodating all di serences between the two powers.

WE must not omit observing, that before Pyrrbus landed in Italy, the Romans Romans affig. were not unacquainted with the designs of that ambitious prince. In order therefore ance, when at- to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make, or at least to deter him tacked by Pyr- from making any such attempts, they renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their fide, likewise were under some apprehensions of his invading Sicily. c To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, which contained an engagetreaty just con- To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, where the contracting powers should be attacked cluded between ment of mutual affishance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked therein that the Carthaginians should by Pyrrbus. As it was particularly specified therein, that the Carthaginians should fend a sufficient naval force to the relief of the Romans, upon the first notice of a rupture with the king of Epirus, as foon as they heard he had made a descent in Italy, they ordered for that purpose a fleet (F) of an hundred and twenty sail, under the

> r Diod. Sic. ubi sup. & l. xxii. apud Laur. Rhodoman. Plot. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. Justin. l. xviii. DIONYS. HALICAR. ant. Rom. l. xii. in excerptis Valefii,

(E) Cyneas was a famous orator, and a hearer of Demosthenes. According to Plutareh. Pyrrhus looked upon himself as more obliged to Cyneas's eloquence for many of his conquests, than to the force of his arms. The author last-mentioned calls him Cineas; but we chuse rather to follow Justin, who calls him Cyneas. Paufanias countenances us herein; for he takes notice of one Philabrus, an Eretrian traitor, the fon of Cyneas. This, together with the word kurn an helmer, from whence the proper name itfelf is apparently derived, feems to put the point

beyond dispute. Tanaquil Faber himself was of our

opinion (37).

(F) Valerius Maximus, in the place cited, makes this squadron to have consisted of an hundred and thirty sail. Possibly the particular number of ships, with which the Carthaginians were to assist the Romans, might be specified in a subsequent treaty, fince the epiromizer of Livy mentions a fourth treats concluded between the two republics after the battle of Asculum (38).

(37) Plut. in Pyrrh. c. 28. Liv. l. xxxiv. Passfan. Achaic. p. 415. Bern. & Tan. Fab. in Just. l. xviii. c. 2. (38) Val. Max. in loc. citat. Liv. epit. l. xiii.

command

a command of Mago. That officer, in an audience he had of the senate, upon his arrival at Rome, told the conscript fathers, that his principals had heard with great concern of the hostilities Pyrrbus committed in Italy; adding, that he was sent by his republic to offer them a foreign force, to enable them to repel this foreign invader. The fenate, after receiving him with proper marks of distinction, returned thanks for this obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at the same time thought proper to decline accepting it. Diodorus tells us, that, notwithstanding this, the Carthaginian fleet, having a body of land forces on board, failed to Rhegium; which place they battered for some time with incredible sury, but were at last obliged to raise the siege. They destroyed, according to this author, a vast quantity of timber, and b other materials for shipping, in that port, and then put to sea with their squadron, to observe the motions of Pyrrbus. Mago, some days after his departure from Rome, repaired to Pyrrbus's camp, under pretence of offering the mediation of Cartbage for accommodating all differences betwixt him and the Romans, but in reality to found him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common same reported he was going to invade. The Carthaginians at that time were assaid, lest either Pyrrbus, or the Romans, should concern themselves with the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And indeed this seems to have been the real motive for their fending a fleet to affift the Romans, rather than a defire to be punctual in the observance of their engagements, which they were never c famous for, this being inconfistent with that subtle and intriguing genius, which discovered itself in every remarkable point of conduct of the African republic 2.

As foon as Pyrrhus had fettled his affairs in Syracuse, Leontium, and the other Pyrrhus's places that had submitted to him, he began to move with his army towards Agrigen- great progress tum, which was then possessed by a Carthaginian garrison, under the command of in Sicily. Phintias. Upon his march he received intelligence, that the inhabitants had expelled the Carthaginians, and were come to a resolution to admit him into their city, and join him with a good body of troops. Accordingly, upon his arrival on their frontiers, he was met by Sosistratus, at the head of eight thousand Agrigentine foot, and eight hundred horse, nothing at all inferior in military skill and bravery to the Epid rots themselves. Sosistratus likewise prevailed upon him to take thirty towns of the neighbouring country under his protection. Being abundantly supplied with darts, arrows, all other kinds of arms, and engines of battery, from Syracuse, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, and reduced Heraclea, which was for some time defended by a party of Carthaginians. After this, the Azones, Selinuntines, Halicyæans, Egestines, and others, made their submission to him; in fine, the Carthaginians sound, that this conqueror foon deprived them of all their allies, made himself master of many of their towns without the least opposition, and was determined to make the

Libyan sea, on the side of Greece, the boundary of their dominions 2.

Pyrrbus, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, advanced to Eryx, a fortress Takes Eryx by e defended by a numerous Carthaginian garrison, and of such natural strength, that it storm, and lays was almost inaccessible. This place, with some difficulty, he invested, and, after fiege to Lilybringing his battering rams to the walls, formed the siege of it. The garrison for baum. some time made a vigorous defence; but at last Pyrrbus, making a general assault, entered the breach his rams had opened, and bore down all before him. In order to render his name famous to all posterity, after the example of Hercules, he was the first who mounted the walls, after having killed many of the Africans with his own hand. However, he met with such a resistance, that his success was dubious, till a fresh reinforcement of his troops supported him in the attack, and then he easily carried the town. Panormus, Erela, and most other places of note, were either taken f by storm, or opened their gates to the victor upon the first summons; so that now the Carthaginians had no town left in Sicily but Lilybaum, to which Pyrrbus laid fiege with all his forces b.

Lilybaum was a maritime city of great strength, esteemed by the Carthaginians as But is obliged one of the keys of Sicily. They had therefore raised many outworks for its defence, to raise it. drawn a trench to prevent any approaches on the land-fide, and fortified it in the best manner possible. The Carthaginians, being masters of the sea, landed a strong body of troops here, just as Pyrrbus was going to form the siege of the place; but

\* Justin. ubi fup. c. 2. Polyb. l. iii. c. 25. Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hoeschelii.

\* Diod. Sic. Plut. Dion. Hal. Justin. ubi sup. & Univers. hist. vol. iii. Valer. Max.l. ii. vii.
Diop. Sic. ubi sup.

being

being greatly alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, they sent embassadors to treat a of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms, offering him either a large sum of money, or to abandon all their conquests in Sicily, except Lilybaum. But he, puffed up with his great success, and spirited up by the Sicilians, who were sensible, that they could enjoy no tranquillity, as long as the Carthaginians had any footing in the island, answered them, that the only means to obtain what they defired, was to leave Sicily intirely to the Greeks. Upon this the Carthaginians broke off the negotiation, and Pyrrbus repeated his affaults with the utmost fury; but the town being well furnished with all forts of provisions and military stores, situated upon a rock, and defended by a numerous garrison, the Carthaginians repulsed him in every attack, and, at the end of two months, obliged him shamefully to raise the siege.

Notwithstanding which, he entertained to drop that design.

Notwithst anding this repulse, Pyrrhus began to entertain thoughts of attacking the Carthaginians in the very heart of their dominions, and therefore made all the thoughts of in necessary preparations to transfer the war into Africa. As he wanted seamen for this vading Africa; expedition, he obliged the maritime cities in his interest to furnish him with failors but is obliged and mariners, and even forced into the service persons of rank, who had any experience in naval affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. This, with some other arbitrary proceedings, so disgusted the Sicilians, that they began to look upon him as a tyrant, and the cities in general conceived such an aversion to him, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, his avowed enemies. In confequence c of this, there was fuch a general defertion amongst the Sicilian troops in his service, most of whom went over to the Carthaginians, that he soon found himself attended only by his Epirot phalanx; which obliged him to lay afide all thoughts of any farther military operations, either in Sicily or Africa. The Carthaginians, being informed of this sudden revolution, sent a strong reinforcement to their army in Sicily, in order to recover their antient conquests there, whilst a mighty seet cruised round the island to prevent Pyrrhus from making his escape 4 (G).

He returns to Italy.

THAT prince therefore, meditating a return to Italy, embarqued with the remains of his troops on the vessels he brought to Sicily, being attended by a large additional number of Sicilian transports, with a considerable treasure on board, according to d With this fleet he fet sail for Rhegium, but was met at sea by the Carthaginian squadron, and obliged to venture an engagement; wherein being deseated, he had seventy of his ships sunk, and most of the rest so shattered, that they were rendered intirely unfit for service; so that he arrived at Locri, with only ten vessels, and from thence with great difficulty marched to Tarentum. The Carthaginians after this reduced the Sicilian towns before in their possession with as much celerity as Pyrrbus had conquered them, and fettled their affairs in Sicily upon a firmer footing than ever. It is faid, that Pyrrbus, when he was on the point of fetting fail, cried out to his men, at the fight of that wealthy country he was going to abandon, What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans! a prediction which was foon afterwards verified. What happened to this prince after his arrival in Italy, it is unnecessary to touch upon here, fince an ample relation of this has been already given in other parts of our history c.

Hiero declared Syraculian

Notwithstanding the Carthaginians so easily dislodged the Epirots from their general of the part of Sicily, yet they had two powerful enemies still to contend with in that island, the Syracufians and the Mamertines. After Pyrrhus's departure, the former, being army, and pre- destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. Whilst their army lay encamped near Mergana, a quarrel arose betwixt the soldiers and the citizens, which had like to have been attended with fatal effects. Upon this, the foldiers elected Artemidorus and Hiero for their leaders, and vested them with an almost absolute authority. Hiero, tho' then very young, had all the good qualities to be wished for in any prince; and

> c Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Pyrrh. ■ Idem ibid. & Dion. Hal. apud Vales. Vide & Liv. epit. 1. xiii. C Appian. Samnit. in excerptis Valesii. Plut. in Pyrrh. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3. Univer. hist. vol. iii. p. 90, 91, 816, 817, &c. Vide & Flor. l. i. c. 18. & in eum Salmas. atq; Frienshem. Eutrop. Rom. hist. brev. l. ii. Lucium Ampelium in lib. mem. c. 28. aliosq; plur.

(G) Justin will have it, that Pyrrhus deseated the Carthaginians in several pitched battles whilst in Sieily, and gave them a notable overthrow just before

his departure out of the island; but as Diodorus feems to clash with this account, no great stress is to be laid upon it (39).

a having, by the address and management of his friends, got possession of the city, foon suppressed the contrary faction. Far from being elated with his good fortune, he held the reins of government in fo gentle and flack a manner, that he gained the hearts of all men; infomuch that the Syracufians, though highly diffatisfied with the foldiery for affuming the right of chusing their own generals, received him as prætor, without the least contest; nay, according to Justin, they unanimously confirmed him in the command the army had conferred upon him, investing him with all the civil and military power during the inter-regnum. He is represented by the antient historians as a confummate hero, and most amiable prince; as one who, by the arts of infinuation and address, without shedding of blood, or hurting one single citizen, calmed b the minds of the people of Syracuse, and reconciled the different tactions, which then miserably distracted that unhappy state. He made his first campaign under Pyrrbus, and so improved in the art of war by the direction of that great general, that he was looked upon as the best commander in his army. The Syracusian forces under his command, destined to act against the Carthaginians, after the departure of Pyrrbus, being most excellently disciplined, obtained several considerable advantages over them, and even in a short time grew formidable to them f.

As for the Mamertines (H), the other enemy the Carthaginians had to deal with Abrief account in Sicily, they were originally a body of Campanian mercenaries, that Agathocles took of the Mamerinto his fervice. Being tempted with the beauty and opulence of Messana, they e formed a defign to make themselves masters of it by surprize, which took effect in the following manner: These troops, being denied by the Syracusians the right of giving their votes at the election of magistrates, immediately had recourse to arms; which threw the city into great confusion; but some persons of distinction interposing, it was at last agreed, that the Campanians should evacuate Sicily within a limited time, and carry off all their effects along with them. Upon the expiration of this term they retired to Messana, in order to embarque for their native country. Here they met with a most friendly and kind reception from the citizens; in return for which favour, they in the night either expelled or affaffinated all the men, took the women to their own use, and seized upon the city. After they had divided the d lands and riches of the unhappy Messanians amongst themselves, they called the city Mamertina, and assumed to themselves the name of Mamertini, that is, martial or warlike people, from Mamers, a word, which, in their language, being a dialect of the Oscan, fignified Mars, the (I) god of war. As they were a bold and resolute nation, they in a short time reduced many of the neighbouring states, and extended their conquests to the middle of the island. By the assistance of the Roman garrison at Rhegium, which, under the command of one Decius a Campanian, had seized upon

## F POLYB. l. i. Justin. ubi fup. c. 4.

(H) Alfius gives us the following short history of the Mamertines: The whole country of the Samnites having been visited with a terrible pestilence, Sthenius Mettius, prince of that people, assembled all his subjects, and to'd them, that Apollo in a dream had assured him, that they should be delivered from the plague, provided they would make a vow to offer up to him all the produce of the next spring; which they immediately complying with, the plique ceased. Some time after it broke out again amongst them, and made great havock; upon which consulting Apollo, they were informed by him, that the return of the pestilence was owing to the non-observance of their vow, fince they had not facrificed to him the children born in the fpring above-mentioned; but that if they would banish all of them that were then living, and grown up, they should be delivered a second time from that dreadful evil. They immediately followed this advice of the god; and the men thus banished retiring to Sicily, came into that part of the island called Taurominitana, or Regio Taurominitana. The Messanians, being at that time engaged in a bloody

war, defired their affiftance; which having obtained, they overcame all their enemies, and, as a grateful acknowledgment for the service done made them free of their city. As the republic of Messana was now grown more powerful by the coalition of two different nations, the Messanas proposed assuming a new name, and, in order to this, cast the names of twelve of the gods into an urn, by way of lots, resolving to take that which came out first. This happened to be Mamers; so that they were from that time called Mamertines (40).

(I) We are informed by Festus, that, in the Oscan tongue, Mamers fignified Mars, the god of war. Scaliger observes, that Mamers, Mavors, and Mars, amongst that people, denoted valiant. It has like-wise been supposed, that the word Mars comes from a more than the word Mars comes from amarus, or the Hebrew מרר amaritudo; and this notion is countenanced by the epithets minpes, δεινός, άγριος, βλοσυρός, δήϊος, χέτλιος, λυγρός, aueilinos, durus, torvus, rigidus, esc. which are frequently applied to him. Scaliger, in his notes upon Varro, thinks, that Mars, by reduplication, becomes Mamers (41).

(40) Alfius in lib. de prim. bel. Pun. apud Sext. Pomp. Fest. in voce Mamertini. Strab. l. vi. Vide & fos. Scalig. castigat. in Sext. Pomp. Fest. p. 82. edit. Par. 1593. (41) Sext. Pomp. Fest. in voce Mamers. fos. Scalig. de caus. ling. Lat. c. 69. Idem in not. ad Var. de ling. Lat. Vide & Isidor. Hispalens orig. l. viii. that city in the same infamous manner that the Mamertines had possessed themselves a of Messana, they soon became very powerful, and made frequent incursions both into the Syracusian and Carthaginian territories, plundering the country, and laying most of the towns and villages under contribution. The Romans, thinking their honour concerned in making an example of Decius, and his accomplices, for the slagrant violation of public saith they had been guilty of, attacked the city of Rhegium, took it by storm, and put to the sword all the garrison, except three hundred men, whom they carried to Rome; and after having scourged them with rods, in conformity to the Roman custom, beheaded them publicly in the forum. The Mamertines, being thus deprived of their main support, could not long defend themselves against the attacks of Fliero, who, on account of their repeated depredations, and for several b other weighty reasons, declared war against them. As that prince's troops were always ready to enter upon action, he immediately advanced to the frontiers, and cutting off all communication betwixt the Mamertines and the neighbouring states, encamped on (K) the river Longanus, where he put himself in a posture to receive the enemy, in case they should think proper to venture an engagement with hims.

They are artacked and defeated by Hicto, who, after this action, is proclaimed king of Syracute.

THE Mamertines, finding all the avenues leading to their capital city guarded by the enemy's detachments, and themselves reduced to great streights by Hiero's posfessing himself of so commodious a camp, were obliged to run the risque of a battle; and therefore drawing their forces, which confifted of eight thousand foot, and some horse, out of Messana, under the command of Cios, they encamped on the opposite c bank, and made the necessary dispositions to pass the river. In the mean time Hiero fent a choice detachment, confisting of two hundred Messanians, and sour hundred picked foldiers of his own troops, with orders to take post on the hill Thorax, and then wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear, whilst he himself, with the gross of his army, charged them in front. The action for some time was sharp and bloody, both sides behaving with undaunted resolution; but at last Hiero having gained an eminence near the river, which, being a very advantageous post, enabled him terribly to gall the enemy, the detachment posted upon the hill falling with great fury upon their rear, and they having with much difficulty already fustained the first shock of the Syracusian army, the Mamertines immediately gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitate slight. The Syracusians pursued them so d closely, that they put every man of them to the sword, except Cios (L), who having received many wounds in the engagement, fainted through loss of blood, and being taken prisoner, was brought half-dead into Hiero's camp. Hiero, being a prince of fingular humanity, ordered all possible care to be taken of that general, and his wounds to be dressed by the most skilfur surgeons in his army; but Cios, soon after feeing his fon's horse brought into the camp by a party of Syracusians, immediately concluded he was killed, which threw him into fuch an excess of grief, that he refused all comfort, tore in pieces the ligatures of his wounds, and chose rather to fall by his own hand, than survive a person so dear to him. This deseat, which Hiero gave the Mamertines in the plains of Mylæ, was the greatest blow that people ever received; e neither did they ever afterwards find it possible to re-establish their broken affairs. The troops were so highly pleased with Hiero's conduct in this battle, that they proclaimed him king of Syracuse upon his arrival at that metropolis h.

E POLYB l. i. Appian. Samnit. & Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerptis Valesii. h Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæschel. Polyb. ubi sup.

(K) Diodorus Siculus calls this river Loitanus; but we apprehend this to be a corruption of Longanus, the name given it by Polybius. We own, the generality of MSS. of the former author have ΛΟΙΤΑ-ΝΟΣ; but this cannot stand in competition with the great authority of Polybius. Besides, upon viewing the words ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ and ΛΟΓΓΑΝΟΣ together, we shall find, that nothing can be conceived more easy than fuch a corruption; for ΓΓ IT in the middle of these words, the letters on which the true reading depends, resemble one another so nearly, that it is the easiest thing in nature to mistake the former for the latter. Cellarius, by taking notice only of Polybius's name, seems to have been intirely of our opinion (42).

(L) Diodorus tells us, that Cios affembled his footh-fayers, and consulted them, before he joined battle with Hiero. Upon viewing the facrifices narrowly, they unanimously declared, that he should lodge that night in the enemy's camp. This prediction of the entrails he took as an infallible token of victory, and therefore engaged the Syracusan army with great alacrity and courage, but had the missfortune to meet with the sate here mentioned. However, being brought a prisoner into Hiero's camp, the prediction was undoubtedly looked upon as sulfilled, though not in the sense in which he understood it. By such ambiguous answers both the oracles and haruspices frequently imposed upon those who consulted them (43).

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THE Carthaginians, being apprifed of the great victory Hiero had gained over the Andis over-Mamertines, began to be uneasy at the progress of that prince's arms; but their reached by the uneasiness was much heightened, upon receiving intelligence, that the Mamertines had made some overtures to him for an accommodation, the principal of which was, that they should put the city of Messana into his hands, provided he would engage to maintain the inhabitants in the possession of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. The Carthaginians endeavoured to traverse this negotiation; but finding themselves unable to prevent its taking effect, they formed a scheme to keep Messana out of the hands of the Syracusians. In order to this, Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, b amused Hiero, till some troops, which he had kept concealed in the Lipari islands, drew near Messana. The cunning African came to Hiero, advancing to take possesfion of the place, as it were to congratulate him on his late victory, but in reality with an intention to retard the march of his troops to Messana. In the mean time an officer being fent, at the head of a detachment, into the town, affured the Mamertines, that he came as a friend, and that his only design was to affist them against the Syracusians, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The Mamertines, being greatly weakened by the late overthrow, readily admitted the Carthaginian detachment, and by that means preserved themselves still independent both of the Syracusians and Carthaginians. These two last powers, finding they c had pursued wrong measures, afterwards entered into an alliance, and affembled their joint forces to form the siege of Messana. This obliged the Mamertines to call in the Romans to their aid; which gave rise to the first Punic war, a particular account of which will be found in the following fection i.

DIOD. SIC. & POLYB. ibid.

## SECT. VI.

The history of the Carthaginians, from the first to the second Punic

THOUGH the Carthaginians had entered into an alliance with the Romans a little before Pyrrbus landed in Italy, and offered them powerful fuccours against that The Carthagiprince, yet, even at this time, there reigned a mutual jealousy and diffidence between nians advance the two states. As their power was very extensive, their political views and interests with a powerdiametrically opposite, and both of them seemed acted by the same spirit of ambi-rentum. when tion, it was morally impossible but that, sooner or later, a bloody quarrel must be fieged by the commence betwixt them. The Romans, proving superior to Pyrrbus, as has been Romans; which gives related, obliged him to abandon his Italian allies, whom, soon after his departure, great umbrage. they easily reduced 2. The Samnites received so terrible an overthrow from the con- to that nation. fuls L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Corvilius, surnamed Maximus, that, from this time, they ceased to be a nation b. The Brutians and Lucanians were next obliged to submit; e so that only Tarentum remained to be chastised for incurring the displeasure of the Romans. As that city had not only embroiled the Romans with their neighbours, but likewise destroyed one of their fleets, insulted their embassadors, invited Pyrrbus over into Italy, and greatly exerted itself in assisting him to execute the project he had formed against the Roman republic, they were resolved to make it seel the effects of their resentment; and therefore the confuls, immediately after they had conquered the Brutians and Lucanians, caused it to be invested . Milo at this time commanded the Epirot garrison in the citadel, and the Tarentines had possession of the town. These two parties, being then at variance, instead of taking proper measures for the desence of the place, feemed to be under-hand contriving how they might deliver it up to a foreign power d. f As the Carthaginians lay at that time with a strong squadron of galleys, and a body of land-forces on board, before the town, and affected to treat only the Epirots as enemies, it was suspected, that the Tarentines had implored their assistance; and on the other hand Milo entered into a negotiation with the Romans, in order to put both the

\* Flor. l. i. c. 18. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p 647. Polyb. l. i. b Flor. ubi sup. Zonar. in annal. l. xiii. c. 6, p. 377, 378, 379. c Idem ibid. & Liv. epit. l. xii. xiv. xv. &c. Oros. l. iv. Zonar. ubi sup. Liv. epit. & Oros. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 648. Zonar. ubi sup.

town and citadel into their hands; which at last he did, and that even by the consent a of the Tarentines themselves . The Carthaginians, being disappointed of their aim, retired to their own coasts; but the Romans were not a little chagrined at this step, fince they thereby discovered, not only that the Carthaginians intended to rob their republic of a city, which, by right of conquest, belonged to it, but likewise that they meditated the conquest even of Italy itself. Besides, could the design have been carried into execution, it would have been a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded between the two states. This therefore convinced the Romans, that the Carthaginians paid little regard to the faith of treaties, and consequently that they could not be too much upon their guard against the attempts of so perfidious, as well as enterprising a nation. That the Romans drew such a conclusion from the conduct b of the Carthaginians at this juncture, seems not only probable from the nature of the thing itself, but likewise from an observation of Cato f and Gellius; and therefore we may look upon it as a remote or pretended cause at least of the first Punic war; and indeed this is allowed by Zonaras, as well as Lucius Ampelius, one of their own later historians g.

The Carthagimians jealous of the growing power of the Romans.

THE Romans, soon after the reduction of Tarentum, made themselves masters of all the countries in Italy, from the remotest part of Etruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tyrrbenian sea to the Adriatic. This rapid progress of their arms gave a fresh alarm to the Carthaginians, who now confidered, that the Romans had a very short paffage over to Sicily, and that the continent of Italy could not limit their ambition. c They therefore began to look upon all their possessions in that island as very precarious, unless they could speedily reduce the exorbitant power of their rival within narrower bounds. Such a confideration as this must undoubtedly have increased the jealoufy, and heightened the difguft already conceived in the breafts of the Carthaginians, and had most certainly its proper influence in pushing them on to a rupture with the Komans h.

Decius Jubelgion of Campa-

THE inhabitants of Rhegium, being exposed to the attempts of Pyrrbus, as well as the lius, with a le- infults of the Carthaginians, who, foon after the arrival of that prince in Italy, infested gion of Campa-titans, seizes on all the Ionian sea, applied to the Romans for a garrison to defend them from an invasion. In compliance with their request, a legion of Campanians was raised, the Romans at that d time not being able to spare any of their own troops, on account of the war with Pyrrbus, and fent under the command of one Decius Jubellius, a native of Campania, to garrison that city. These troops, for some time, did their duty perfectly well; but at last, in imitation of the Mamertines, who had possessed themselves of Messana in a most perfidious manner, and, being of the same nation, affisted these Campanians with a body of forces to accomplish their design, they began to entertain thoughts of rendering themselves independent at Rhegium. To this they were strongly excited by the beauty and opulence of the place, and the elegancies the citizens abounded with. As the Romans at that time had their hands full of the war with Pyrrbus, they thought this a favourable juncture to bring their project to bear, since nothing but e the opposition which might be apprehended from that quarter could possibly obstruct the execution of it. Decius therefore, to colour his proceedings, pretended to have advice, that the Rhegians had entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the place to Pyrrhus, and betray the garrison into his hands. In order to prevent this, he suggested there was a necessity of taking possession of the town, and making an example of the conspirators. To support what he advanced, forged letters were produced, which he pretended to have intercepted, wherein all the particulars of the conspiracy were related at large. This, together with a fet speech on the occasion, made such an impression upon the troops, that they were prepared for any attempt, and ready at an instant to execute their general's orders. In the mean time a person, privy to f the defign, appearing, pretended to have certain news, that Pyrrbus had already made a descent on the territories of Rhegium, and was advancing towards the city, in order to have a conference with the principals of the conspiracy. This serving as a fignal to the Campanians, the train being already laid, they immediately took possession of the city, divided amongst themselves all the plunder found therein, and put most of the men to the sword i.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Univers hist. ubi sup. Zonar. annal. l. viii. c. 6. p. 379.

In noct. Attic. l. x. c. 1.

Lucius Ampel., in lib. memorial. c. 46. Vide & Zonar. ubi sup. c. 8.

p. 382.

Liv. epit. Oros. Univers hist. &c. ubi sup.

Polyb. & Val. Max. ubi sup. Diod. p. 382. h Liv. epit. Oros. Univers. Sec. l. xxii. apud Vales. Liv. epit. l. xii.

Nor long after the perpetration of this horrid fact, Decius was expelled by the The Romans foldiery, and obliged to fly to Messana. There being seized by a violent pain in his retake Rhegi-eyes, he applied to a Rhegian physician for relief; who, resenting the injuries offered put to the his country, prescribed him a plaister of cantharides, which totally deprived him of word, or be-his sight, and then made his escape. This we learn from Diodorus. But Appian head, all the intimates, that he was attacked by this disorder at Rhegium, and sent to Messana for Campanians; which, together a physician, not caring to trust any of those in the place where he resided. The Ma-with the defeat mertines fent him one eminent for his skill in the art of medicine, whom the last given the Maauthor infinuates to have been a Rhegian; who, applying caustics to his eyes, advised mertines by him to keep them on till his return, which never happened; so that in a short time this last people b he became stark-blind. Neither Polybius nor Dio take notice of any of these circum-to receives Itances; and therefore give us reason to believe, which is likewise consonant to the Carthaginian fragment of Appian just referred to, that he did not depart from Rhegium, as Diodo-detachment rus suggests, but met with the sate he deserved either in that place or Rome, with his accomplices and companions. Be this as it will, as foon as the Roman republic was in a condition to take vengeance of this perfidious legion, she ordered L. Genucius Clepsina to besiege Rhegium with a powerful army. The Campanians, being reinforced by a strong body of Mamertines, whom they had likewise assisted in their wars with the Syracusians and Carthaginians, made a vigorous defence; but the conful, redoubling his attacks, at last took the place, and put all the garrison to the c fword, except three hundred men, who were carried to Rome, and there punished with exemplary severity. They were whipped with rods in the middle of the forum, had their heads struck off, and their bodies remained, by the senate's order, unintetred. Appian relates, that Decius, being detained in close custody, grew impatient of his confinement, and laid violent hands on himfelf; but whether this happened at Rome or Rhegium, he fays not. In the mean time the Mamertines, having sustained a prodigious loss, not only by the flaughter of their troops sent to the assistance of the Campanians, but likewise by the destruction of their faithful ally, who had hitherto greatly contributed to support them against all their enemies, and receiving about the same time the terrible deseat from Hiero above-mentioned, found themd selves upon the point of submitting to the Syracusians. Some of the principal citizens, to prevent this, applied to the Romans for succours, who, for certain reasons, not being disposed to support them at that conjuncture, the Carthaginian faction in Messana admitted a Carthaginian detachment into the town, which immediately took possession of the citadel. The Roman party, highly incensed at such a point of conduct, hereupon resolved to send a second time to their friends for speedy relief. This step of the Carthaginians therefore must be allowed to have been the immediate cause of the first Punic wark.

As for the motives which prompted the Carthaginians to this war, we have just some of the hinted at them: a defire of securing and inlarging their acquisitions in Sicily; the principal moe necessity of humbling a proud rival, whose interests in every respect clashed with trues, which induced both theirs; a resolution to preserve the dominion of the (A) sea, and that extensive trade the Carthagi-

they nians and Romans to under-

h Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Appian. & Dio Cass. in excerptis Vales. Vide & Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Rhodom. take the first POLYB. ubi sup. &c. Zonar. ubi sup. p. 382, 383. Oros. l. ii. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Punic war.

(A) That the Carthaginians were, for several centuries, extremely powerful by sea, cannot be disputed; nay, if John Tzetzes may be credited, they came as far with their fleets as the Thracian Bosporus, where they carried on a naval war with the Byzantines. However, this we cannot believe, as being intirely unsupported by any other author. That scholiast's words are. Όμοίως δὲ τέτοις κὸ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟ΄ΝΙΟΙ κὸ Βυζάντιοι, διὰ πλοιαρία σκαλμά τιν διενεχθεντες, δεινώς έναυμάχησαν έν τω Βοσωόρω. Τεει-zes, in the place referred to, observes how common a thing it is for neighbouring states to quarrel, and that even about trifles; and, amongst others, brings the dispute betwirt the KAPXHAONIOI and the Bu av Tioi, in the passage before us, as an instance of it. As therefore the Carthaginians and Byzantines could never have been looked upon as neighbours, the passage under consideration wants undoubtedly to be emended; which will be done to fatisfaction, Vol. VI. Nº 11.

if for KAPXHAONIOI we read KAAXHAO-NIOI; fince the people of Chalcedon or Calchedon were most certainly neighbours to the Byzantines, and sometimes embroiled with them. That the people of Chalcedon were neighbours to the Byzantines, is evident from the situation assigned that city by Stephanus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Strabo; fince, according to these authors, it stood over-against Byzantium, on the opposite shore. In order to support our emendation farther, it may not be improper to observe, that tho', in printed books, for the most part, we find the name of this city to be XAΛΚΗΔΩΝ, yet, in antient coins, which are of much greater authority, it is always exhibited KAA-XH $\Delta\Omega$ N, and the people named KAAXH $\Delta$ ONIOI, or, in the Doric dialect, KAAXAAONIOI. This is fo strong a proof of the error of the printed books, and many MSS. in this particular, that Hardouin has corrected the MSS, and printed editions of Pliny, and

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they then enjoyed; these, we say, were undoubtedly the principal motives, which a prevailed upon them to engage in this famous quarrel. The Romans likewife, in all probability, were influenced by reasons of much the same kind: a thirst after empire, an abhorrence of the Carthaginian genius, a fear that so false a friend would get a footing in Italy; in fine, a notion, that their political views were intirely repugnant to those of the Carthaginians, disposed them to a rupture with that people. That the possession also of the fertile islands of Sicily and Sardinia, which, they imagined, must of course fall to the victor, had great weight with the Romans, in determining them to enter upon a war with Carthage, is extremely probable, and even acknowledged by some of their own writers. The first Punic war, according to Polybius, lasted twenty-four years m, and was carried on chiefly by sea, both sides struggling hard b for the dominion of that element. As Sicily, the object of this dispute, was an island, fuch a contention was very natural. We shall now proceed to give a brief account of the principal transactions of every campaign, in order of time as they happened a.

The Roman tana fend to Rome for fuc. cours against the Carthagi-

THE Roman faction in Messana, upon the admission of a Carthaginian garrison into faction in Mes- the citadel, dispatched fresh deputies to Rome, to solicit assistance from the republic. Upon their arrival, in the name of their principals, they offered the possession of Messana to the Romans, and, in the most moving terms, implored their protection. The conscript fathers, imagining that a compliance with this request would destroy the uniformity of their conduct, and make them lose the high character they had gained by the fevere punishment lately inflicted upon the perfidious Campanian c legion, were for some time in suspense what course to take: but afterwards confidering what vast territories the Carthaginians possessed in Africa and Spain; that they were masters of a great part of Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands lying on the coast of Italy; that they had a design on Italy itself, which they would most certainly put in execution, if they could intirely reduce Messana, and seize upon the whole island of Sicily; they either really were, or pretended to be, under great apprehensions for their own fafety, and therefore appeared disposed to support the Mamertines. This disposition was soon turned into a resolution by the unanimous voice of the people, who, having been greatly impoverished by the late wars, and proposing to themselves no small advantages from an invasion of Sicily, to which likewise they were strongly d excited by those who expected the command of the armies destined for that service, were very eager from the beginning for an attempt to deliver Messana. The senate therefore decreed, that this enterprize should be undertaken; and in consequence of this decree, which was likewise confirmed by an ordinance of the people, Appius Claudius, one of the confuls, received orders to attempt a passage to Sicily, at the head of a powerful army.

THE conful, being obliged to stay some time longer in Rome, where his presence Jends C. Clau- was then necessary, on account of some affairs of moment, commanded one Caius eius, a legion- Claudius, a legionary tribune, and a person of great intrepidity and resolution, to ary tribune to act in his flead, advance with a few (B) vessels to Rhegium. Claudius, upon his arrival there, observe e

1 FLOR. & LUCIUS AMPEL. ubi sup. Vide etiam DIONYS, HALICAR, ant. Rom. l. ii. & Polyb. ubi supra. m Polyb. ubi sup. n Vide Zonar. ubi sup. Liv. epit. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. August. de civ. Dei, 3, 18. Auct. vit. vir. illustr. 37, & seq. Polyb. ubi sup. Sil. Ital l. vi. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Appian. in Libye. VAL. MAX. paf. aliofq; script. plurim.

Seguin those of Strabo, by the help of these coins. Spanheim likewise looks upon ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ to be indisputably the true name; which, together with the authority of Memnon in Photius, Justellus, &c. fixes the point we are infifting on beyond contra-

(B) Zonaras calls these vessels triremes; but in this he not only contradicts Polybius, but himself. For Polybius afferts, that neither quinqueremes nor triremes were in use amongst the Italians before the first Punic war; and as for Zonaras himself, he assures us, that the Romans were intirely ignorant of every thing relating to the building and

equipping of fleets before the commencement of their first quarrel with Carthage. We are told by some writers, that a Carthaginian galley, venturing too near the shore, was stranded, and taken by the Romans; and that, after the model of this galley, the Romans built many of those vessels, of which their first fleet was composed. This must have been a trireme; fince, according to Polybius, their first fleet consisted both of quinqueremes and triremes. And Aurelius Victor gives us to understand, that the first Carthaginian quinquereme, which fell into the hands of the Romans, was taken by Appius Claudius, in his passage from Messana to Rhegium (1).

(1) Joh. Tzetz. schol. in Hesiod. Egy. 2 nuég. a. p. 83. edit. Dan. Heinsii, ex officin. Plantin. Raphelengii, 1603. Plin. l. v. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Tasit. l. xii. c. 63. Strab. l. vii. p. 221. & l. xii. p. 387. Appian. in bell. Mithrid. p. 367. Eutrop. l. vi. c. 5. Claudian. ver. 176. Pet. Seguin. p. 145. Jo. Hard. in Plin. Ez. Spanhem. de us. & prast. numism. ant. & in orb. Rom. exercit. ii. c. 18. p. 459, 460. Memn. apud Phot. in biblioth. cod. caxiv. p. 381. edit. Haschelii. Justel. in cod. can. eccles. &c. Vide & Polyan. strat. l. vi. c. 25. (2) Zonar. in annal. l. viii. c. 8. p. 381. edit. Car. du Fresne, Paris. 1686. Polyb. l. i. Aurel. Vict. sive aust. vit. vir. illustr. 37. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 657.

a ing the Carthaginian squadron to be infinitely superior to his own, and absolute matters of the streights, thought it would be little inferior to madness to attempt at that time transporting any forces to Sicily; and therefore contented himself, for the present, with watching the enemy's motions. However, he soon after, in a small boat, boldly crossed the streights himself, and had a conference with the Mamertines; but finding that people awed by the Carthaginian garrison in the citadel, he returned to Rhegium, without having been able to prevail upon them to accept of the Roman protection. Notwithstanding which, in a little time, he received advice, that the Mamertines, being desirous of expelling the Carthaginians, and recovering their former absolute independency, were in motion; upon which he ventured a second time b to Messana, and assured the Mamertines, that the sole view of his republic was, to restore them to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and preserve them in that situation. Then addressing himself to the Carthaginian officers there present, he, with an air of dignity, told them, that they either ought immediately to abandon the place, or assign a reason for their continuance in it. The Mamertines, being under some restraint, by reason of the Carthaginian troops, which had taken post amongst them, were silent; and the Carthaginians, being, in effect, masters of the place, would not vouchsafe him an answer. Directing himself therefore to the

latter, he told them, they had reason to be filent, since the iniquity of their conduct would not admit of a vindication. And as for you, Mamertines, added he, your c silence I take to be a full proof of your passion for liberty; since, if you were disposed to be flaves to fuch imperious mafters, nothing could hinder you from declaring for them. The Mamertines, animated by the tribune's boldness, applauded his speech, and shewed their readiness to receive the Roman succours. Claudius, having thus happily gained his point, departed to the opposite shore, and made the necessary dispofitions to transport a body of forces to Messana without delay.

THE Carthaginians, being informed of the resolution taken at Rome to affist the The Romans Mamertines, fent a body of forces, and a strong squadron of galleys, under the land in Sicily, command of Hanno, to Sicily. That general, receiving intelligence, that Claudius themselves of had set sail from Rhigium with a (C) small Roman sleet, and was steering towards Messana.

POLYB. l. i. AUREL. VICT. five auct. vir. illustr. 37. Liv. epit. l. xvi. Univ. bist. vol. iii. p. 93, 94. & vol. iv. p. 652. Zonar. l. viii. c. 8, 9. Oros. ubi sup. c. 7.

(C) That the Romans were not intirely unacquainted with the art of navigation before the time of the first Punic war, is apparent from hence, that they were contiguous to the Etruscans, a nation (2) very powerful by fea many centuries be-fore this war, from whom they must undoubtedly have received some knowledge of sea-affairs; nay, they had conquered Etruria, and confequently made themselves masters of the Etruscan power both by fea and land, before the commencement of the first Punic war. It is true, the Etrascan power, particularly by sea, had been declining many years before the Romans reduced Etraria; but confidering how celebrated the Etruscans had been (4) for the figure they made by sea in former ages, we cannot suppole them intirely void of shipping, when conquered by the Romans. Besides, several very antient Roman coins, prior to the first Punic war, if not as old as the regal government, plainly prove the Romans not to have been absolute strangers to the art of constructing ships in earlier ages, since different parts of thips are visible on the reverses of these (5) coins. On the other hand, it must be allowed, that, till the period above-mentioned, the Romans were much more intent upon rendering themselves formidable by land, than by fea; neither is it at all natural to

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believe, that they should have entertained any thoughts of building and equipping a fleet of any force, before they had formed a delign of attacking the dominions of some rival state, separated from their own by the watry element; and so we find, in fact, it happened. After having premifed this, we think we may venture to allow a possibility of reconciling *Polybius* with himself, in his relation of the manner and period, wherein the Romans first en-deavoured to fit out a fleet. That the Romans applied themselves to commerce long before the times we are now speaking of, is evident from the two first treaties they concluded with the Carthaginlans, and from several other incidents taken notice of in the Roman history, as we have elsewhere observed; but then it is probable, that, for the most part at least, they traded in Italian bottoms, making use of the ships of their allies, who are expresly mentioned in those treaties, on such occasions. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they generally, if not always, as we are inclined to believe they did, applied to their allies for ships of war and naval suc-cours, whenever they wanted them. This is evident from Justin and Polybius, to omit other authors, from whom it appears, that, in the treaty concluded with Carthage near the time of Pyrrhus's

(3) Diod. Sic. l.v. & l. xi. Palaphat. n. 21. Strab. l. v. Athen deipnosoph. l. vii. p. 296. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. isidor. l. xviii. c. 4. & l. xix. c. 1. Draco Corcyreus & Menodatus Samius apud Athen. in deipnosol. xv. Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. iii c. 81, 82, 83, 84. edit. Florent. 1723. Vide & Phil. Bonarot. explic. & covjett. ad mon. op. Dempst addit. p. 51. edit. Florent. 1726. (4) Herodot. l. i. Thucyd. l. i. sub. ivit. en avgulin archient. init. & author. jam citat. (5) Plin, nat. hift. l. xiii. c. 3. Anton. Augustin. archiepisc. Tarracon. antiquit. Roman. & Hispanar. in num. vet. dial. i. p. 5. B. Latine edit. ab And. Schotto, Antwerp. 1617. Vide & Volusium Metianum in lib. de asse.

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Messana, in order to throw a body of troops into that place, immediately went in a quest of him; and coming up with him near the coast of Sicily, attacked him with great fury. He had scarce begun the attack, when a violent storm arose, which dashed many of the Roman vessels in pieces against the rocks, they not being so capable of riding out a storm as the Carthaginian, and did their squadron infinite prejudice; infomuch that Claudius, finding himself engaged with two enemies at once, was forced to give way. He was therefore totally defeated, most of his ships taken, others destroyed, and he himself obliged to retire with great difficulty to Rhegium. Hanno, either to pique the Romans in point of honour, or to divert them from sending succours to Messana, restored all the vessels he had taken from Claudius, who, when the Carthaginian deputies arrived, was refitting his fleet. These b deputies, upon their arrival, proposed a treaty of peace to the tribune; which being rejected, they had some warm expostulations with the Romans, whom they accused of a violation of former treaties, declaring, that the Carthaginians would never fuffer the Romans to be masters of the streights betwixt Italy and Sicily, nor even to wash their hands in them. This, for the present, cut off all hopes of a pacification, so that Claudius refumed his military preparations with the utmost vigour; which having completed, and narrowly observed when the wind and tide favoured him, he weighed anchor a fecond time, and eluding the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them, got fafe into the port of Messana. The Mamertines having surrendered the town to him, Hanno thought proper to retire into the citadel; but at c the defire of Claudius, and the heads of the Mamertines, he had a conference with them, when he was perfidiously arrested by one of the legionaries, at the command of the Roman general, and detained a considerable time prisoner. This step greatly intimidated the Carthaginian garrison, and, with some succeeding persuasions and menaces intermixed, induced them to furrender the citadel to Claudius. Hanno. being afterwards released, went to Carthage, to justify his conduct; which having the misfortune not to do to the fatisfaction of the senate, he was, by their order, immediately crucified. Polybius tells us, that his countrymen suspected him guilty either of cowardice or treachery; but that he really deferved fuch an imputation, does not appear from any point of his conduct. On the contrary, the cowardice of the Car- d thaginian garrison, when deprived of their commandant, and the perfidiousness of Claudius, seem to have been the true causes of the loss of the citadel. Nothing can be inferred to his prejudice from the cruel and ignominious death he met with, fince that was a fate common to the most famous Carthaginian generals when unsuccessful P.

The Carthaginians and Syraculians lay fiege to Meftuna. The Carthaginians, being determined at all events to dislodge the Romans from Messana, raised a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet, for that purpose, appointing another Hanno, the son of Hannibal, commander in chief of these forces. This general, landing his troops at Lilybæum, invited Hiero, king of Syracuse, to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and then marched to Selinus, near which city he encamped; from whence, at the head of a considerable detachment, he eadvanced to Agrigentum, and repaired the fortifications of the citadel there. The Agrigentines were easily prevailed upon to declare for the Carthaginians; and Hanno, upon his return to the camp at Selinus, found embassadors from Hiero, who had

P Polyb. ubi sup. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Vide & Justin. atq; Diodor. pass.

coming to Italy, it was stipulated, that the Carthaginians should assist the Romans with a squadron, in case they should be attacked by that prince; and that, in the beginning of the first Punic war, Claudius could not pass over to Sicily, till he was supplied with ships by the Tarentines, Locrians, and Neapolitans. That the Romans never equipped a steet of any consequence before this war, or had even any quinqueremes or triremes amongst them, likewise farther appears from their being totally ignorant of the art of rowing and navigating those vessels, which they found themselves obliged to learn first upon land; nor indeed is it possible to conceive, that they should have had any squadron of note before they had these galleys, since the chief strength of sleets, in the age we are now upon at

least, consisted in such galleys. The Romans therefore might have had a tew coasting-vessels, and rude galleys or biremes, of their own, in the times preceding the first Punic war; but they never crossed the seas with any squadron of quinqueremes or triremes till now, as appears from Polybius, Livy, and others. Polybius therefore, in his account of the first sleet the Romans sitted out, must be understood as speaking of these ships only. And indeed that the Romans were totally ignorant of the construction of this fort of vessels, and that they were not used in any part of Italy before the first rupture of the Romans with the Carthaginians, may be certainly inferred from the express words of that excellent historian (6).

a orders to concert with him the proper measures for driving the Romans out of Sicily. Pursuant to the plan of operations Hanno and Hiero had laid down, those two generals marched with their united forces to Messana, and immediately invested the town. Before they besieged the place in form, they summoned the Roman garrison to surrender; which they refusing to do, Hanno put all the Italian soldiers in the Carthagiman fervice to the fword, and thereby rendered an accommodation with the Romans, on the part of his nation, impracticable. The Carthaginians pitched their tents at Senes (D), a town in the neighbourhood of Messana, and posted their fleet near the promontory (E) Pelorus, to prevent any supplies coming by sea; whilst Hiero encamped on the hill Chalcidicus, in order to cut off all communication betwixt the b belieged and the neighbouring country. The Romans, being apprifed of these motions, dispatched the consul Appius Claudius himself, at the head of a powerful army, to Rhegium; who, upon his arrival there, sent embassadors to Hiero, conjuring him, by the antient friendship betwixt the Romans and him, to desist from the siege he had undertaken, promising at the same time, that not the least damage should be offered to his territories. Hiero answered, that the Mamertines had posfessed themselves of Messana in the most villainous manner; that they had razed the cities of Gela and Camarina, and treated the inhabitants with unheard-of cruelty; that therefore such a nest of banditti ought to be intirely extirpated; that the Romans could not, without a manifest deviation from their pretended equity, take them c under their protection; and that in case, contrary to expectation, this should happen, the world would naturally conclude, that they were not influenced by the maxims of rigid probity and justice, as they would have mankind believe, but swayed by ambition, their aim being not to fuccour the diffressed, but to make themselves masters of the island of Sicily 4.

THE conful, having received this answer, resolved to pass over into Sicily with And are deall possible expedition; but, to conceal his design, gave out, that he could not ven-feated by the ture upon that enterprize, before he had consulted the senate. This stratagem was of Claudius. fignal fervice to him, fince the Carthaginian squadron posted to oppose his passage would undoubtedly have been too strong for him, had they been apprised of his resod lution; but this report reaching their ears, they guarded the streights with less care and vigilance. In the mean time Appius, going on board a (F) galley, built unskilfully, and in great haste, pretended to coast along the shore in his way to Rome; but, as foon as he was out of fight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark

POLYB. ubi fup. Diodor. Sic. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hoeschelii. Georg. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 275, edit. Par. 1652.

(D) The Greek name of this place in Polybius is EHNEIE, in Diodorus FTNEIE, which Rhodomanus translates cubilia. Whether the word is a proper name, or an appellative emphatically used, cannot now be determined, fince none of the old geographers have taken any notice of a place known by this name in the neighbourhood of Messana. However this may be, it is probable, that the words used by Polybins and Diodorus (7) were originally the same, though afterwards rendered different by the carelessness and inattention of transcribers. The great affinity betwixt the letters [SHNEIS, EYNEIS] of which they confift, fince H is often written in MSS. M, one fide of which might be eafily defaced by length of time, and the letter thereby mis-taken for a T, and the two initial letters in many MSS. being nearly the same, gives good ground for fuch a supposition.

(E) It is fomething furprifing, that so learned a man as Rhodomanus, in his Latin version of Diodorus, should translate the word AKPA here arx, which fignifies a fort or citadel; whereas it ought to have been rendered promontorium, a cape or promontory. It is true, AKPA answers to both the fignifications of arx and promontorium; but that, in this place, it should be confined to the latter, is evident from Polybius, who intimates, that the Carthaginian fleet lay near cape Pelorus or Peloris, and lined the coast. That this cape or promontory was called Pelorias, the name Diodorus here ules, appears from Ovid and Solinus; which proves Diodorus exactly to correspond with Polybius. It must therefore be allowed, that here is a second instance produced, to which many others might be added, of Rhodomanus's inaccuracy in his above-mentioned version (8).
(F) Aurelius Victor intimates, that this Claudius,

who was surnamed Caudex, and the brother of Appius Claudius Cacus, or the blind, crossed the Appins Clauses Cacus, or the olima, croiled the streights first in a small sister-boat, with a few transports attending him, in order to discover the disposition of the Mamertines, and reconnoitre the enemy; which having done, he returned to Rhegium in the same vessel, and had the good had the action of Carehaginian environments. luck to take a Carthaginian quinquereme, with a body of foot, in his passage, on board of which he foon after transported a Roman legion to Messana, following himself with his whole fleet, and the rest of the land-forces. This general likewise is said by the same author to have distinguished himself against the Volsmians; which doubtless induced the senate to give him the command of the army destined to act against the Carthaginians and their allies in Sicily (9).

(7) Polyb. & Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. (8) Idem ibid. Solin. c. 5. Ovid. fast. ver. 479. See likewise this vol. p. 764. not. (M). (9) Aurel. Vict. sive auct. vit. vir. illustr. 37.

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night, reached, with some transports, the nearest coasts of Sicily, and landed his a forces, without being perceived by the enemy. He had no fooner landed, but he took a view of both the enemies armies and their fleet; and finding them vaftly superior to his own, that they pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour, and that, in all probability, the town must foon capitulate, unless their camps could be forced, which could not be done without a great effusion of blood, he resolved to make another effort to bring about an accommodation between the contending parties. In order to this, he dispatched ministers a second time both to Hiero and the Carthaginians, with fresh proposals for a peace, purely, as it should seem, to amuse them, till he had received a reinforcement from Rome, and was able to attack them with a better prospect of success; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, and finding, not- b withstanding the inequality of numbers, that he must either conquer or die, he first attacked the Syracusians, and that with such intrepidity, that tho' for some time they defended themselves with great bravery, putting the Roman cavalry into disorder. he defeated them, and entered Messana in a triumphant manner, loaden with their spoils. Following his blow, he fell immediately upon the Carthaginians, whose camp was at some distance from that of the Syracusians, as has been before observed; who, being surprised by the suddenness of the attack, were put to the rout, and, for the most part, either cut to pieces, or dispersed. The Romans however, in all probability, would not have bought these advantages at so cheap a rate, had Hanno and Hiero opposed them with their united forces, as in good policy they ought to have c done; but Hiero, finding that the Romans landed their troops without any obstruction from the Carthaginian fleet, immediately concluded, that Hanno kept a secret correspondence with the enemy, and therefore was afraid of reposing too great a considence in him; in consequence of which distrust, Hiero decamped hastily in the night, after the late advantage Claudius had obtained over him, though he was not in the least obliged to it, fince the Romans could not force his camp. The enemy had hereby thrown into their hands an opportunity of attacking the Carthaginians with their whole strength, and gaining a most signal victory over them. This is the account given us by Polybius; but Zonaras relates that event differently. According to him, the Carthaginian camp was so secured by the sea and a morass, that it was d accessible only by one avenue, which, being a narrow passage, and fortified by a strong wall, the Romans found it impossible to enter. After a furious assault, they were beaten off by a shower of darts, and forced to retire with great loss. The Carthaginians, thinking themselves now sure of victory, pursued the legionaries to the walls of the town; but the latter, having drawn the enemy out of their impregnable camp, faced about with great bravery, and in their turn repulsed them with such flaughter, that they never durst appear afterwards, as long as Claudius continued in Messana. Claudius afterwards, finding no enemy to make head against him in the field, ravaged the enemy's territories in a dreadful manner, making excursions to the very gates of Syracuse; nay, if Zonaras may be credited, he laid siege to that e place, though the Syracusians defended themselves with such valour, that he had no prospect of reducing it. They cut off abundance of his men in the fallies they made, and in one of them had taken him prisoner, had he not luckily just before proposed fome terms of peace to Hiero, which prevented the garrison from pushing matters to the last extremity. As Hiero was inwardly a well-wisher to the Romans, he did not fhew himself displeased at the consul's overtures; but the campaign being almost at an end, and Claudius leaving the island soon after, the negotiation was suspended till the following year. Thus the Carthaginians not only lost Messana, but almost all possibility of recovering it. Those of them that escaped the late carnage took shelter in the neighbouring fortified towns, expecting to be put into a condition of acting offensively the following spring. As for Claudius, having left a strong garrison in Messana, the season being far advanced, he passed over to Rhegium, and from thence purfued his journey to Rome r.

The Romans detach Hiero from the Carthaginian ininto a negotiation with him.

AFTER the conful's departure, Hiero and the Carthaginians, drawing together a body of regular troops, reduced many towns that had fallen to the enemy. But the fucceeding confuls, Manius Octacilius Crassus and Manius Valerius Flaccus, transportterest, and enter ing to Sicily two consular armies, consisting each of eight thousand legionaries, and

r Polyb. & Diodor. ubi sup. Auct. vit. vir. illustr. ex. 37, & seq. Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 4. ex. 11. Vide etiam Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. ubi sup. & Sil. Ital. l. vi.

a fix hundred horse, with a great number of auxiliaries, upon their arrival recovered most of those places. They first laid siege to Adranum, and took it by storm. Afterwards they advanced to Conturipe, and encamped before it. Whilst they were making preparations for an attack, there arrived embassadors in the camp from the Alæsimans (G), who desired to be taken under the protection of the Romans; and about fixty-seven other towns followed their example. The confuls, animated by fuch a rapid progress, moved with all their forces towards Syracuse, the capital of the island, with an intention to form the siege of that city. Their approach scattered terror throughout the island, and so intimidated Hiero, who now plainly discovered the great superiority of the Romans in this war, that he began to entertain thoughts b of renewing the negotiation, which Claudius's fudden departure out of Sicily had broken off towards the close of the last campaign. As the treaty concluded betwint the Romans and Hiero did not a little contribute to the declention of the Carthaginian power, we shall beg leave here to touch upon a few particulars relating to that remarkable event, as well as to Hiero himself, which have been omitted in all former parts of this work '.

AFTER Pyrrhus's precipitate retreat, the Carthaginians became on a sudden so Hiero comes to powerful in Sicily, that the Greek cities there thought themselves in danger of being an accommon forestilly over my by that pation with the speedily over-run by that nation; nay, Polyanus incimates, that there was an actual Romans.

war betwixt these two powers, and that the Carthaginian admiral, by a stratagem, c gained a considerable advantage over Hiero. This induced Hiero to court the friendthip of the Romans, looking upon them as the only power that could give a check to the towering projects of the Carthaginians, and defeat their ambitious defigns. He therefore fent a supply of troops and provisions to the Roman forces then employed in the siege of Rhegium, which enabled them to reduce that place, and consequently rendered them more capable of supporting him, whenever he should stand in need of their assistance. This was the basis of that good understanding, which subsisted for so long a time between the two powers, though it at first met with a short inter-The Carthaginians, ever jealous of the neighbouring states, and now particularly fo of the Romans, took umbrage at this harmony, as plainly discovering the drift of it. In order therefore to traverse it, they prevented Hiero from possessing himself of Mellana, made it a pretext for a quarrel with the Romans, and pretended to take the Mamertines under their protection. Hiero, finding the Romans not willing to act in favour of the Mamertines, upon the first application of that people to them, and that the Carthaginians, at the same time they entered the citadel of Messana, expressed a desire of being upon good terms with him, thought it agreeable to his interest to enter into an alliance with the latter; which he accordingly did, and, in conjunction with them, declared war against the Romans. This brought on the action above-mentioned between Hiero and Claudius, wherein the former being defeated, fled to Syracuje, looking upon himself as betrayed by the Carthaginians, because their fleet had not hindered Claudius from landing his troops in Sicily. The e Carthaginians could never afterwards make a friend of that prince; so great an aversion did he, from this period, conceive to them. Claudius, pursuing Hiero to his capital city, besieged him therein; which still made him more desirous of abandoning the Carthaginians, and which he undoubtedly then had done, fince Claudius proposed an accommodation to him, had not the plague broke out in the Roman army, which, together with a famine, and the vigorous defence of the belieged, obliged the conful to draw off, and, as should seem, precipitately to leave the island. However, the next year matters took another turn: the Romans, in the beginning of the campaign, conquered a good part of Sicily almost without opposition, advanced, at the head of their legions, to the gates of Syracuse, and invested the town. At the f fame time, according to Philinus (H), they besieged Echetla, a fortress in the depend-

ZONAR. annal. l. viii. c. 9. FLOR. l. ii. c. 2. POLYB. ubi sup. Liv. epit. l. xvi. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Rhodoman. l. xxiii. Ogos. ubi sup.

(G) The Greek word, in all the printed and manuscript copies of Polybius, is AAIZINOI, in which, through the neglect or ignorance of transcribers, [A] has been omitted. This is so apparent, that we think it sufficient in the house of its think it fufficient just to have taken notice of it.

(H) This Philinus we have already had occasion

to mention as a very partial historian; but Polybius

likewise represents him as one absolutely inconfistent with himself, and guilty of the greatest absurdities. A certain author, whom we have before taken notice of, thinks, from the corrupted proper name Philanius, that he was the same person Cornelius Ne-pos teils us wrote the history of Hannibal. From hence, and fome MSS. of Nepos, it seems to follow,

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ency of Syracuse. The Syracusian nobility, having now a prospect of nothing but a a long train of calamities, intreated their sovereign to make overtures for a peace to the Roman generals, and thereby prevent the ruin that threatened them. Such a defire falling in with Hiero's natural fentiments, he readily complied with it; fo that dispatching embassadors immediately to the Roman camp, a treaty of fri ndship and alliance was concluded to the fatisfaction of both parties. Many things concurred to dispose the Romans to facilitate so salutary a work; but it will be sufficient to observe here, that, by the conclusion of this treaty, they got, according to Eutropius, two hundred talents of silver, or, as Diodorus will have it, an hundred and forty thousand drachmas, a plentiful supply of provisions through the suture course of this war, and found themselves enabled to reduce their army in Sicily to two legions. b For an account of the particular articles of this treaty, we must refer our readers to the history of Syracuse  $^{c}(I)$ .

Which the Carstruct, but in

THE interest both of Hiero and the Romans rendered an accommodation necessary: thaginians en-deargour a sh the Romans could not have carried on the war with any tolerable prospect of success for want of provisions, since the Carthaginians, being masters at sea, could easily have intercepted their convoys, and cut off all supplies, that might have come from the coasts of Italy, as they actually did the last year, which reduced the Romans to the extremities hinted at above. And, on the other hand, Hiero found the Carthagimians not able to protect his dominions, nor himself in a capacity to make head against the consuls. If Livy, Zonaras, Eutropius, and Syncellus, may be credited, he c received several overthrows from the Romans since the breaking out of this war. which, in all probability, must have intirely exhausted him. The peace concluded at first was not perpetual, but only for a term of fourteen years. The Carthaginians endeavoured by all possible means to obstruct the negotiation, but without any effect. With this view it was that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, advanced with a strong body of troops to Xiphonia, giving Hiero to understand, that he was in a condition to support him; but hearing that every thing was settled, he thought proper to retire ".

The Romans reduce several

THE Carthaginians, being thus deserted by their ally, found themselves obliged to bear the whole burden of the war, which yet they believed themselves capable of d towns in Sicily. doing. They were so far from being dispirited on this occasion, that they resolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, to drive the Romans out of Sicily, and even to oblige king Hiero to renounce his new alliance. They placed numerous garrisons in all their frontiers, persected the works of their fortisted towns, and sent officers, with large sums of money, to make levies in Liguria, Gaul, and Iberia. The Romans in the mean time, marching into the Carthaginian territories, laid siege to Adranon and Macella, which they carried on with great vigour, but were repulsed in all their affaults, and at last forced to rise from before them. However, they met with better fuccess at Segesta (K), which, having been founded by Æneas, or at least

> TZONAR. ubi sup. p. 379, 380. Eutrop. hist. Rom. l. ii. Polyen. strat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 4. Liv. Flor. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Philinus apud Polye. l. i. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iii. p. 96, 97, &c. LIV. EUTROP. & ZONAR. ubi fup. GEOR. SYNCEL. in chronogr. p. 275. POLYB. & DIOD. SIC. ubi fup.

that he was called by Cicero, Silenus. But both these notions are overthrown by Diodorus Siculus, who, in agreement with Polybius, calls him Philinus; and tells us, that he was an Agrigentine, and wrote the history of the first Punic war, without entering at all into his character. Had this been duly attended to, it might have prevented some mistakes in Hendreich, Vossius, and others (10).

(1) Eutropius intimates, that Hiero concluded a treaty of peace with the Romans in the third year of this war. But the other authors we have cited, or at least the majority and best of them, have placed that treaty in the second campaign, and therefore we have chosen to follow them (11).

(K) According to Servius, this city received its name from one Acesses, a Trojan, whom Æneas left in possession of it at his departure from Sicily. Ennius calls this Acesses Æneas's host, and conse-

quently intimates him to have been one of the Aborigines of Sicily. The inhabitants of it, from their first acquaintance with the Romans, looked upon them as their kindred and relations, and always most heartily espoused their interest. Before that time, it is probable they had an aversion to the Greeks, as being of Trojan extraction; and therefore might very naturally court the affiftance of the Carthaginians on all occasions, as we find sometimes they did. Afterwards, when they became subject to Carthage, they undoubtedly were very faithful to that stare; but, at the commencement of this war, preferred the Romans to that nation, for the reason above affigned. That cities frequently, in antient times, were denominated after great men, is a truth obvious to all persons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiquity (12).

(10) Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 709. & 710. in not. (N). sub sin. Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hæsch. Cic. de divin. l. i. Voss. de hist. Grec. Hendr. in catal. auctor. Vide & Bosium, atq; not. var ad Corn. Nep. de Hannib. p. 604. edic. Lugd. Bat. 1734. (11) Eutrop. l. ii. (12) Virg. Æn v. ver. 718 & Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver. 4. de sign. c. 33. Ennius apud Lactant. l. i. 6. 22. Dio, l. liv. Vide & Velser. antiquit. l. v.

a one of his Trojan companions, and consequently related to the Romans, opened its gates to the conful, after having massacred the Carthaginian garrison. of Aliena did the like. Hilara, Tyrita, and Afcela, were carried sword in hand. As for the Tyndarites, they proposed submitting upon the first appearance of the Roman army, had they not been prevented by the Carthaginians, who, upon the first intelligence of their design, carried off the principal citizens as hostages, and conveyed all the provisions and military stores in the place to Lilybæum. After this, the confuls

retired to Rhegium, where they took up their winter-quarters w.

THE next campaign the Carthaginians appointed Hanno commander in chief of all They defeat the The next campaign the Caribaginians appointed ranno continuated in chief of all Carthaginians, their forces, who made Agrigentum, as being the most commodious for that purpose and take Agrib by its situation, a place of arms, and fixed there his principal magazine. The con-gentum. fuls L. Postbumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus, being apprised of this; advanced with a powerful army into the neighbourhood of that city, and, after having blocked it up for some months, besieged it in form. As this siege happened in the middle of harvest, the Carthaginian garrison, observing great numbers of the enemy dispersed in the fields, in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous fally, cut many of them to pieces, and had almost forced their intrenchments; but were at last beat back into the town. In the mean time Hannibal, the fon of Gifco, who commanded in the place, finding the Romans to push on the siege with such vigour, that he must be obliged to capitulate, unless speedily relieved, dispatched reiterated c expresses to Carthage, with an account of his distress. Hereupon Hanno received orders to attempt raising the siege; in order to which, he first marched to Heraclea, within twenty miles of Agrigentum, and from thence to Erbessa, where posting himfelf, he so streightened the Roman army, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions, as having no prospect of any supply. The that army at first, according to Diodorus, consisted of an hundred thousand men, most of whom were Sicilians, not a fourth part of them now remained fit for service; and the plague at the same time breaking out amongst them, they found themselves in a very melancholy fituation. This induced the confuls now to think of attacking Hanno, though they had before declined an engagement, when that general had made a motion, as d though he intended to offer them battle, and even defeated their cavalry. Having then plenty of provisions, and being strongly intrenched; they imagined themselves able to starve the garrison to a surrender; and therefore, as their army, through the great fatigues they had undergone during the fiege, was not near so numerous as the 'Carthaginian, they judged it prudent to avoid a battle; but being now reduced to great diffress, they braved the enemy; who, suspecting some ambuscade, did not shew the same disposition to fight. The Romans however reaped considerable advantage from this conduct; for Hiero, finding the Carthaginians superior to his new allies, had delayed supporting them in the manner he was obliged to by the last treaty; whereas at this time, seeing the tables turned, he supplied them in great abundance with all kinds of provisions. Many Sicilian cities likewise, animated by the same event, sent deputations to the Romans, and joined them with a good body of forces. Hanno, observing this, and believing Hannibal, fallying out of the town in the heat of the action, would fall upon the rear of the enemy, advanced some time after into a plain near the Roman camp, and drew up his army in order of battle. In the mean time the Roman generals, by way of precaution, had posted proper detachments to repulse any fally the besieged might make, and, upon Hanno's approach, fent privately another body to attack the Carthaginian rear. As soon as this disposition was made, the Roman army, moving out of their trenches into the plain, faced the enemy, and towards evening a bloody engagement enfued. But the Rof mans behaved with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance they met with, they carried the day, and intirely routed the Carthaginians, putting to the fword vast numbers of their men, and killing some of their elephants. Hannibal, during the engagement, sallied out with the best part of the garrison; but being repulsed by the troops the consuls had posted at all the avenues to the city, he was obliged to retire with confiderable loss. Immediately afterwards making his escape, he abandoned the place to the Romans; and Hanno fled, with the broken remains of his army, to Heraclea. The fiege of Agrigentum continued feven months, the Romans Ioling thirty thousand foot, and five hundred and forty horse, before the town x.

w Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oros. & Zonar. ubi sup. Vide & Pomp. Fest. in voc. Segesta. \* ZONAR. ubi supra.

Proceedings of the Romans and Cirthagimans in Sacry the beginning o this cam-Laign.

THE Carthaginians, greatly chagrined at the ill success of their arms the preced- a ing campaign, attributed it, as usual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an immense sum of money from Hanno; by way of fine, but likewise deprived him of his commission, appointing Hamilear to command the forces in his room. Hannibal, an officer of good repute, took upon him the command of the fleet, and received orders from Hamilear to ravage the coasts of Italy, that he might draw the confuls that way, and, by fuch a diversion, enable the land-forces to attack more successfully the Roman conquests in Sicily. But the Romans had taken fuch care to guard their coasts, by posting detachments in proper places to prevent the enemy from making a descent, that this design was rendered abortive, and the conful C. Duilius landed two legions in Sicily without opposition. Upon his arrival b there, he advanced to Myttistratum (L), and laid siege to that fortress; but, notwithstanding the large train of battering-engines he had with him, was obliged to raise the fiege, and retire with great loss. In the mean time Hamilear, suspecting a body of Gallic mercenaries in his army of a defign to defert to the enemy, because they had lately mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to ftorm a town defended by a Roman garrison, of which, by means of his spies, he gave the Romans private intelligence, that they might receive them in a proper manner. The Romans, thus informed of their approach, laid an ambuscade for the Gauls; into which falling, and not being supported by Hamilear, they were all cut off to a man. Frontinus seems to relate this event differently, intimating, that the Gauls, amounting to four thou-c fand men, were fent to pillage the country, and that they fold their lives at a dear The conful, being ignorant of Hamilear's view in this point of conduct, looked upon the action as a fignal advantage gained over the enemy, and, animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for a fresh attack upon the Carthaginian territories. But the Romans receiving now a blow by sea, he was recalled to command the fleet, and consequently, for some time, obliged to suspend the operations by land v.

Booles takes tura, beat Hannibal, the Carthaginian

THE Romans, observing that the coasts of Italy lay exposed to the depredations of a Roman squa the Carthaginian fleets, which made frequent descents upon them, whilst Africa enjoyed all the fweets of peace, were refolved to attack the enemy in the most sensible mans, in their part, and, in order to this, to equip a fleet capable of coping with any the Cartha- d ginians could fit out against them. This was a bold undertaking in a nation, who were almost totally ignorant of sea affairs, and such a strange phænomenon, that it induced Polybius, according to his own relation, to write the history of the first Punic war. We shall therefore make it our business here to touch upon all the most material circumstances relative to such an extraordinary attempt, that have hitherto escaped us. Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral, being desirous of destroying the Roman navy in its infancy, by his emiffaries found means to decoy Cneius, or, as Polybius calls him, Caius Cornelius Scipio, with feventeen new-built galleys, to the port Upon his arrival there, the Carthaginians, who had fent before a squadron into that harbour under the command of Boodes, begged for peace in the most suppliant e manner, pretending to fubmit to whatever conditions the Romans should think fit to impose upon them. At the same time they acquainted him, that the Carthaginian commodore was so extremely indisposed, that he could not possibly come on board his galley, or that otherwise he would have waited upon him, and made the overture in person; and therefore intreated him to honour Boodes with his company, in order to fettle a firm and lasting peace between the two nations. The credulous Roman, giving ear to this proposal, was detained prisoner by the persidious Carthaginian, and his whole squadron taken after a faint resistance. This Roman squadron was fent from the rest of the ships to Messana, to reconnoitre the coasts, and give directions there for the reception and security of the grand sleet; of which Hannibal, f who was then at Panormus, receiving intelligence, immediately detached twenty

the inhabitants of it. Both from the name and the fituation affigued it by fome of the above-mentioned authors, the Sicilian town at present called Mistretta seems to answer to it (13).

y Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi supra. Zonar. l. viii. c. 10. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Liv. in epit. 17. Frontin. ftrat. l. ini. c. 16. ex. 3.

<sup>(</sup>L) This town Diodorus calls Mystratus, Polybius Myttistratum, Zonaras Mutistratius, Stephanus Byzan-Pliny rinus Amestratus, and Silius Italicus Amastra. mentions the Mutustratini, which were undoubtedly

<sup>(13)</sup> Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Polyb. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. Steph, Byzant. de urb. in voc. Plin. t. iii. c. 8. Sil. Ital. I. xiv. ver. 267.

a galleys, under the command of Boodes, who made themselves masters of the Roman vessels in the manner above-mentioned. Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginian commodore at first made the proper dispositions to attack the Romans; but finding them in a posture to give him a warm reception, he judged it more convenient to have recourse to the artifice already related. The same author adds, that the legionary tribunes on board the Roman fleet attending the conful, were likewise taken, and all of them fent prisoners to Cartbage; and that, after this, the seventeen galleys surrendered, without striking a stroke. Soon after, Hannibal himself committed great ravages on the coasts of Italy, whither he had advanced at the head of fifty galleys, to take a view of the Roman naval forces there; but was attacked in his turn, lost the b best part of his ships, and with great difficulty made his escape. This something raised the drooping spirits of the Romans, who were not a little dejected at the loss

they had before fustained 2.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defeat, the Carthaginians, being one of the most power- Duilins the ful nations of the world by sea, entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the conful gains Roman fleet, which was but in its infancy. The Romans, on the other hand, dreaded signal victory the naval force of the Carthaginians, though they had gained an advantage over Han-over him. nibal, especially as they had lost one of their consuls, who was an able and brave commander. In order therefore to make head against the enemy upon the watery element, the senate ordered the remaining conful, C. Duilius, immediately to leave é Sicily, and take upon him the command of the squadron then in the streights of Rhegium. This he did, and engaging the Carthaginians, by the help of the corvus, a machine which we have already described at large from Polybius, intirely deseated them 2. Some authors intimate, that the manus ferreæ, or barragones, a grappling instrument, were a machine different from the corvi b (M), and of great service to the Romans in this action. Others maintain, that they were the same, or at least, that the former appertained to the latter . For our part, we think it evident from Curtius, Pliny, and others, that the manus ferreæ (N) were more antient than the corvi, and of Tyrian extraction, and confequently known to the "Carthaginians themselves; though at the same time we believe they were much improved by the corvi As the d Roman vessels were vastly inferior to the Carthaginian in lightness and activity, the corvus was invented to remedy that defect. Hannibal, though he performed the part of a gallant commander in this action, was obliged to abandon his septireme, or admiral galley, to the enemy, and got off in a small boat. The rest of the Caribaginian galleys foon after came up with the Romans; but met with the same fate the others had done before. The loss of the Carthaginians in this double engagement is variously related by the Roman historians; but the most authentic account of it is the inscription on the basis of the columna rostrata (O) of Duilius, still preserved at

(M) To what has been already faid of the corvus, we shall only add, that the chevalier Folard has obliged the world with a learned and curious differtation upon it. Dominicus Machaneus, in his scholia upon Cornelius Nepos, likewise has given us a minute description of it, which is extracted chiefly from Polybius. This we mention purely for the take of our curious and inquifitive readers.

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(N) Zonaras intimates, that the manus ferrea, or barpagones, were fixed to the ends of long poles, and that with them the Romans grappied and brought-to the enemies ships. Livy gives us much the same account of them, and tells us, that the Carthaginians likewise made use of them in their naval engagements with the Romans; which seems a sufficient proof, that they were not the corvus, fince this was invented by Duilius. Scheffer thinks, that these manus ferree, or harpagones, were iron hooks fixed in the heads of poles, which, by the

affiltance of a chain fastened to the mast, were thrown down with great force upon the enemies vessels; which they penetrated in such a manner, that nothing could disengage them; so that they hoisted them up into the air, and then dashed them upon the water with so great violence, that they were frequently sunk. The Greeks called this machine agrayn, according to Helychius (14).

(O) The naves rostrate, from whence Duilius's pillar was called columna rostrata, were vessels to denominated from the Latin word roftra, tignifying the beaks of ships. These beaks, in figure resembling those of birds, consisted of brass, and served not only to cut the water in failing, but likewise to damage the enemies ships in an engagement. This is not only apparent from the figure of these vessels in the columna rostrata of Duilius, and on antient coins, but likewise from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius. The Romans and Carthaginians both

DIOD. Sic. Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi sup. Polyen. strat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 5. Vide & Ennium in annal. 6, 7. cum not. Hieron. Column. accurant. Hessel. Amst. 1707. \* POLYB. LIV. & FLOR. ubi fup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Aurel. Vict. five auct. vir. vir. illust. 38. Eutrop. l. ii. b Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Curt. l. iv. pass. Vide & Freinshem. in Flor. l. ii. c. 2. atq. Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. c Flor. & auct vit. vir. illust. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 24. d Liv. ubi sup. Vide & Scheffer. in Mil. nav. l. xi. c. 7.

Rome, and which may be seen in a former part of this work. As for Hannibal, hav- a ing before fled from Agrigentum, he would most certainly have been crucified upon his arrival at Carthage, had he not, by an instance of Punic subtilty, avoided the impending danger. However, the senate thought proper to remove him from the command of the sea-forces. This we learn from Orosius and Zonaras; but, according to Polybius, he was continued in that post, and the same campaign crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another difgrace from the Romans .

culians, and

FORTUNE however did not intirely abandon the Carthaginians. Their arms in prifes the Syra- Sicily were attended with a good run of success after the departure of Duilius; for reduces several though the Romans, in consequence of their late victory, obliged the Carthaginians towns in Sicily. to raise the siege of Segesta, which a body of their troops had formed, and carried by the town of Macella by affault; yet Hamilear, whose head-quarters were then at Panormus, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attack them. In the mean time a dispute arose in the Roman camp between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries, which came to such a height, that a separation seemed inevitable, the former having actually marked out a camp for themselves between Paropus and Therma (P). A general much less vigilant than Hamilear, would naturally have taken advantage of fuch a diffension; the Carthaginians therefore, surprising them near the spot of ground they had chosen to encamp upon, before they could intrench themselves, put four thousand, according to Polybius, or, as Diodorus will have it, six thousand, of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. After this blow, Hamilear made himself c master of Camarina and Enna, and fortified Drepanum, surrounding it with a wall. Here he likewise deposited the most valuable part of his baggage, and other effects. Then advancing to Eryx, he almost razed that antient city, leaving only a small part of it standing to cover the famous temple of Venus Erycina, supposed to have been built by Aneas; and carried the inhabitants to Drepanum. This he did to prevent the Romans from taking post in that fortress, in case the citizens should be disposed to invite them thither. In short, he reduced many cities, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and had made himself master of the whole island, had not Florus, the Roman general, after Duilius was gone to Rome, behaved with great vigilance and bravery. However, this success was not lasting, as we shall see immediately f.

Hannibal furprised by the Romans, and crucified by his own men.

Hannibal, according to Polybius, after the defeat off of Myla, returned to Carthage; where being reinforced by a good number of galleys, and attended by many officers of great merit, he put to sea again, steering his course for the coast of Sardinia. He had not been long in one of the harbours of that illand, probably Calaris, now Cagliari, but he was surprised by the Romans, who carried off many of his ships, and took great numbers of his men prisoners. This so incensed the rest, that they feized their admiral, and crucified him; but who was his immediate fucceffor, The Romans however reaped no other advantage from this action, does not appear. than shewing their activity, encouraging their allies, and a little diminishing the naval power of their rival. Had Hannibal escaped death for the present, it is pro- e bable he would have met with it at Carthage; fince it was looked upon there as the highest crime in a general to be unsuccessful. Nothing surther material happened either this campaign, or the following, if we will give credit to Polybius 8.

\* Aurel. Vict. & Zonar. ubi sup. Polyb. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 654. not. (F). Diod. c. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hoeschel. F Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi sup. F Polyb. & Zonar. ubi supra. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hoeschel.

made use of such vessels. It is likely they were of eastern extraction. The Carthaginians, as Silius feems to intimate, had them from their ancestors the Tyrians, and they from the Sidonians (15).

(P) Salmasius, depending upon the authority of Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, places the city here mentioned by Diodorus in the fouthern, or rather fouthwestern part of the island, in the neighbourhood of Selinus. Belides this, there was another of the same name, founded by the Carthaginians upon the

ruins of Himera, which we have already given a description of. That the Termini of the modern Sicilians stands upon the same spot of ground, which the antient Therma Himerenfes, or, as Diodorus calls it, Therma, occupied, is evident from Gruter and Marius Aretius. Cicero likewise, and Pindar's scho-liast, both take notice of this last city; which we could not intirely pass over in silence, as being of Carthaginian extraction (16).

(15) Isidor, l. xix, c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Polyb. l. i. c. 50. Sil. Italic. l. xiv. (16) Strab. l. vi. p. 189. P. Mel. l. ii. c. 7. Plin l. iii. c. 8. Salmas, in Solin. c. 5. p. 80. Cic. in Ver. ii. c. 35. Schol. in Pind. Olymp. xvii. sub sin. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Marius Aretius in chorograph. Sicil. & inscript. apud Gruter. p. 433 n. 6. Apollodor, apud Strab. ubi sup. p. 188. Thucyd. l. vi. sub init.

Towards the close of the following campaign, Hamilton put his troops into The progress of winter-quarters at Panormus, posting proper detachments at the principal avenues to the Romans in the city, to prevent a surprize. In the mean time C. Aquilius Florus, the Roman general, having received a reinforcement, advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, and offered the enemy battle; but finding that they would not flir out of the town, and that he was not strong enough to undertake the siege of the place, especially as the season was so far advanced, he moved with his army to Hippana, and took it by affault. From thence he marched to Myttislratum, a fortress which the Romans had twice ineffectually belieged, and fat down before it. Florus here made his approaches fo flowly, either through the bad disposition of the ground, or b the bravery of the Carthaginian garrison, that he could not reduce the city before the expiration of his office. However, early the next spring, his successor, A. Attilius Collatinus, or, as Zonaras calls him, A. Attilius Latinus, joining the army before Myttistratum with a strong body of forces, pushed on the siege with such vigour, that the Carthaginian garrifon abandoned the town in the night, and the wives and children of the citizens, by their outcries and lamentations, obliged them to open the gates to the Romans. The foldiers, enraged at the obstinate defence they had made, and their attachment to the Carthaginians, at first put all they met, without diffinction, to the fword; but the conful causing a proclamation to be made, that every Roman foldier should possess all the persons and effects of those he took prisonc ers, the slaughter ceased. However, the city itself was levelled with the ground, and the remaining part of the inhabitants fold for flaves. The conful next attacked Camarina, and, in his march thither, was near being cut off, with his whole army, by a stratagem of Hamilear, as has been already related; but found it so strong, and defended by fo numerous a garrifon, that he could not make himself master of it, till he received a large train of battering-engines, and other supplies, from king Hiero. After these arrived, the Romans soon carried the town, and treated the inhabitants in the same manner they had done those of Myttistratum. The consul afterwards seized upon Enna by treachery, and massacred the Carthaginian garrison. Sittana he took by storm; and Camicus, a castle belonging to the Agrigentines, was betrayed to him. d Other places, of less importance, surrendered of course; so that the Carthaginians began to lofe ground confiderably, notwithstanding their late successes. The Romans, looking upon Camicus as a post of consequence, left a considerable party of men to defend it; and having possessed themselves of Erbessus, which was deserted by its inhabitants, made preparations to fit down before Lipara with all their forces h.

In the mean time L. Cornelius Scipio, Florus's collegue, sailed, with the squa- As likewife in dron under his command, towards Sardinia and Corsica, two islands in the Tyrrhenian Sardinia and fea, subject to Carthage, and so near one another, that, at a great distance, they seemed to be but one island. The consul first made a descent in Corsica, and took Aleria, or, as Zonaras calls it, Valeria, by storm; upon (Q) which the other towns submitted,

h Polyb, ubi sup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. p. 387. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Aurel. Vict. sive auct. vit. vir. illustr. in Attil. Collatin. 38. Liv. epst. l. xvii. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 7.

(Q) About the year 1615. a stone was dug up near the Porta Capena in Rome, with the following inscription upon it, commemorating the event here mentioned. This stone is five palms four inches long, and two palms ten inches broad.

HONCOINO. PIOIRVME. COSENTIONT. R DVONORO. OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO LYCIOM. JCIPIONE. FILIOJ: BARBATI CONSON CENSOR AIDINS. HIC. FVET.A HEC.CEPIT.CORSICA.AVERIAQVE.VRBE DEDET. TEMPESTATEBYS: AIDE MERETO

Hunc plurimi confentiunt Roma Bonorum optimum fuisse virum LUCIUM SCIPIONEM. Filius Barbati, Consul, censor, adilis hic fuit. Hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem; Dedit Tempestatibus adem merito.

Most people agree, that of all the good men in Rome this Lucius Scipio was the best. He was the son of Vol. VI. No 11. Scipio surnamed Barbatus, as likewise consul, censor, and adile. He took the city of Aleria, and conquered Cortica; and built a temple for the Tempests, as he had great reason to do.

From this most remarkable inscription, which, in point of antiquity, is scarce inferior to that on the base of the columna rostrata of Duilius, tince the action here referred to happened in the year of Rome 494. the year after Duilius got his naval victory, may be drawn the following observations:

1. That the L. Scipio mentioned here was not the

L. Scipio said by Livy to have been made consul in Etruria, but another, the son of Barbatus, who

fubdued Corsica, A. U. C. 494.

2. That he was the same person with him, who, according to the Capitoline Tables, triumphed over the Corsi, Sardi, and Carthaginians.

That either the MSS. of Livy, or the Fasti Capitolini, must be out, when the first affirm, that Scipio Barbatus's prænomen was Publius, and the last, that Lucius Scipio, who triumphed over the that being the only place of strength in the whole island. As the Carthaginians had a a strong fleet of galleys on the coast of Sardinia, they were in no great pain for that Upon Scipio's moving that way, they detached one part of it to reconnoitre him; which immediately retired upon his approach. But, upon his entering the port of Olbia, the appearance of the whole Carthaginian squadron, then riding at anchor there, was so terrible, that he thought proper to sheer off, without putting his defign in execution. A further inducement to him not to undertake the conquest of Sardinia at this present juncture, was his not having a sufficient body of legionaries on board to attack the Carthaginians by land. As he had not received proper intelligence of the enemy's strength on that side, he had not taken the necessary measures to render that expedition successful, and therefore found himself obliged to retreat in a precipitate manner; but some authors give us to understand, that soon after, hav- b ing been furnished with a larger body of land-forces, he returned, and (R) reduced Olbia. Other places of less note, upon the reduction of that town, fell to him; but he could not make himself master of the whole island. However, according to Eutropius, he carried off with him a vast number both of the Corst and Sardi prisoners.

The Romans, give the Car-

Hamilear being informed the year following, that the Romans had a delign upon by a stratagem, Lipara, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the consul. This was done in so private and unexpected a manner, that the citizens, though blow in Sardi- strongly inclined to the Romans, found themselves incapable of making any resist-The conful, arriving before the place, made a vigorous attack; but was repulsed by Hamilear, at the head of the garrison, with the slaughter of a great c number of men. At the same time Sulpicius, who then acted as admiral, after having hovered several days about the coast of Sardinia, made a descent there, and completed the reduction of that island. According to Florus, by razing the city of Caralis, or Carala, the capital of the island, he so terrified the Sardi, that they sub-

POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. ubi fup: FLOR. l. ii. c. 2. OROS. l. iv. c. 7. EUTROP. l. ii. Univ. hift. vol. iv. p. 660.

Corfi, Sardi, and Carthaginians, at the time aforefaid, was the son of L. Scipio.

- 4. That a vacancy or hiatus in the Capitoline Tables may be from hence supplied; since from the inscription it appears, that this L. Scipio must have been, in all probability, Duilius's collegue in the cenforship A. U. C. 495. From whence it follows, that Onuphrius Panvinius is guilty of a mistake, when he makes Cn. Scipio Asima to have been Duilius's collegue in the censorship the year above-
- 5. That a passage in Ovid may be hereby explained, which, before the discovery of this inscription, was not understood:

Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur, Cum pæne est Cossis obruta classis aquis.

Some authors imagined this to point at the tempest Claudius Nero the consul met with in the year of Rome 551. in which, according to Livy, his fleet was near being destroyed; others, to one that attacked Marcellus; and lastly, others, to one in which Metellus's squadron was almost lost; whereas it undoubtedly alludes to one, that L. Scipio, at the time we are speaking of, met with on the coast of Corfice, wherein he very narrowly escaped destruction.

6. That of course L. Scipio was attacked by such

a tempest on the coast of Corfica, in which his whole fleet was in the most imminent danger of being lost; and that, upon account of his deliverance therefrom, he built a temple, which he dedicated to the Tempests, i. e. to the deities presiding ever them.
7. That the Romans looked upon tempests as

deities, or at least imagined they had deities presiding over them, and therefore paid them divine ho-

8. That the name of the principal fortress in Corfica was Aleria, and not Valeria, as we find it in all the MSS. of Zonaras; and that therefore these MSS. may be emended by this inscription.

9. That many observations relating to the antient language of the Romans and Latins, laid down by Festus, Quintilian, and others, are confirmed by the words it contains.

10. That, in antient times, some letters of the Roman and Latin alphabet, at least, were borrowed from the Estruscans, since I and S apparently belong to that nation; at least, that the Estruscans had letters in their alphabet, which, in figure, corresponded with some of the Roman and Latin letters. This is confirmed by the legends on feveral confular coins.

Many other conclusions might be drawn from hence, which we have not time at prefent to touch upon. It is not improbable, that the stone, on which this inscription was found, belonged to Scipio's tomb, and that he was buried not far from the Porta Capena (17).

(R) Hanno, who had behaved with fo much bravery in Sicily, commanded in Olbia, and was killed in one of the attacks. We must own ourselves guilty of a mistake in a former part of this work, when we cite Valerius Maximus to prove, that the Roman conful honoured Hanno's body with a noble funeral; fince that author, in the place referred to, speaks of Hannibal in the second Punic war, who shewed great humanity on such an occasion to the body of Tiberius Gracchus (18).

(17) Liv. l. x. l. xxx. & alib. pass. Ovid. fast. l. vi. Fest. Pomp. in voc. Duonum, & voc. Topper, ut & Carm. Saliar. in qu. videre est Duonus Cerusus, i. e. Bonus Creator. M. Fab. Quinctil. l. i. c. 4. & 7. l. 1x. c. 4. & alib. Vide & fos. Scalig. in Sext. Pomp. Fest. lib. de verb. sign. castigat. p. 209, 210. Tab; Eugubin. 1. 2, 3, 4, 5. apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. vol. 1. edit. Florent. 1723. Phil. Bonarot. ad monum. Etrusc. op. Dempst. addit. explic. & conject. sect. 41. p. 85–88. ed. Florent. 1726. Anion. Fran. Gorii museum Etruscum, pass. ed. Florent. 1737. (18) Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 660. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

mitted

a mitted to him. Zonaras informs us, that the contrary winds prevented an engagement between Sulpicius and the Carthaginians; but that afterwards Attilius, who commanded the land-forces, found an opportunity of impoling upon the Carthaginian admiral, by means of some deserters, whom he bribed to assure him, that the Romans intended to land in Africa. Upon this, according to the same author, the Carthaginian squadron, having been before driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of Sardinia, loofed immediately, though in the night, and fet fail for Africa; but were attacked by Sulpicius, who, being apprised of the intelligence given them, had posted himself in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or funk, by favour of the night, most of their ships. The good success of this strab tagem encouraged the Romans now in good earnest to prepare for an expedition to Africa, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate Sicily, and procure them a peace upon their own terms k (S).

THE next year, from Zonaras it feems probable, that the Roman forces in Sicily, The Romans under the command of A. Attilius Collatinus, or, as Livy will have it, Calatinus, and Carthagiwho, on account of his great fervices, was continued general there, with the title of meet with disproconful, besieged Lipara a second time, though they had been routed by the Car-assers in this thaginians towards the close of the last campaign. C. Attilius Regulus, one of the new maritime war. confuls, who had the command of the fleet allotted to him, had two naval engagements with the enemy off the coasts of Sicily, in the first of which he lost nine galleys; c but in the other routed the Carthaginian squadron, sinking ten, and taking eight of their vessels, with all their crews. The other consul, about the same time, laid waste the island of Malta; which is a good proof, that the Carthaginians were then in possession of it. These advantages still farther excited the Romans to attack the

African republic in the very heart of its dominions '.

As neither of the late actions had been decisive, both parties made such vast and They both preexpeditious preparations, that the ensuing summer, the ninth year of this war, they pare for a dehad collected their whole naval force, in order to determine the fate of Sicily, as well cifrue engageas the dominion of the sea, and, in consequence thereof, that of Carthage itself. ment. The confuls, L. Manlius Vulso and C. Attilius Regulus, who were elected purely on d account of their distinguished merit, with the Roman sleet under their command,

confisting of three hundred and thirty galleys of different sizes, had their rendezvous at Messana. From thence, stretching their line along the coast towards cape Pachynum, after having doubled that cape, they failed directly to Ecnomos, where they took their land-forces on board. About the fame time the Carthaginian squadron, composed of three hundred and fifty sail, arrived at Lilybaum, the only place they had left in Sicily, except Panormus, and a few towns of less note in that neighbourhood. They did not stay long here, but, pursuing their projected course, took up their station at Heraclea Minoa, where they made the necessary dispositions to give

the enemy battle m.

THE Romans, in order either to engage the enemy by sea, or make a descent upon The disposition their territories in Africa, had taken care to put on board the galleys the very flower of their fleets. of their land-forces. The grand fquadron confifted of four divisions, the first of which was called the first legion, and the first fleet; the second and third in like manner received a denomination from their order; but the fourth went by the name of triarians,

\* Zonar, ubi sup. c. 12, 13. Polyb. Liv. & Flor. ubi sup. 1 Polyb. Liv. Ros. ubi sup. 2 Polyb. & Eutrop. ubi sup. Dio Cass. in excerptis Valessi. 1 POLYB. LIV. ZONAR, DIOD. SIC.

(S) Zonaras and Orofius make Hannibal to have been the Carthaginian admiral at this time, and, if we remember right, are the only authors who tell us, that he had his commission taken from him for the ill success he met with in his engagement with Duilius. Aurelius Victor indeed agrees with them in relation to Hannibal's escaping punishment by a stratagem; but says not a word of his being deprived of his command. Zonaras and Orosius therefore being modern, in comparison of Polybius, whom they contradict in this particular, and unsupported by any antient writer in what they advance as to the point before us, we have chosen to follow the last historian, when he affirms, that Hannibal was continued in his command of the fleet, and crucified foon after by his own men. Besides, it seems improbable, that, if he had been discarded on account of his ill conduct, or ill fuccess, which the superstitious Carthaginians looked upon as very ominous, the senate of Carthage should have afterwards employed him, especially as they might naturally have some apprehensions of his conduct's being influenced by his resentment. Zonaras and Orosius therefore ought to give way to Polybius in the present case. Orosius intimates, that he was stoned to death by his troops (19).

(19) Aurel. Vict. five auct. vir. vir. illustr. in Duil. 37. Polyb. l. i. 👉 Zonar, in loc. citat. Oros. l. iv. Vide Liv. epis. l. xvii. aliofq; Roman, historic.

a term peculiarly applied to a certain order of foldiers, who were always the choicest a troops, and formed the corps de reserve amongst the Romans. Each galley contained three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty foldiers; fo that the whole united force on board amounted to near an hundred and forty thousand men. The first division was posted on the right, the second on the left, and the third in the rear of the other two, in such a manner, as with them to form a triangle, the vertex of which was the two admiral-galleys, wherein were the two confuls, placed in the front of their respective squadrons. The triarians were drawn up in the rear of the whole fleet, parallel to the third legion, the base of the aforesaid triangle, but extended beyond the two angles there. The transports, with the horses and baggage on board, lay between the two last-mentioned lines, that is, between the third divifion and the triarians, this being judged the best situation for them to be covered from any irruptions of the enemy. The combined naval and land-force of the Carthaginians must, according to Polybius, have exceeded that of the Romans; since he feems to infinuate, that their troops, including the feamen, could not have been less than an hundred and fifty thousand strong. When the Carthaginians had observed the disposition of the Roman squadron, they immediately ranged their own in order of battle. They divided it into four smaller squadrons, which they drew up The three first divisions, posted to the right, stretched out far into the sea, as though they had an intention to surround the Romans, pointing their prows directly upon them; the fourth, lying to the left, kept close under the shore, e being disposed in the form of an outwork or tenaille. Hanno, who had met with fuch bad success at Agrigentum, commanded on the right with the light vessels, that could attack and retreat with great swiftness, and row nimbly round the galleys of the Romans. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral in the late action off of Tyndaris, had the left wing committed to his conduct, who, though he had the misfortune to be defeated, gave sufficient proofs of his merit and experience in this engagement ".

The Carthaginians intirely defeated.

THE conful, observing the Carthaginian line to be very thin in the middle, caused it to be vigorously attacked in that part by their first and second divisions. The Carthaginians, at the first onset, pursuant to the orders received from Hamilear, retired with precipitation, hoping by this means to separate that part of the Roman fleer, a with which they were engaged, from the other, not doubting but the Romans would pursue them with great ardor, and thereby give the gross of their fleet an opportunity of charging the remaining Roman divisions with great advantage. Accordingly the Romans, by their eagerness in the pursuit, left their comrades exposed to the efforts of the enemy. The Carthaginians, that fled, perceiving this, immediately, upon a fignal given from Hamilcar's galley, tacked about, and, with great bravery, made head against their pursuers; but, after a warm dispute, the Romans, notwithstanding the lightness and activity of the Cartbaginian vessels, by the assistance of their corvi, and other grappling instruments, coming to a close engagement with them, and being animated by the example of their officers, who exposed themselves e as much as the meanest foldiers, worsted the enemy, obliging them to sheer off. In the mean time Hanno fell with great fury upon the triarians, whilst that part of the Carthaginian squadron posted on the left under the shore, attacked the transports and the third legion. Here were three sea-fights at once, which continued for some hours with a vast effusion of blood. In fine, Hanno on one side, and the fourth Carthaginian division on the other, reduced the triarians, transports and third legion, to the last extremity, forced many of them on shore, and had totally ruined them, had they not been kept in awe by the corvi. But at last Manlius returning from the chace of the Carthaginian squadron already routed, and Regulus, with the second legion, advancing to the relief of the triarians, the enemy were intirely defeated. f The Romans lost only twenty-four galleys in this action; but the Carthaginians had thirty funk, and fixty-three taken by the victors. After this battle, which happened off of Heraclea Minoa, Hamilcar sent Hanno to make proposals of peace to the Romans, chiefly with a design to amuse the consuls, and divert them from the African expedition they had in view. But the Romans rejecting these proposals, the war continued with as much fierceness as ever; and the confuls, soon after setting fail for Africa with their whole fleet, and a powerful army on board, landed at Clypea without opposition °.

n Polys. & Zonar. in annal. ubi sup. ubi sup. Oros. l. iv. c. 7.

<sup>·</sup> POLYB. LIV. FLOR. EUTROP. ZONAR. LUCIUS AMPEL.

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c booty got in this expedition P.

No words can express the consternation the Carthaginians were in, upon advice The Romans of the Roman army's landing in Africa. They very well knew, that the confuls commit great might march to Carthage without any obstruction, and lay waste all the sertile coun-Atrica. try as they advanced, which could not but reduce them to the greatest streights. Zonaras tells us, that the inhabitants of Clypea or Clupea were feized with fuch impresfions of terror, that they abandoned the city at the approach of the Romans; but, according to Polybius, it stood a siege, though the Carthaginians not being in a condition to relieve it, the confuls, without much bloodshed, made themselves masters of it. Appian represents the Roman navy employed in this invasion as very formidable, telling us, that it included no less than three hundred and fifty fail. From b cape Hermea, where it lay for a short time, it coassed along to Clypea, or, as the Greeks call it, Aspis, where there was a very commodious harbour. The Romans. having left a strong garrison in the place, to secure their shipping, and keep the adjacent territory in awe, moved with the rest of their army nearer Carthage, and reduced a great number of towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. They likewise plundered an infinity of villages, laid vast numbers of noblemens seats in ashes, took above twenty thousand (Eutropius says twenty-seven thousand) prisoners, amongst whom were many Romans, that had fallen into the enemy's hands since the beginning of this war, with feveral deferters; and having scoured all the country almost to the gates of Carthage, they returned to Clypea, loaden with the immense

THE Carthaginians, foon after, receiving intelligence, that Manlius was fet out for Regulus ad-Rome with the best part of the troops, and had left Regulus with only forty ships, vances towards fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to carry on the war in Africa, began to recover from the terrible fright they were thrown into by the first news of this invalion, and therefore instantly set about making the proper dispositions for their They appointed Hanno, the fon of Afdrubal, and Bostar, generals of their forces, and dispatched an express to Hamilear, then at Heraclea, to return home with all expedition. Hamilear, in a short time, arrived at Carthage, with a reinforcement of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and was joined with Asdrubal d and Bostar in the command of the army. The first object of their consultations was, how to prevent the incursions of the Romans at least, if not to dislodge them from the province, wherein the capital of Africa was feated. On the other hand, Regulus, who had taken up his winter-quarters at Clypea, committed great ravages along the fea-coasts, and even penetrated into the very heart of the country; but hearing that the Carthaginian army was in motion, he likewise made a movement with his forces, and encamped upon the Bagrada, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Here with his battering-engines he flew a ferpent of a monstrous fize, which, if Ælius Tubero may be believed, found the whole Roman army for some time in employ. The Roman historians have undoubtedly given us an hyperbolic description of this monster, and the effects it produced; but considering that a Livy, Valerius Maximus, e Elius Tubero, Pliny, Zonaras, and others, agree in the main in their accounts of it, we cannot help thinking, that a ferpent of an enormous fize the Romans really killed at the place where they were now encamped, especially since dragons or serpents immensely large were pretty common in Mauritania, Numidia, Libya, Ethiopia, &c. and (T) fince it appears from Megasthenes and others, that various instances of furprifingly huge animals of the serpentine kind might be drawn from antiquity.

Hamilcar

P Idem ibid. & Eutrop. ubi sup. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. Paul. Oros. l. iv. 9 Liv. epit. l. xviii. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Æl. Tuber. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 3. Plin. nat. hist. l. viii. c. 14. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 13. Senec. de clement. l. i. c. 25. Flor. ubi sup. r Megasth. apud Plin. in loc. jam citat. Plut. in parallel. Propert. eleg. viii. ver. 4. Onesicrit. Astyp. apud Strab. l. xv. Agath. Chip. de mar. Rubr. l. v. apud Phot. in biblioth. c. 250. p. 583. ed. Rothom. 1653. GEOR. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 153.

(T) In proof of what is here advanced, many authors might be produced. Megasihenes says, that in India there were serpents or dragons, which could swallow at once a stag, or a bull. Metrodorus affirms, that near the river Rhyndacus in Pontus they were so large, that they could seize upon birds flying at a great height over their heads, and devour them. Pliny relates, that a certain species of this animal, called los or bois, were of such a magni-Vol. VI. No 11.

tude, that a whole child had been found in the flomach of one of them, in the reign of the emperor Claudius; and that at first they lived upon cows milk, from whence they derived their name. Seneca, a very grave author, intimates, that the ferpent here mentioned infected the river for a vast distance, destroyed the country all round, and burnt many of the soldiers to death with his breath. Plutarch tells us of a monstrous serpent or dragon, 10 D

And defeats the

Hamilear and his collegues, receiving advice of the Roman general's approach, a Carthaginians and of his having formed the siege of Adis, or Adda, a fortress of great consequence to Carthage, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Adda, they encamped upon some heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and occasioned the defeat of their army; for by neglecting the plains, and taking post in rough and inaccessible places, they rendered their elephants and cavalry, in which their principal strength consisted, incapable of The Romans, taking advantage of this mistake, did not give them time to rectify it, but immediately fell upon them with the utmost fury. The attack, which happened in the night, was so sudden and unexpected, that many of the Carthaginians had their throats cut in bed, and others lost their lives before they could b lay hold of their arms to defend themselves. However, the mercenaries in the Carthaginian service behaved with great bravery, and not only repulsed the first legion, but forced them to fly to their camp. But Regulus having, at the beginning of the action, ordered a detachment to wheel about, and attack the enemy's rear, they were hereby thrown into confusion, and at last forced to abandon their camp. A great part of the infantry perished, the Romans very closely pursuing them, and having guarded many of the defiles through which they must pass; but most of the elephants and cavalry made their escape. The Cartbaginians lost seventeen thousand, or, according to Eutropius, eighteen thousand, men in the battle and pursuit; eighteen elephants were taken; five thousand men made prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Regulus, after c this action, continued his devastations as before, burnt all the open places, and reduced the fortified towns. Some authors assure us, that he took above two hundred cities; but as this account seems rather to refer to the whole number of places plundered or reduced fince the first descent, we shall chuse to follow Eutropius, who tells us, that the conful conquered seventy-three cities. Utica, amongst the rest, was forced to submit, and Tunis, within nine miles of Caribage, soon met with the same sate. In short, nothing now remained but to lay siege to Carthage itself.

The Numidians declare against the Carthaginians.

To complete the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, the Numidians, a fort of Tartars, or at least in their manners and way of life something resembling that people, entered the territories of Carthage, where they committed dreadful devastations, d This drove most of the Carthaginian subjects into Carthage, which, by this means, was filled with fuch numbers of people, that a famine feemed inevitable, especially as the produce of the earth had been, in a great measure, destroyed, partly by Regulus, and partly by the aforesaid Numidians t.

Regulus makes peace to the Carthag nians; but they are rejected.

THE African nations likewise more immediately subject to Carthage, being weary proposals for a of the Carthaginian yoke, declared for the Romans, who now carried every thing before them. This induced Regulus to imagine, that the Carthaginians would conclude a peace with him upon any, even the most dishonourable terms. He therefore, according to Polybius, offered to treat with them about a peace, being afraid, that his successor would rob him of the glory he had acquired, by putting an end to e the present war, though Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginians themselves made the

> POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. EUTROP. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. OROS. ubi sup. which was brought up by a virgin at Lanuvium; and on some old Roman denarii, we find this virgin represented as bringing him meat, with a basket hanging by her fide. Agatharchides Cnidius, in Photius, mentions serpents of various kinds of an enormous fize common in Ethiopia, and afferts, that he himself saw one thirty cubits long. One suritus Asypalaus, in Strabo, informs us, that Abisarus, an Indian prince, kept two dragons or serpents, one of which was an hundred and forty cubits long, and the other eighty; which Alexander greatly desired to see. Herodocus tells us, that serpents of a size exceeding all belief, were found upon the banks of the Triton, a river bordering on the territory of Car-thage. Isidore, Avicenna, Philostrasus, Solinus, Nicephorus Callistus, Lucian, Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, Atius, Leo Africanus, and others, affirm, that serpents of an immense size were produced in Mauritania, Libya, and Ethiopia. Our philosophical transactions supply us

with instances of rattle-snakes prodigiously large, which countenances, in some measure, what the Roman historians have related about the serpent we are discoursing of. Landolphas and father Lobe likewife, in their accounts of Ethiopia, add some weight to what is here advanced, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that country. It has been imagined by fome, that the animal Regulus killed was a crocodile; but the manner in which this was flain, which has been minutely described by Orolius, as well as the express testimony of many Roman authors to the contrary, will not permit us to come into this opinion. Besides, it does not appear from antient history, that the river Bagrada, or indeed any part of Africa Propria, was formerly infested by crocodiles; nor, from the relations of modern travellers, that they are observed in the kingdom of Tanis at this day (20).

t POLYB. & OROS. ubi fup.

(20) Vide auctor jam citat. & Herodot. l. iv. c. 191. Elian, in hift, anim. pass. Isider. Avicen. Philostr. Solin. Nicephor. Callist. Strab. Arrian. in peripl. Lucian. Atium, Oros. Leon. African. Augustin. tom. viii. enarrat. in pfal. cxlviii. aliofq; plurim.

a first overtures. Be that as it will, the terms Regulus prescribed them seemed so intolerable, and incompatible with their honour, that they were resolved to suffer all extremities, rather than submit to them. As Regulus had met with an uninterrupted course of prosperity from the beginning of his consulship, he set no bounds to his arrogance; and the Romans in general being then of the same disposition, by reason of the great success their arms were attended with both by sea and land, it is no wonder that the Carthaginians should have been treated in so imperious a manner. Regulus wrote to the senate, that the Carthaginians were upon the brink of ruin; and that he had taken care to feal up their gates with fear. All hopes therefore of an accommodation vanishing into smoke, both sides seemed resolved to refer the decision of the points at present in dispute betwixt them to the sword. A certain author tells us, that the whole number of prisoners taken by the Romans, from their first arrival in Africa to this time, including those who fell into their hands in the late battle, amounted to two hundred thousand. All the riches and valuable effects found in the Carthaginian camp after the last action, Regulus sent on board some transports to Rome; and having laid watte all the adjacent country, advanced at the head of his victorious troops to the flagnum or great morals, on which Carthage stood. Here, immediately after the rejection of his above-mentioned proposals, he encamped, resolving without delay to attack the capital of the African republic ".

WHILST matters remained in this melancholy situation, a Carthaginian officer, Xantippus, e who had been fent to Greece, to levy soldiers there, returned home with a body of with a body of Greek mercenaries, confifting chiefly of Lacedamonians. This body was commanded Greek mercenaries, arrives by Xantippus the Lacedæmonian, a person of great bravery and military skill, who at Carthage. had learned the art of war in the school of Sparta, then the most renowned of any in the world, for the famous generals it produced. As foon as he had informed himself wherein the main Arength of the Carthaginian forces lay, and of the circumstances of the late defeat, he openly declared, that it was owing to the falle step taken by their generals in encamping upon hills, where their cavalry and elephants could not act; and that, by an opposite conduct, they might still retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being prevailed upon by the Carthaginian d senate, people, Hamilear, and all the other officers, to take upon him the command of their forces, he first trained them up in the discipline of his country: exercising them near the city, he drew them up in order of battle; made them advance or retreat upon the first fignal; file off with order and swiftness; in a word, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art, according to the Lacedamonian manner. As nothing inspires soldiers with a greater degree of courage, than a perfuafion of their general's abilities, the Carthaginian troops, who were before so greatly dispirited, now thought themselves invincible, under the conduct of Xantippus, observing how vastly he excelled their own generals in the military art. As he judged it highly improper to permit their ardor to cool, he drew them up in battalia in a large e plain before the city, and boldly advanced towards the Romans. We have already, in a former part of this work, described the disposition of both armies, and given an account of the principal things that passed betwixt them previous to the engagement, and therefore shall not here repeat what was there said; but only observe, that Xantip/us, being within twelve hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, thought proper to call a council of war, in order to shew a respect and deference to the Carthaginian commanders, by consulting them; and that, all joining unanimously in opinion with him, it was refolved to give the enemy battle the day following w.

THE Romans were not a little surprised at the motions of the Carthaginian army, And defeats the and the new form of discipline introduced amongst them; notwithstanding which, Romans. f they affected to hold them both and their new general Xantippus in great contempt, not doubting but they should soon be able to give a good account of them. One capital error, according to Polybius, the Roman general committed in the arrangement of his forces. Though he took a proper precaution to fustain the shock of the enemy's elephants, he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was vastly inferior in number to the Carthaginian, but disposed them in such a manner, that they were broken almost upon the first onset. To which we may add from Appian, that the same general ought to have been deemed guilty of a great and complicated mis-

take, when, elated with his former success, through his great ardour, he overu Appian. Polyb. Oros. Eutrop. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Aur. Vict. Flor. ubi fup. w Appian Libyc. fub init. Polyb. Liv. Zonar. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c. ubi fup. Univ. hift. vol. iv. p. 665. w Appian. in

fitigued his foldiers, led them through fuch places as exposed them to the enemy's a parties, posted on eminences to annoy them with missive weapons in their march; and, to crown all, passed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat, in case of any missortune. This bad conduct of Regulus proved the total ruin of his army; for Xintippus had thereby such an advantage over the enemy thrown into his hands, that he intirely defeated them, and either put to the fword. or took pritoners, all of them, except two thousand, who, after having broken his right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement, and made their escape to Clypea. Of the Cartbaginians eight hundred were flain in this action; but on the Roman side near thirteen thousand must have fallen in the battle and pursuit, if Polybius has given us a just account of the number of forces Manlius, at his departure for b Rome, left with Regulus. Xantippus took Regulus himself, and five hundred of his men, prisoners in the pursuit, and immediately carried them to Carthage. According to Eutropius, thirty thousand Romans lost their lives in this battle, and fifteen thousand their liberty; but this cannot be admitted, except we suppose, that Regulus had either received a strong reinforcement from Rome, since the departure of his collegue, or been joined by a good body of Africans in the interval betwixt that event and the battle; neither of which suppositions receives the least countenance from Polyvius, whom, in the main, we chuse to follow x.

The Carthaginians treat all the Roman proponers with great humanty, except Regulus.

THE Carthoginians treated all the Roman prisoners, except Regulus, with great humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the Romans to behave with lenity and c moderation to the Carthaginian captives, who were very numerous, in their hands. But as for Regulus, he had infulted them in so outrageous a manner, in the height of his prosperity, that they could not forbear shewing him the greatest marks of their refentment on this occasion. According to Zonaras and others, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he had only fustenance allowed him barely sufficient to keep him alive; nay, his cruel masters, to heighten his other torments, ordered an huge elephant, at the fight of which animal, it feems, he was greatly terrified, to be constantly placed near him; which prevented him from enjoying any tranquillity or repole, and rendered his life a burden to him. When he would have prescribed dishonourable terms of peace to the Carthaginians, he pretended, with unparallelled haughti- d ness, that every thing he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a savour, with this further infult, that they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to fubmit to the victor. No wonder therefore that so harsh and disdainful a treatment should incense to the highest degree a nation naturally proud, as well as cruel and implacable, and even, in the point before us, force their interest itself to give way to their resentment. Zonaras intimates, that Regulus suffered himself to be surprised by Xantippus, not believing that he would have the courage to attack him. However this may be, as the Carthaginian army did not confift of above fixteen thousand men, besides the elephants, this ought to be looked upon as a most wonderful victory, especially considering the heroic valour of the Roman legions; and, as Fron- e tinus rightly infinuates, must be almost intirely attributed to the conduct and bravery of Xantippus v.

Great rejoicings at Carthage, on account of this victory. The Carthaginians remained on the field of battle till they had stripped the sain, and then entered their metropolis, which was almost the only place lest them, in great triumph. The citizens immediately repaired to the temples in crouds, to return thanks to the immortal gods for so signal a victory, and hung up in these temples (U), as so many trophies, the arms taken from the enemy. Several days were devoted wholly to selfvities and rejoicings, a spirit of joy and gladness disfusing itself over the whole city. However, according to some authors, they not only soon forgot the vast obligation they were under to Xantippus, but even shewed themselves guilty of most shocking ingratitude to him, as well as to the whole body of mercenaries, who had delivered them at the critical moment. If these writers may be credited, they

<sup>\*</sup> Idem ibid. Vide Aurel. Vict. in At. reg. 40. Y. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 13. p. 391, 392. Cic. de offic. l. iii. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 2. ex. 11. & l. ii. c. 3. ex. ro. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. ubi sup. Valer. Max. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>(</sup>U) Other nations, as well as the Carthaginians, hung up the arms taken from the enemy in the temples of their gods. The Gauls, and even the

a either actually destroyed Xantippus, or attempted his destruction; and not only refused paying the mercenaries the arrears due to them, but ordered the captains of the veffels, who were to carry them home, to leave them exposed on a desolate island, These horrid instances of Carthaginian ingratitude, we say, are attested by some authors; yet at the same time we think it our duty, as impartial historians, to observe, that their authority, in the point before us, is not to be intirely depended upon; for although we should allow, that the Carthaginians were frequently both cruel and ungrateful, nay, that they had a natural propenfity to the odious vices of cruelty and ingratitude; yet, in the present case, what advantage or emolument could accrue to them from fo execrable a fact? It could never have buried in oblib vion so illustrious an action as the victory Xantippus acquired for them, since that could not fail of being transmitted to posterity by their enemies, in order to deprive them, to whom they bore so implacable a hatred, of the merit of it; and indeed through this canal it has been conveyed down to us, and yet the authors, who stigmatize the Carthaginians, by accusing them of so enormous a crime, assign this as their motive to it; nor can any other motive be conceived, except we will suppose, that they did it purely to gratify a barbarous and inhuman disposition; which, wicked as the world is, can scarce be imagined possible. Besides, Polybius, the best author extant who has treated of this particular branch of history, fays not a word of it. Livy also, if we may judge of him from his epitomizer, passes it over in silence, c as do Florus, Eutropius, &c. who, being Roman historians, would most certainly have taken the greatest pleasure in relating such a story, if sounded on good authority, as reflecting an eternal shame and dishonour upon their most avowed and mortal enemies, whom they never failed to treat with the utmost freedom on all occasions. We think it therefore but equitable to suspend our belief of what Appian and Zonaras have affirmed with regard to the departure of Xantippus, especially as the scheme these authors have made the Carthaginians form for the destruction of the Lacedamonian mercenaries, is, in point of policy, so defective, and incredible, that no stress can be laid upon it; for, according to them, all these mercenaries, as well as their general, were to be exposed to inevitable destruction, without the loss of a single Card thaginian, or pretence of even a storm, to colour the perpetration of so horrid a crime. This certainly seems incompatible with that genius for refined policy and intrigues the Carthaginians were in history fo famous for; and therefore will, with great difficulty, be admitted for fact by our impartial and intelligent readers 2.

As for Regulus, he was a lively instance of the great instability of fortune and human affairs. Had he been either influenced by the maxims of found policy, or touched with the least sense of compassion for the misfortunes and sufferings of his fellow-creatures, he would have abated fomething of the rigour he shewed the Carthaginians after the last defeat given them, and might have concluded a most advantageous peace for the Romans; but, giddy with success, nothing less would satisfy e him than the total ruin of that people, or at least a reduction of them to a state of servitude, which they thought equivalent to it. This Providence did not permit him to accomplish; but, on the contrary, by a swift revolution, he fell from the height of prosperity to the lowest degree of contempt, nay, into the extremest misery and despair, his exalted station serving only to render his fall the more precipitate, and the less pitied by those he had before insulted. Many, and even recent, examples might be produced of princes, who, by pursuing the same conduct, have met with the same fate, would the limits of our history permit; but, as they will not, we must beg leave to refer our readers to their own observations on this head, and to those fine reflections of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, which we could not avoid

f glancing at here 1.

We have, in a former part of this work, given a full account of what happened to Regulus in the subsequent part of his life, and censured Hoffman for differing from a great number of Roman authors in this particular. But our high regard to impartiality, a quality essentially necessary in an historian, obliges us now to lay before our readers the reasons, that may possibly have induced some learned men to believe the whole relation of Regulus's death, as handed down to us by the aforesaid authors, to be an absolute siction b.

<sup>2</sup> Appian. & Zonar. ubi sup. Horat. carm. l. iii. od. 5. Vide etiam Polyb. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c. ubi sup. & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 666.

Vales.

Vol. VI. Notice to the property of

1. All the Roman historians, as Romans, bore an implacable hatred to the very a memory of the Carthaginians, and did their utmost to make it appear odious in the eyes of all mankind. They were intirely void of impartiality when they tpoke of that nation, as manifestly appears from what Polybius relates of Fabius Pictor, one of their most celebrated writers, and the most antient of their historians. 2. All the subsequent Roman historians must have followed Fabius Pictor in this particular, since neither Diodorus Siculus nor Polybius have taken the least notice of Regulus's being sent to Rome, and fuffering death afterwards at Carthage upon his return; though, had this been true, they would undoubtedly have related it, the Greeks bearing as great an aversion to the Carthaginians, as did the Romans. 3. From a fragment of Diodorus Siculus in the excerpta (W) of Valefius, it appears, that Regulus's fons, at the inftigation of their mother, treated Hamilear and Bostar, two Carthaginian generals, taken prisoners, and delivered into her hands to exchange for her husband, with the utmost cruelty; infomuch that one of them died. She was prompted to this, according to the same fragment, by a persuasion, that her husband died at Carthage for want of a proper care being taken of him, upon the news she received of his death there. This evidently supposes Regulus to have died in that city, without any other torture than what the want of necessaries occasioned. 4. Palmerius has accounted for the whole story, as related by the Roman writers, and the Greeks attached to the Roman interest, in such a manner, as to give some reason to believe, that they are neither of them to be intirely relied upon in their accounts of the fufferings and death of Regulus. c Besides the authors cited in the fourth volume of this work, it will be necessary to confult those referred to in the margin, in order to have an adequate idea, according to the Roman tradition, of the point we are now upon .

Both the Carmicet with

THE Carthaginians, now forgetting all former misfortunes, began to talk in a thaginians and very high strain, threatening even Italy itself with an invasion. The Romans, being informed of this, placed strong garrifons in all the maritime towns, that lay most many dijasters. exposed, and fitted out a new fleet, with a strong body of land forces on board, not only to divert the enemy from executing the design they pretended to have formed, but also to retrieve their broken affairs in Africa. In the mean time the Carthaginians besieged Clypea and Utica in vain, being obliged to rise from before those places by d the approach of the Roman squadron, which had already plundered the island of Cor-(ura, and left a garrifon there. Having equipped a fleet of two hundred fail, they put to sea, in order to prevent the enemy from making a second descent; and coming up with them off cape Hermea, engaged them; but being routed, the Romans

> CDIOD. SIC. I. XXIV. in excerpt. Valef. Vide & PALMER. apud Gronov. in Appian. Libyc. p. 5, 6. Cic. orat. in Pison. de fin. l. v. sub fin. & alib. Aul. Gel. noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 4. Plut. in lib. de Herodot. malign. Horat. ubi sup. & carm. l. i. od. 12. Liv. epit. l. xviii. Suid. in Pήγκλ. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Dio Cass. Sil. Ital. l. vi. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Tertul. ad martyr. c. 4. Aur. Vict. de vir. illustrubi sup. Senec. de tranquil. anim. l. i. c. 15. ÆL. Tuber. apud. Gell. ubi sup. Eutrop. l. ii. Tuditanus apud Gell. ubi sup. August. de civ. Dei, l. i. c. 15, & c. 24. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. & Doubuse. Magnan. in 2000 vit. virus illustr. DOMINIC. MACHAN. in auctor. vit. viror. illustr. &c.

(W) The passage referred to imports in substance, that Regulus's widow, hearing of his death at Carthage, and supposing him to have died through want of necessaries, instigated her sons to use Hamilcar and Bostar, two Carthaginian generals, taken prisoners, and delivered into their hands by the senate, in order to exchange for their father, with the utmost inhumanity. They were confined in so streight a room, that they could not move, and kept without meat for five days together; insomuch that Bostar died of grief and hunger. Hamilear, in order to move her compassion, told her, that he had also all as so that her had also all as so that her had also all as so that he had also all as so that her had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also all as so that he had also that he had also all as so that he had also that he had had taken all possible care of her husband, who was committed to his custody at Carthage. But this not availing, she extended her barbarity so far, as to cause him to be shut up five days with the dead body of Bostar, allowing him all that time only suftenance barely fufficient to keep him alive. Being ready to expire through the stench of the dead body, and the other miseries he laboured under, this barbarous treatment was rumoured abroad by the

meaner servants; which reaching the ears of the tribunes of the people, they had like to have caused the young men to be put to death for so execrable a fact, which difgraced the Roman name. They were therefore obliged, by way of atonement for the perpetration of so heinous a crime, to burn the body of Bostar, and send his ashes to Carthage, as likewise to treat Hamilear with lenity during the remainder of his confinement. Tuditanus in Gellius. in order to take off the odium of this barbarous action, and fuit it more to the Roman tafte, tells us, that Regulus died for want of fleep, which the Car thaginians, by various methods, deprived him of; and that this reaching Rome, his fons used some noble Carthaginian captives, delivered to them by the senate, in the same manner. This relation, partial and disguised as it is, gives great weight to the valuable fragment of Diodorus referred to, and at the fame time renders Palmerius's notion of this affair not a little probable (21).

(22) Diod. Sic, in loc, citat. Tuditan, apud Gell, ubi sup. ut & Dominic, Machan, & Palmer, ubi sup. landat.

a landed without opposition at Clypea, defeated the Carthaginians in a pitched battle near that place; and carrying off the remains of Regulus's army, steered for Sicily. However, notwithstanding these victories, the Romans were greatly weakened. In the naval engagement they had been worsted, had not the two thousand men left at Clypea, attacked the enemy's rear unexpectedly, which obliged them to give way. In their passage to Sicily, they met with so dreadful a tempest, that out of three hundred and seventy odd vessels, of which their seet was composed, eighty only escaped, Diodorus Siculus says, they lost three hundred and forty galleys, besides about three hundred transports. Eutropius affirms only eighty galleys to have remained out of four hundred and fixty-four; infomuch that all the fea-coasts, from Camarina to b Pachynum, were strewed with the dead bodies of men and horses, as well as the wrecks of ships. Immediately after this disaster, Carthalo, a Carthaginian commander, advancing to Agrigentum, laid siege to it, and soon made himself matter of it. The town he laid in ashes, and demolished the walls, obliging the inhabitants to fly to Olympieum. The Carthaginians, apprifed of this, immediately fent Afdrubal to Sicily, with a large reinforcement of troops, and an hundred and fifty elephants. They likewise fitted out a squadron, with which they retook the island of Corsura; and though they had loft nine thousand men in the last action, besides five thousand in the naval engagement, they marched a strong body of forces, under the command of Hamilear, into Mauritania and Numidia, to punish the people of those countries c for shewing a disposition to join the Romans. Hamilear treated them with the utmost rigour and severity, causing all their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer fort to the sword, and exacting from the rest a thousand talents of silver, besides twenty thousand head of cattle. In Sicily the consuls possessed themselves of Cephalædium by treachery; but Carthalo forced them to raise the siege of Drepanum, and retire with great loss. The Carthaginians however foon after found themselves obliged to abandon Ieta, as likewise the territories of the Selinuntines, Petrinians, Enatterinians, and Tyndarites. The Romans, landing afterwards an army in Sicily, laid siege (X) to Panormus, the capital of the Carthaginian dominions there; and making themselves masters of a fort or tower by the sea-side, carried that part of the d city called the New Town; but the inhabitants defending themselves with great bravery, they could not immediately reduce the other. However, forming the blockade of the place, they at last forced both it and the citadel to surrender for want of provisions. The Carthaginian fleet, posted to observe the enemy's motions, fell in with one of their squadrons, and carried off many of their ships laden with money and other valuable effects. Both parties soon after put an end to the operations of the campaign, the consuls returning to Rome, and the Carthaginians retiring into winter-quarters; so that we hear of no hostilities betwixt them till the sollowing fpring d.

THE Carthaginians, notwithstanding all their disasters, suffered less at sea than the The Carthagie Romans. The prodigious losses the last nation had sustained on that element, made nians become them entertain thoughts of declining all preparations for the future against the Cartha-flers at sea. ginians there. The next year, losing above an hundred and fifty galleys more on the

d Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hoeschel. Polyb. ubi sup. Zonar. ubi supra, c. 14. OROS. l. iv. c. 9. EUTROP. l. ii.

(X) Panormus, according to Diodorus, derived its name from its port or haven, which was the finest in Sicily. The Phanicians probably called it Labrin, Or Leptin, from labt an harbour or station for ships. Polybius tells us, that it was the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; and, if we may credit Thucydides, it was either of Punic or Phanician extraction, being built in very early times either by the Phoenicians, who traded with the Aborigines of Sicily, or their posterity, the most antient Cartha-ginians. That it was the most eminent city the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily, at least for a consi-derable period of time, and the most resorted to, if not for the most part inhabited, by that nation, is evident from the great number of coins belonging

to it, with Punic legends upon them. Paruta and others exhibit many of these to our view, which ferve to confirm the authorities above-mentioned. Some Sicilian writers will have the Phanicians and Damascenes to have founded it in the time of Isaac. In support of which notion they produce two Hebrew inscriptions, found at that place in the reign of William the second king of Sicily, importing, that some colonies of those nations settled there at that time, and called the place Panormus. But as few, if any, Hebrew inscriptions of that date are genuine, and as Panormus is a Greek, not a Hebrem name, we must be excused from subscribing to their opinion (23).

(23) Thucyd. l. vi. Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Bochart. Clan. l. i. c. 24, 27. Vide etiam Iho, Fazel. de reb. Sic. & Ranzanum in lib. de Panorm. l. vi.

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coasts of Sicily, they came to a resolution to lay aside all naval operations, and consequently left the Carthaginians masters of the sea. This was not their only missortune; for, in the late battle with Regulus, the elephants had made such havock amongst them, that, for the two succeeding years, the Roman soldiers in Sicily durst not approach these furious animals within five or six stadia. This prevented the war from being carried on with any vigour during that term. The Romans however wrested Lipara, Himera, and Therma, out of the hands of the Carthaginians; but were obliged to raise the siege of Ersta. So slow a progress induced them to attempt making a figure once more by sea, hoping by this means to compensate for the terror, with which the elephants had struck their legions .

Asdrubal over- Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, perceiving how much asraid the Ro- b thrown by Carmans were of his elephants, marched out of Lilybaum, and advanced into the neighbourness. bourhood of Panormus, in order to draw the enemy to a battle. Cacilius, who commanded the Roman forces in the town, seemed to be afraid of him, till he had passed the river running close by the city, when, having a great advantage over him, he attacked him with incredible fury. The fight was very obstinate for some time, and the Romans were even repulsed by the violence of the elephants; but at last the dart-men wounded these boisterous animals in such a manner, that they fell foul upon their own troops, and threw them into confusion. This being observed by the Roman general, he sallied with a body of fresh forces out of the town, and attacking the enemy in flank, gave them a total defeat. The Carthaginians loft a vast number c of men in this action, it being one of the greatest overthrows they ever received in Sicily, besides many elephants, which were either killed or taken, and amongst the rest ten with their (Y) Indian leaders. The Carthaginian elephants could never after this battle make any impression upon the Roman troops; on which account the victory might juftly have been looked upon as of vaft consequence to them. According to Zonaras, the Carthaginian fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of the land-forces; for vast numbers of Astribal's soldiers, endeavouring to make their escape on board the galleys, sell into the sea, and were drowned. Diodorus intimates, that Asdrubal was, in a manner, compelled by his own troops to venture an engagement with the enemy; that advancing to Panormus, he passed the river above-men- d tioned with great temerity, not taking the least precaution to fecure himself against any attempts of the Romans; and that some merchants having brought a large quan-

E LIV. ZONAR. DIOD. SIC. POLYB. & OROS, ubi sup.

(Y) From the passage of Polybius here referred to, it is evident, that the Carthaginians, before the thirteenth year of the first Punic war, had an intercourse with India, as receiving elephants, and persons to manage and train them up, from thence. This greatly strengthens what Pliny intimates, viz. that the Carthaginians carried on a trade with the Indians, and imported from India many carbuncles of an inestimable value. This they must either have done by means of caravans going through the interior parts of Africa to the Arabic gulf, if not thro' Egypt to Persia and India, or by their own vessels trading to those parts, or lastly, by their communication with Tyre. The passage we are now considering from libering from the passage we have a second the second the second trade of the second trade o dering feems likewise clearly to prove, that the Carthaginians trafficked with the Persians, fince all caravans coming intirely by land from India to Carthage must necessarily pass thro' part of Persia; and we know, that the Persians dealt much in these animals. But that the Carthaginians were well known to the Persians in very early times, which we cannot well conceive to have been in any other manner than by trading with them, is evident from Cambyfes's intention to attack them, and from the embally Darius fent them towards the close of his reign, already mentioned. Besides, that they were acquainted with the Persian gulf, is probable from what Pliny relates of one of their sea-commanders, who secred his course that way, in order to make discoveries in very early times. If they traded with these re-

mote nations by caravans, they might likewise have gone through part of the country of the Garamantes and Ethiopia; which that they did, appears probable from Pliny and Strato, who tell us, that the Indian, Garamantican, and Ethiopian carbuncles, by reason of their great plenty at Carthage, were called Carchedonian carbuncles; and that the Carthaginians received them from the Garamantes. After having weighed all these particulars, we cannot help thinking, that the Carthaginians fent caravans to the country of the Garamantes, Ethiopia, and Persia, as well as ships to the Red-sea, rather than that they had a communication with those parts of the world by means of the Tyrians. As a further proof of this, it may be considered, that Hanno, who is supposed to have written the periplus going under his name, one of their admirals, failed to the remotest coasts of Arabia from Cadiz, long before the age-we are now treating of; and that Pliny intimates their commerce to have been fo much more extenfive than that of any other nation, that merchandize was faid to be the invention of the Pæni, not of the Phanicians. Dalecampius, in his notes on Pliny, receives a great accession of strength from this passage of Polybius, and on his part illustrates this lastmentioned author, as well as Pliny. We shall referve what we have to fay of elephants. and those nations, who first used them in war, for a future note (24).

(24) Polyb. in loc. citae. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 7. & Dalecamp. in loc. Strab. l. xvii. Herodot. l. iii. Juft. 1. xix. Plin. l. ii. c. 67.

a tity of wine into the camp, the Celtes got drunk, filling all parts with noise, disorder, and confusion; which Cacilius observing, sallied out of the town, put the Cartbaginian army to the rout, and either killed or took prisoners a vast number of men. Sixty elephants, according to the same author, that fell into the hands of the Romans, were fent to Rome as a great curiofity. It may not be improper to remark, that this

exploit concluded the thirteenth year of the first Punic war f.

THE beginning of the following year, the Carthaginians received intelligence, that The Romans the Romans intended to form the fiege of Lilybaum, imagining, that the reduction of baum. that place would put an end to this tedious and bloody war. As they looked upon the preservation of Lilybaum, which was the only city they now possessed in Sicily, b except Drepanum, to be of the utmost consequence to them, they reinforced the garrison with a large body of chosen troops, and finished the fortifications in such a manner, as to render the place almost impregnable. Notwithstanding which, the two confuls, Manlius and Attilius, invested the place; and, after having opened trenches before it, carried on the siege with great vigour. The Carthaginians, some time before the beginning of this siege, had razed the city of Selinus, and transplanted the inhabitants to Lilybaum; so that this last place was very populous when the Roman army appeared before it. The garrison was also very numerous, consisting of ten thousand mercenary Gauls and Greeks, besides a large detachment of Carthaginian forces, commanded by Hamilear, an officer of great experience and bravery. Tho' e the Romans foon demolished several of the outworks, and even made their approaches close to the body of the place, yet Hamilcar desended it with an intrepidity and resolution worthy of himself. He rebuilt, as it were in a moment, many forts, which the enemy had destroyed with their battering-engines; sosted to every part of the town to give the necessary orders, prevent consuston, and animate the troops, as well as the citizens, by his presence; and lastly, made frequent, as well as vigorous fallies, upon the besiegers. According to Diodorus, in one of these sallies he killed ten thousand Romans upon the spot, put a great part of their army to slight, burnt many of their rams, balistæ, and catapults, and then entered triumphantly into the town. The Carthaginians in the mean time, finding their cavalry of no service in d the defence of the place, fent them to Drepanum. Soon after the last disaster, a famine began to rage in the Roman camp, which in a strort time introduced the plague there, of which, in a very few days, above ten thousand men were carried off. In fine, the besiegers, by such a train of calamities, coming, as it were, one upon the neck of another, lost more men than they could well have done in several pitched battles. This so greatly weakened, and at the same time despirited them, that had they not received an immediate supply both of troops and provisions from king

Hiero, they must have been infallibly obliged to raise the siege 8. But what the Romans could not effect by force, they attempted to accomplish The mercenaby treachery. In order to which, they so far corrupted some of the leaders of the ries enter into e mercenaries, that they decoyed them into their camp, to concert with them the pro- deliver the per measures for having the place delivered into their hands. This might have proved place into the fatal to the Carthaginians, had not one Alexon, an Achaian, discovered the whole hands of the conspiracy to Hamiltan; who, assembling all the remaining mercenary officers, Romans. acquainted them with the particulars of the horrid design, and, by his singular address, engaged them to persevere in their fidelity to the Carthaginians. Having fecured this point, he prevailed upon them next to endeavour at inspiring the soldiers under their command with the same sentiments. He likewise sent one Hannibal, the fon of the admiral of that name, who was crucified by his own men at Sulci in Sardinia, to keep the Gauls, with whom he was very popular, firm in the Carthagif nian interest; whilst Alexon went to hinder the Greeks, amongst whom he was extremely beloved, from entering into the enemy's measures. These salutary precautions had the defired effect; for the mercenary chiefs, returning foon after from the Roman camp, found their men so far from listening to their suggestions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmost fury (Z). Zonaras says, that the length

f Polyb. Zonar. Eutrop. & Oros. ibid. Liv. epit. l. xix. Plin. l. viii. c. 6. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 4. 

5 Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Polyb. l. i. Liv. epit. l. xix. Oros. ubi sup. c. 10. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 15. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 671, 672, &c.

<sup>(</sup>Z) Zonaras infinuates, that tho' Hamilear was apprifed of the confpiracy, he did not judge it ex-Vol. VI. N° 11.

pedient to take any notice of it, for fear of an open and public defection of the mercenaries; but that having and public defection of the mercenaries; but that

of the fiege, and a want of pay, induced the mercenaries to entertain thoughts of a betraying the city to the Romans; of which Hamiltar being apprifed, he paid the officers their arrears, and appealed the minds of the foldiery by large promises; by which means all the sparks of discontent and sedition were extinguished. This impending storm being blown over, Hamilear rewarded Alexon for his fidelity, and continued his fallies upon the Romans with the usual success h.

The garrison forcement of ten thousand thage.

THE Carthaginians being informed, that the Romans had received a reinforcement receives a rein- from Hiero, though they could have no intelligence from the garrifon, concluded, that the Romans pushed on the siege with vigour, and that consequently Hamilear men from Car wanted some relief. They therefore sent one Hannibal with a supply of ten thousand men, who putting in at the island of Egusa, was obliged to stay there some time, in b expectation of a fair wind. He was not detained long here, but soon happily made his way into the town. Having landed his troops, he passed in the night by the enemy's camp to Drepanum, where he had a conference with his friend Adherbal, who commanded in that place. The subject of this conference undoubtedly was, how to open a communication betwixt Lilybæum and Drepanum. In consequence, as it is probable, of the measures there concerted, Hannibal, surnamed the Rhodian, was pitched upon to execute the plan formed by the two commanders above-mentioned. This he very luckily did for some time, and thereby greatly contributed to the support of the garrison of Lilybæum, as well as the service of the Carthaginian state in general; but was at last taken by some galleys detached from the Roman c fleet, in the manner by us already related i.

And burn in a fally the beliegers battering engines.

ALL communication betwixt Lilybaum and the other Carthaginian territories being thus cut off, the garrison was reduced to some extremities. However, at last a ftorm arose, which broke and rendered useless all the Roman battering-engines, and overturned many of the towers they had erected to facilitate the reduction of the This unexpected event prompted the Greek troops in garrison to attempt the destruction of the machines, which escaped the fury of the tempest; which they easily effected, and put a great number of Romans to the sword. The consuls, upon this unexpected blow, defitted from the attack of the town, turning the fiege into a blockade, and drawing a line round the place, to prevent any succours being thrown The besieged, on the other hand, repaired all the breaches made by the d enemy, strengthened the fortifications with some new works, and receiving a fresh flow of spirits from the great success they had met with, were determined to defend the town to the last drop of blood k,

Claudius totally routed by Aldrubal in a sea-sight.

2

Soon after this disaster, which greatly alarmed the Romans, Claudius the consulput to sea with a powerful sleet, having a design of surprising Drepanum. Upon his approach to that place, Adherbal, the commander there, was not a little amazed to see a formidable squadron entering the port, especially considering the blow the Romans had lately received. However, he foon refumed his usual presence of mind, and, affembling his troops, made a pathetic speech to them, expatiating upon the hardships of a siege, which they must inevitably undergo, if they suffered the enemy e to enter their harbour unattacked, and at the same time assuring them, that no doubt could be entertained of their vanquishing the Romans, considering the many advantages they had over them in point of situation, provided they sell upon them immediately, and did their duty. The soldiers and seamen, greatly animated by this speech, required to be led instantly against the enemy. Upon which Adherbal, drawing up his fquadron in line of battle near the rocks that lay on the coast, boldly advanced against Claudius, who was now entering the port. The engage-

h POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi sup. POLYN. DIOD, SIC, LIV. OROS. ubi fup. Univers. hist, ubi fupra. \* POLYB. & DIODOR. ibid. Univers. hist. ubi fup.

having fecured the fidelity of the officers, by paying them their arrears, and calmed the minds of the foldiery, by promising them speedy payment, which the Carthaginians enabled him to do, by fending him immediately a large sum of money for that purpose, he, by this means, avoided the danger that threatened him. The same author moreover relates, that the Romans received the command-

ers of the mercenaries, who were expelled the city. by their own troops, with great kindness, gave them lands in Sicily, and other valuable effects, to compensate the loss they had sustained for their affection to them. This last particular is likely enough to be true; but as to the first, fince it contradicts Polybins, we think no degree of credit is due to it (29).

ment immediately began, and the fight was, for some time, obstinate and dubious; but at last the Carthaginians, by the lightness and activity of their vessels, by the disadvantageous situation of the Romans, who, through Claudius's imprudence, were posted near the shore, and lastly, by reason of the Roman galleys being incapable, on account of their clumsy make, of charging the enemy in slank or rear, as occasion should require, obtained a complete victory. Ninety-three of the Roman galleys, if we may give credit to Polybius, with the greatest part of their crews, sell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who, it is said, did not lose a single man or galley in this glorious action. According to Diodorus, Claudius lost an hundred and seventeen ships, and twenty thousand men. Eutropius affirms ninety galleys to have been taken, and ninety, with all the troops on board, sunk in this satal battle. And lastly, Orosius relates eight thousand men to have been killed or drowned; and twenty thousand taken prisoners. Claudius, with thirty vessels, made his escape (A) out of the fight to the camp at Lilybaum, bringing thither to the consuls the news (B) of his defeat; which was the greatest blow the Romans had received by sea since the commencement of this war.

Nothing was now celebrated at Carthage but the praises of Adherbal, who, at Carthaio, by this juncture, was effected, both on account of his confummate prudence, and per-his conduct, fonal valour, as one of the greatest heroes Carthage had ever produced: and indeed occasions a metfuch an intire overthrow given to a most proud and insulting enemy, could not but thagman arc be in the highest degree grateful to all orders of men in that metropolis, and conse-my, and is quently render the general, to whom it was chiefly owing, greatly acceptable to all therefore re his fellow-citizens. As the Romans had amassed a vast quantity of provisions on called to Car-] board their fleet, Adherbal furnished Lilybaum with a most plentiful supply, and thage. filled all his magazines at Drepanum. In the mean time Hamilear found himself inspired with new vigour, not only by the unexpected success of Adherbal, but by his having destroyed all the enemy's works, and military engines, in the fally abovementioned, wherein he was not a little favoured by the violent gust of wind, which rendered unquenchable the flames his Greek mercenaries had kindled amongst them. The Carthaginians likewise at this juncture, by ravaging the coasts of Italy and Sicily, d reduced the natives to the extremest poverty. Soon after Hanno, a Carthaginian officer, in a quinquereme, fell into the hands of Junius the consul, as he was steering with a new fleet for Lilybaum. However, this loss was foon repaired; for Adherbal, detaching Carthalo with an hundred galleys to observe the Roman squadrons and convoys fent to the relief of the camp before Lilybaum, gained several advantages over them, and at last had the pleasure of seeing them totally destroyed by a storm. Besides many other places, Carthalo reduced Ægythalus, a strong castle the Romans had possessed themselves of. Diodorus tells us, that in the first sea-sight with Carthalo, the Romans had thirty-five thousand men killed, and as many taken prisoners; but this is scarce credible. Notwithstanding all the losses the e Romans had fultained, they continued the blockade of Lilybæum with great firmness, cantoning all their troops in the neighbourhood, being determined, if possible, to carry the place. Carthalo, by some indiscreet actions, became so unpopular amongst the troops, that he had like to have occasioned an universal desection; which obliged the senate to recal him to Carthage. The Romans, being greatly dejected by their late frequent misfortunes at fea, refolved once more to lay aside all thoughts of opposing their rival upon the watery element. This revived the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians, and encouraged them to entertain hopes of coping with their formidable enemy once more by land. In order to which, they appointed Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, the head of the Barcan faction in Carthage, general of their forces.

I Idem ibid. Oros. & Zonar. ubi fup. Eutrop. l. ii. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. fub fin. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 13. ex. 9. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. & l. viii. c. 1. ex. 4.

f This extraordinary person, by his future conduct both in Sicily, Africa, and Spain,

(26) S. Jul. Frontin. in loc. citat.

(17) Died. Sic. l. xxiv. sub init, in excerpt. Valesii.

<sup>(</sup>A) Frontinus tells us, that Claudius made his escape with twenty ships, which he adorned in a triumphal manner, and by that means passed by some of the enemy's guard-ships without hurt, the Carthaginians on board believing him to have been victorious (26).

<sup>(</sup>B) We think it not improper to acquaint our readers here, that they will find this rash man's character drawn at full length by Diodorus Siculus, in one of his fragments published by Valesus (27).

demonstrated himself to be the greatest general, excepting his son Hannibal, who a indeed outshined him, that ever appeared at the head of the Carthaginian armies m.

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Hamilear (C), receiving a charte blanche from the senate, to act as he should think lands in Sicily proper for the service of the republic of Carthage, set sail from Carthage in the feveral motions eighteenth year of this war. According to Cornelius Nepos, he was a persect youth, when he took upon him the command of the army; which, confidering the bad fituation of the Carthaginian affairs, adds no small lustre to his first gallant atchievements. Having put to death all the ringleaders and most guilty of the mutineers. he ravaged the coasts of the Locrians and Brutians, and then made a descent near Panormus with all his forces. Upon his landing, he marked out a camp betwixt Panormus and Eryx; which was of itself a sufficient proof of his great military capa- b city, fince the spot of ground pitched upon, seems, from the description given us of it by Polybius, to have been the most commodious for the end proposed, that could possibly be conceived. Soon after his encampment here, he detached some galleys, with a body of land-forces on board, to pillage the Roman allies. These executed their orders with great severity, making excursions as far as Cuma, and laying the country waste where-ever they moved. Upon their return, he marched with his army to the very walls of Panormus, though the enemy lay encamped but eight hundred paces from that city, and afterwards returned to his former camp. For fome time the generals on both sides made it their whole business to observe each others motions. In short, by marches and counter-marches, by rencounters and ambuscades, c by military falfifications, and stratagems of all kinds, Hamilear and the confuls strove who should shew the greatest skill and dexterity; which, though it greatly fatigued the foldiers, trained them up in military discipline, and formed them for action in the most perfect manner. But such a variety of motions, as was the result of this conduct, being too tedious for an historian to describe, Polybius has, in a great meafure, omitted it n.

Neither Cile other to a bat-

BOTH the Carthaginian and Roman camps were, by art and nature, rendered could force the impregnable; fo that neither fide could force the other to a battle. The military operations therefore, for a confiderable period of time, confifted in rencounters betwixt parties, who, on both fides, behaved with very great bravery. The fuc-d cess of these skirmishes was dubious, sometimes one party being victorious, and fometimes the other. The Carthaginians however in general, from what we find in Polybius, seem rather to have had the advantage, especially as Diodorus intimates, that Hamilear took a castle of considerable strength in the territory of Catana, before he advanced to Eryx. It so, this ought undoubtedly to be ascribed to the incomparable conduct of Hamilear; fince, from the time he became their general, they performed feats, of which before they might justly have been thought incapable.

The Romans teer-squadron.

THE Romans had, for some time past, desisted from all naval preparations, being equip a priva- deterred from them by the terrible disasters they had met with at sea; and confined themselves wholly to a land-war, thinking their land-forces much more than a match e for those of Carthage. But finding themselves greatly mistaken in their views, by the excellent conduct of Hamilcar, and that, instead of carrying their point in Sicily, they were even themselves reduced to some extremities there by the enemy, they began to think of annoying them again by sea. In order to this, a seet was first equipped by private persons. This privateer-squadron of galleys was of consi-

> m POLYB. DIOD. Sic. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi fup. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. Vide & niverf hift. ubi fup. & p. 673, 674, 675, &c. n Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Heefch. Polyb. Univers hift, ubi sup. & p. 673, 674, 675, &c. 1. i. ubi fup. CORN. NEP. in vit. Hamile. fub init. · Idem ibid.

(C) The furname of this famous general the Greek authors write Barcas; but the Latin, Barca. It was common for the Greeks to terminate the same proper name in as, that the Latins did in a, and even fuch proper names as were of African extraction; witness Micipsas, Micipsa, &c. According to Silius and others, this was the furname of a family, which was the noblest in Carthage, being lineally descended from the antient kings of Tyre. The party in Carthage, that adhered to this Hamilear, was, from him,

called the Barchine or Barcan faction, of which Livy takes particular notice. Servius in direct terms afferts this name to appertain to a family; and Plutarch mentions one Maherbal, or Adherbal, (who intimated to Hannibal, that he did not know fo well how to make a proper use of a victory, as to get one) as a member of it. We may possibly have occasion to speak further of this family in the next fection (28).

(28) Sil. Ital. l. vi. Serv. in Æn. iv. ver. 632. Liv. l. xxi. c. 2, 3. Plut. in Fab. p. 184. Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamile. Appian. Iberic. p. m. 428. Vide Reinec, hist. Jul. vol. ii. & Bentleium in dissert, ad Malelam, p. 88, 89, ere. edit. Oxon, 1691.

derable

a derable force, and fitted out chiefly with a view of plundering the enemy's territories, and inuring the Romans to the sea, to which they were now, in a manner, strangers. They committed great depredations on the coasts of Africa; and entering the port of Hippo, notwithstanding the citizens had endeavoured to hinder their entrance, by shutting up the mouth of the harbour with a large and strong chain thrown across it, they laid the greatest part of the town, together with the shipping, in ashes. Having filled their vessels with spoils, they returned to Panormus, near which place they gave a considerable deteat to the enemy. In the mean time one of the consuls pushed on the fiege of Lilybaum, and the other that of Drepanum. The Romans likewise dislodged the Carthaginians from the island of Columbaria; which Hamilcar in vain b attempted to retake. Fabius, who carried on the siege of Drepanum, afterwards, with incredible labour, joined this island to the continent; which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithstanding these advantages, the brave Hamiltar terribly harasted the enemy, not only making incursions into the very heart of the island, but plundering frequently the coasts of Italy, that lay opposite to Sicily. Nothing considerable, for some time, happened after this, except that a cartel was settled betwixt both parties for an exchange of prisoners. They were exchanged man for man; but the Carthaginian prisoners being by far most numerous, many of them were redeemed by money out of the hands of the Romans P.

ABOUT three years after Hamilcar's arrival in Sicily, he made himself master of Hamilcartakes c Eryx by furprize. The town was fituate on the declivity of a mountain of the Eryx. same name, and had fallen again to the Romans since the reduction of it by Carthalo above mentioned. What rendered this action the more remarkable, was, that the Romans had not only a body of troops in the town, whom they might easily have supported, and the support of whom was of the highest consequence to them, but were likewise in possession both of the top and foot of the mountain, where they had forts defended by strong garrisons. By the possession of this post, the Romans on the fummit of the mountain laboured under all the hardships and inconveniencies of a place closely besieged; notwithstanding which, they bore all their calamities with wonderful patience, as well as behaved with incredible bravery and resolution. Had milear maintained himself in the advantageous post he had gained with equal bravery. However, as the Romans were masters of the open country, he found himself sometimes streightened for want of provisions, and with no small difficulty preserved the avenue, keeping open a communication with the fea, by means of which he, from time to time, received supplies. Fabius represents both parties as finking under the miseries they then endured; but Polybius, with greater justice, and more agreeable to the faith of history, as triumphing over them. Both sides continued in this melan-

choly situation for the space of two years. The Romans, notwithstanding the difficulties they were reduced to, still continued the blockade of Lilybaum 9.

As the privateer-squadron was only a prelude to the figure the Romans intended to The Romansmake by sea, in the consulate of C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Postbumius, they fitted fit out a new e out another fleet of two hundred fail, which was likewise, in a great measure, equip-fleet. ped at the expence of private persons. The command of this armament was given to C. Lutatius, with an intention to strike a home-stroke, and force fortune to give a coup de grace to the Carthaginians. In the first place the consul possessed himself of the port of Drepanum, and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum. Afterwards he took care to exercise his soldiers and seamen with the utmost diligence, that they might be able to look the enemy in the face, as firmly believing, that a decifive action by fea must put an end to this long and burdensome war. Soon after their entrance into the haven of Drepanum, the Romans attempted to storm the town, and might have succeeded in their attempt, had not the conful been wounded; f which occasioned some consustion, and gave the enemy an opportunity of repulsing Zonaras observes, that when the troops on both sides were drawn up in order of battle before the fight off the islands called Ægates, the place of rendezvous for the Carthaginian fleet, a blazing star or comet appeared, to the great terror of both parties; but seemed to point directly at the Carthaginians. Though the wind proved unfavourable to Lutatius when he came in fight of the enemy's fleet, yet he resolved to attack them, fince they expected every moment to be joined by Hamilear, whose name was become terrible to the Romans. The Carthaginians, intending now to

9 Polys. Diop. Sic. Conn. Nep. ubi fup.

make

make t eir last effort by sea, had collected their whole naval power, confishing of a four hundred fail. The Romans on this occasion, according to Polybius, fitted out two hundred galleys, as above observed; but Eutropius and Orosius make them to have been three hundred. Both fleets, coming in fight of each other, made the necessary dispositions for an engagement, which was to determine the fate of Sicily t.

Which intirely defeats that of the Carthagi-

THOUGH the galleys, of which the Carthaginian armament was composed, in number greatly exceeded those of the Romans, yet, in many respects, the Roman mans near the squadron was vally superior to the Carthaginian; for whereas the forces on board the Elands Augates, latter confisted, for the most part, of new levies, intirely raw and undisciplined, Lutatius had taken care to man the former with choice troops, and able feamen, trained up in the most perfect manner. Besides, as his vessels were built after the b model of the galley taken from Hannibal the Rhodian, in lightness and activity they far excelled those of the enemy. To which we may add, that the Carthaginians had the naval power of the Romans in the highest contempt, as having themselves, for fome years, been mafters at sea; and therefore, upon the first advice of the enemy's motions, they being vastly surprised, put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, manned only with mercenaries, who had neither courage, experience, nor zeal for the state, in whose service they were engaged. Hanno therefore made but a faint resistance, his forces being routed at the first onset. Florus says, that the Carthaginian fleet was so heavy laden with troops, baggage, arms, provisions, &c. that the whole city of Carthage seemed to have been on board, and that the vessels could not move with c any freedom; which greatly contributed to Hanno's defeat. The loss of the Carthaginians on this melancholy occasion seems greatly to be exaggerated by Eutropius, who tells us, that they had seventy-three ships taken, an hundred twenty five sunk, thirty-two thousand men made prisoners, thirteen thousand killed or drowned, and that an immense quantity of gold and silver fell into the victors hands. Orosius differs not much from him. But Polybius, who undoubtedly comes nearer the truth, affirms, that the Romans (D) funk only fifty of the Carthaginian vessels, and took seventy with their crews, the rest making off in great confusion to the isle of Hiera. Lutatius, following his blow, advanced to the city of Eryx; where engaging the Carthaginians, he cut off two thousand men. This last action concluded the operations of the first d Punic war'.

Which is followed by a peace.

THE Romans, naturally insolent in prosperity, were so elated with their victory, that Lutatius infifted upon Hamilear's delivering up his arms to him; but this haughty demand was rejected with the foorn and indignation it deferved, that great captain protesting, That he would suffer all extremities, rather than give up those arms to his country's enemies, with which he had been entrusted for its preservation. The consul however understanding, that Hamilear was invested with full powers to fign a treaty with him, and being defirous of having the honour of putting an end to a war, which had cost both republics such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, before the expiration of his office, he concluded a peace with that general, provided the senate e and people of Rome would ratify it, upon the following terms: That the Carthaginians should immediately evacuate Sicily; that they should never for the future make war upon Hiero, or any other ally of the Romans; that they should restore all the Roman prisoners in their custody without ransom, but redeem their own with money; and lastly, that, within twenty years, they should pay the Romans two thousand two bundred Euboic talents of the purest silver . Zonaras intimates, that the senate of Carthage sent a deputation directly to Lutatius to sue for peace; but he must give way to the superior authority of Polybius and Cornelius Nepos, who affirm, that Hamiltan Barcas had the management of the whole transaction. The people of Rome, greatly pussed up with

Philinus, a writer of fuch partiality, that his authority is not to be regarded. The tame author affirms. that the Romans loft eighty thips, and had fix thoufand men taken prisoners in this action; which, considering the relation of it given us by other hiflorians, feems absolutely impossible (28).

T POLYB. LIV. FLOR. DIOD. Sic. ubi fup. Zonar. ubi fup. c. 17. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 10. Idem ibid. ut & Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. \* Idem ibid. ut & Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. ALFENUS VARUS in lib. digeft, 34. & conjectan. 2. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 5. & Oros. ubi

<sup>(</sup>D) According to Diodorus, the Roman fleet, ships of war and transports, amounted to a thousand fail, and the Carthaginian only to two hundred and fifty. But this contradicts all other authors, and is highly improbable. The less credit is to be given to Diodorius in this particular, as he depends intirely upon

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a their unexpected success, and looking upon the republic of Carthage as now lying at their mercy, refused to ratify the treaty, till they had fent ten deputies to Sicily, to inform themselves thoroughly of the situation of affairs there, who, in conjunction with the conful, agreed to the ratification of it, upon condition the four following additional articles were inserted in it: That the Carthaginians should increase the abovestipulated sum with two hundred talents; that a thousand talents should be paid immediately, and the remaining sum in ten years time; that the Carthaginians should not approach with their long ships either the coasts of Italy, or any territories belonging to the allies of the Romans; that they should not make levies either in the dominions of the Romans, or those of their allies, and lastly, that they should abandon all the little islands between Sicily b and the coast of Italy. As these hard conditions were extorted from Hamiltan by the Romans, because they saw him not in a situation to resuse them, he, from this moment, conceived an implacable hatred to that nation. In fine, he was determined to conclude a peace with them upon any terms, to give his country time to breath, that he might have an opportunity of hereafter chastifing them for the unparallelled infolence they had been guilty of through the whole course, and more particularly at the conclusion, of this war. Authors are not intirely agreed about the precise duration of the first Punic war. Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Zonaras, say, it continued twenty-four years; whereas Orofius, Eutropius, Syncellus, and others, affirm it to have lasted twenty-three years only, with whom Gellius, as he makes it to have c commenced A. U. C. 490. feems to agree. Be this as it will, both fides suffered extremely by it, the Komans having lost, since their first putting to sea, seven hundred ships, and the Carthaginians sive hundred. We shall not here transcribe the reflections Polybius makes upon the power of both states in this war, since our readers may so easily have recourse to that excellent historian; but content ourselves with observing, that though, in his opinion, the Roman soldiers were far superior to the Carthaginian in valour and resolution, yet he allows Hamiltar, for his conduct and bravery, to have been the greatest captain of the age ".

THE Carthaginians were no sooner got out of this bloody and expensive war, The Libyan than they found themselves engaged in another, which had like to have proved satal war. d to them. The mercenary troops, that had ferved under Hamilear in Siedly, and distinguished themselves greatly on all occasions, upon their return to Africa, found the state of Carthage so drained, that, far from being able to give them the largesses and rewards promised by Hamilear, it could not pay them their arrears. This, with some other concurring causes, occasioned a war (E), which, for three years and an half, preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with fuch instances of cruelty and barbarity, as are scarce to be parallelled in history. The antient historians call it the Libyan or African war, and sometimes the war with the mercenaries. As many falutary instructions may be drawn from thence, of great fervice to some states in all ages, for the better regulation of their conduct in several e important particulars, which is one of the great ends of history, Polybius has transmitted to posterity a full and minute account of it. For the same reason we think it incumbent upon us, in this part of our work, to insert the substance of what has been laid down by that noble author relating to fo remarkable a transaction, affuring our readers at the fame time, that nothing of moment shall be omitted, that we can be supplied with from other antient historians w.

As foon as Hamilear had put the last hand to the treaty above-mentioned, he The mercenary retired, with the forces which were in Eryx, to Lilybaum, and there refigned his troops of the commission, leaving to Gifco, the commandant of that place, the care of transport-greatly difing them to Africa. Gisco, being an officer of great penetration, as though he had gusted, on ac-

f foreseen what would happen, did not ship them off all at once, but in small and count of not refeparate parties, that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home, before full pay.

greatly corrupted, and confequently fland in need of many emendations, we fluid not fcruple giving the preference to Polybins, who affirms, that this War latted three years and an half (30).

POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. CORN. NEP. ZONAR. OROS. EUTROP. ubi fup. SYNCEL. in chronograph. p. 275. IL. GELL. in noch. Attic. l. xvii. c. 21. fub fin. w Vide Polyb. l. i. p. 65-89. Diob. Sic. l. xxv. Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. xvii. c. 21. sub fin. in excerpt. Rhodoman.

<sup>(</sup>E) Diodorus Siculus in this point differs from Polybius; for he tells us, that this bloody war continued four years and four months. But as this is afferted in one of his fragments, all of which are

the arrival of the rest. The Carthaginians at home however did not act with the a same forecast and precaution. As they were almost intirely exhausted by the last war, and the immense sum of money, in consequence of the peace, paid to the Romans, they judged it would be a laudable action to fave fomething to the public, not considering the injustice, as well as imprudence, of the measure they were going to pursue in order to this. They therefore did not pay the mercenaries in proportion as they arrived, thinking it more proper to wait till they all came together, with a view of obtaining from the whole body a remission of some part of their arrears; but being foon made sensible of their wrong conduct on this occasion, by the frequent disorders these barbarians committed in the city, they, with some difficulty, prevailed upon the officers to take up their quarters at Sicca, and canton their troops in that neigh-b bourhood, giving them a fum of money for their present subfishence, and promising to adjust their pretensions, when the rest of their comrades came from Sicily. For some time they refused to begin their march, because the Carthaginians were not disposed to permit their wives and children to stay in Carthage, as they desired, believing, that this would be an inducement to the foldiers to return often to Carthage, and consequently deprive them of the benefits they had proposed to themselves from their departure. However, this difficulty was at last got over; and all the mercenaries already arrived in Africa, with their wives, children, and baggage, marched to Sicca. Polybius looks upon this step as an oversight in the Carthaginians, since, had the women and children remained in Carthage, they would have been as so many hostages c for the future good behaviour of the foldiers: and indeed that fuch an advantage would have more than counterbalanced the inconvenience arising from an opposite conduct, hinted at by the same author, notwithstanding the sierceness of the African troops, required no uncommon degree of fagacity to apprehend 1.

Hanno increases their disgust. Being now wholly immersed in idleness, to which they had long been strangers, a neglect of discipline ensued, and of course a petulant and licentious spirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquiesce in receiving their bare pay, but to insist upon the rewards Hamilear had promised them, and even to compel the state of Carthage to comply with their demands by force of arms. The senate, being apprised of the mutinous disposition of the soldiery, dispatched Hanno, one of d the sufferes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at Sicca, he behaved in a very preposterous and imprudent manner. He expatiated largely upon the poverty of the state, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of Carthage were loaded; and therefore, instead of answering their high expectations, he desired them to be satisfied with receiving part of their pay, and remit the remainder to serve the pressing exigencies of the republic y.

Upon which they advance in a body to Tunes.

Nothing could have been more impolitic than this conduct of Hanno, excepting that of the Carthaginians, in employing a person so unqualified for the business he went upon. In the first place, he exposed his country's weakness to the contempt of the mercenaries, and then farther inflamed them against it, by refusing to comply e with their just pretensions, when they seemed determined to insist upon a compliance with the most extravagant. But this person's conduct was all of a piece, both in his civil and military capacity, as will appear in the course of this war; so that Carthage must have been ruined, had she not had so able a captain as Hamilear to support her in the time of this her great distress. In sine, the mercenaries being highly exasperated, that neither Hamilear, nor any other of the principal officers, who commanded them in Sicily, and who were the best judges of their merit, appeared on this occasion, but only this Hanno, a person utterly unknown, and above all others disagreeable, to them, had immediately recourse to arms. Assembling therefore in a body, to the number of twenty thousand men, they advanced to Tunes, and immediately encamped before that city z.

As Polybius's history is interspersed throughout with the finest political maxims and restections, so scarce any part of it abounds more with them than that describing the beginning of the Libyan war. It is supersuous to give these at large, because the author is in every one's hands; and therefore we shall only observe, that though, in some respects, he approves of the Carthaginian practice of making up their armies chiefly of mercenaries, yet, in the main, he condemns that practice, and demonstrated

<sup>\*</sup> Polys. ubi fup. 7 Idem ibid. & Appian in Libyc, p. 7. edit. Tollii, Amft. 1670. 2 Polys. ubi fup. 3

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a strates, from the breaking out of this war, as well as from the nature of the thing, that an observance of the fundamental axiom on which they proceeded, might sometimes produce dismal effects. They imagined, that by drawing their forces from different nations, who did not understand one another, they should prevent all conspiracies, intrigues and combinations against the state; and undoubtedly this had a tendency to the end proposed. But what Aristotle has observed of their constitution in general, viz. that it was more wisely framed to prevent inconveniencies than remedy them, may be applied to this particular custom; for though the evil guarded against by it was frequently by this means prevented, yet when it happened, the consequence could scarce sail of being deplorable, since it was next to impossible for any officers to persuade a soldiery, composed of so many nations, in any tongue, to listen to the distates of reason. As Polybius has set this point in a strong light, we shall refer our readers to him, and now return to the history.

THE Carthaginians, being greatly alarmed at the approach of so formidable a body The mercenato Tunes, made large concessions to the mercenaries, in order to bring them back to ries break out their duty. They ordered them supplies of provisions at their own prices, and sent rebellion. a deputation of even senators themselves to confer with their chiefs, and, if possible, to satisfy them. Far from being softened, they grew more insolent upon these con-

to satisfy them. Far from being softened, they grew more insolent upon these concessions, taking them for the effects of sear and weakness in the Carthaginians. As this powerful corps consisted of Iberians, Gauls, Ligurians, natives of the Balearic islands, Greeks, and Africans, who were strangers to one another's language, the Carthaginians sound it next to impossible to treat with them. Many of them likewise being slaves and deserters, and consequently expecting capital punishment, either for this rebellion, or some other enormous crime, did their utmost to prevent all friendly intercourse with the state of Carthage. They moreover considered that republic as destitute of troops, and themselves as the best soldiers in the world, having performed many notable exploits in Sicily, and been trained up there in the art of war by the most celebrated captain of the age. These considerations, for some time,

made them intirely averse to all thoughts of an accommodation. They rose in their

- demands, without the least regard to reason, justice or moderation. They practised devery knavish art that could be thought of to extort money from their masters. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artistice, on which to ground some fresh pretension. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them? they still would be reimbursed for the losses, which they pretended to have sustained, either (E) by the death of horses, the excessive price they had, at certain times, paid for their bread-corn, or their short allowance of provisions at those seasons. They insisted also upon the recompence due to their merit, so often promised; and that, in all these points, they should have immediate satisfaction given them. The Carthaginians, finding themselves obliged to make a virtue of necessity, shewed a disposition to satisfy them in all points, how unreasonable soever, and agreed to refer themselves to the opinion of some general in Sicily, who had com
  - and agreed to refer themselves to the opinion of some general in Sicily, who had commanded them there, as they all along desired, leaving the choice of such commander intirely to them. Accordingly they pitched upon Gisco, a person greatly beloved by them, to mediate this assair, believing Hamilcar to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had met with, since he never appeared amongst them, and, according to the general opinion, had voluntarily resigned his commission. Gisco soon arrived at Tunes with money to pay the troops; and after conferring with the officers, and the several nations apart, he harangued them in a mild and infinuating manner, put them in mind of the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service, the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and, in short, gave them to understand, that their reasonable demands would be complied with:
- f gave them to understand, that their reasonable demands would be complied with; at the same time desiring them to recede from all exorbitant claims, and rest satisfied with their pay. This made such an impression upon the minds of the soldiery, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Spendius and Mathos, two of

\* Idem ibid. Artsr. de rep. l. ii. c. 11.

(E) According to Diodorus Siculus, the mercenaries infifted upon being paid for every one of their body who fell in Sicily, as well as for the loss of mand (30).

(30) Diod. Sic. in loc. jam laudat.

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the principal mutineers, occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. Spendius a was by nation a Campanian, who had been a flave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was a strong, lusty, and excremely bold fellow. The apprehensions he was under of being delivered into the hands of his old mafter, by whom he was fure to be hanged or crucified, his crime meriting capital punishment by the Roman laws, if a pacification took place, prompted him to break off the accommodation. Mathos was an African, and free-born; but as he had been active in raifing the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable disposition of the Cartbaginians, he knew, that a peace must infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore very warmly espoused the interests of Spendius, and infinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a treaty at that juncture, as this could not but leave them fingly exposed to the rage of the b Carthaginians. The Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, and Greeks, said he, after having received their arrears, will be dismissed, and from thenceforth enjoy an uninterrupted repose amongst their countrymen at home; whereas you, being lest alone, will have the whole guilt of the rebellion imputed to you, and, destitute of support, fall an easy sacrifice to the resentment of your imperious masters. This gave a new turn to affairs, and so incensed the Africans, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately affembled in a tumultuous manner. The foreigners foon joined them, being inspired by Spendius with an equal degree of fury. Nothing now was heard amongst them, but the most bitter oaths and horrid imprecations uttered against Gifco and the Carthaginians. Whoever offered to make any remonstrance, or lend c an ear to temperate counsels, was stoned to death by the enraged multitude; nay, many persons lost their lives, barely for presuming to speak, before the purport of their discourse could be known, or any one could from thence with certainty infer, whether they were in the interest of the Carthaginians or Spendius. As the state of Cartbage had very impoliticly supplied the malecontents with plenty of wine, and all kinds of provisions, they indulged themselves with great freedom; and being at this very juncture heated (F) with wine, which they had drunk to great excess, they gave a full vent to their rage and infolence, threatening the African republic with utter destruction. In fine, no one having the courage to open his mouth in favour of peace, the troops made choice of Spendius and Mathes to head them in the intended d expedition b.

And advance towards Utica.

In the midst of these commotions, Gisco behaved with great firmness and intrepi-That general had too much courage, and too great a regard for his country's welfare, to defift from all possible attempts to reduce the mutineers to reason, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation. He lest no methods untried to soften the officers, and calm the minds of the foldiery, though at the same time he kept up an air of dignity and command, giving them to understand, that Carthage was not in such low circumstances as they imagined. But the many false steps the Carthaginians had been guilty of fince the commencement of these troubles, as well as before, defeated his good intentions, and rendered ineffectual all his endeavours. The e torrent of fedition was now become so strong and rapid, that there was no possibility of stemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A scarcity of provisions succeeding their late plenty and profusion, the troops, in an insolent manner, demanded of Gifco an immediate fupply, who, to reprove their infolence, bade them go to Mathos their captain for it. Such an accident as this, considering the present disposition of the malecontents, could not but set the whole camp in a flame. Shall he with impunity, said they, not only resuse redressing our just grievances and complaints, but turn even our wants and necessities into ridicule? In a moment therefore they seized upon the

b Polyb. & Appian. ubi fup. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Vales.

(F) We learn from Polyanus, that the Libyans or Africans were much addicted to drunkenness; which Himileo, a Carthaginian general, being apprised of, found an opportunity of intoxicating their troops in a war the Carthaginians had with that people, and, by this stratagem, gained a fignal advantage over them. Possibly the Carthaginians might have something of that kind in view at this time, when they supplied the mercenaries with such quantities of wine. If they had not, they were in the highest

degree impolitic to furnish their enemies with wine at this juncture, as well as all forts of provisions. Be this as it will, they seem to have been infatuated, their conduct, from the conclusion of the first Punic war, having been nothing but a series of blunders and mistakes. We shall not however here expatiate upon this topic, but refer our curious readers to Polybius, whose judicious reflections and observations cannot fail of giving them ample satisfaction (31).

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a military cheft, dividing the money amongst themselves in part of their arrears, put the person of Gisco under arrest, and treated him, as well as all his attendants, with the utmost indignities. Mathas and Spendius, to destroy the remotest hopes of a reconciliation with Carthage, applauded the courage and resolution of their men, loaded the unhappy Gifco, and his followers, with irons, and formally declared war against the Carthaginians. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had fent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, foon came over to them, except Utica and Hippo Diarrbytus, or, as Polybius calls it, Hippacra. By this means their army being greatly increased, they divided it into two bodies; with one of which they moved towards Utica, whilst the other marched to Hippo, in order to beliege both b those places. The Carthaginians in the mean time found themselves ready to sink under the pressure of their misfortunes, their city having never before been exposed to such imminent danger. Every thing at present seemed to conspire to their ruin. After they had been haraffed four-and-twenty years by a most cruel and destructive foreign war, they entertained hopes of enjoying fome repose, and re-ostablishing their affairs; instead of which, a numerous army arises out of their own bowels, threatening them with immediate destruction. All the citizens of Carthage drew their particular subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expences from the tribute paid from Africa; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what is much worse, had it turned intirely against them. They were c destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations for the fultaining of a fiege, or the equipping of a fleet. They fuffered all the calamities incident to the most ruinous civil war, and, to complete their misery, had not the least prospect of receiving affistance from any foreign friend or ally .

SUCH was the present melancholy situation of affairs at Carthage, which the Car- The true cauthaginians had, in a great measure, themselves occasioned, by their numerous instances ses of this reof cruelty, injustice, and ill conduct. During the last war, they had most tyrannically oppressed all the African nations subject to them, by imposing excessive tributes upon them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty, or the extremes of misery. They never sent such governors into the provinces as were d likely to win the affections of the people by their lenity and moderation, but fuch only as would most sleece them, in order to fit out sleets, and raise armies, and by that means the most administer to the ambition of the republic, where Hanno at that time governed with almost an absolute sway. This being considered, it cannot certainly appear strange, that the Africans were so easily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very first fignal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment of the most unreasonable taxes and imposts, as likewise suffering cruel deaths for the slightest crimes, shewed themselves every-where extremely active in forwarding a revolt. They not e only entered into an affociation to annoy, by all possible methods, so barbarous and inhuman an enemy, but likewife with pleasure gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war. Mathos and Spendius therefore, by such seafonable and large supplies, found themselves enabled, not only to animate their soldiers by a prompt payment of the sums promised them, but likewise to settle a sufficient fund for all the future exigencies of the army; in which, fays Polybius, they

extend their views to futurity d. THE Carthaginians, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, did not The Carthagidespond, but pursued all the measures necessary to put themselves into a posture of hisns make f defence. As Hanno had already distinguished himself in their service, by conquering to reduce the

a territory of good extent on the confines of Hecatompolis, they appointed him com-mercenaries to mander in chief of all their forces. Troops they levied both for land and fea-fervice, reason. horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; the horse exercised with great diligence and application; mercenaries invited from all parts; many new galleys built, and all the old ones refitted. In short, the most

acted like wife men, who do not only look to the prefent occasion, but likewise

but even to reduce them to reason by sorce of arms.

In the mean time Mathos and Spendius, having an army of seventy thousand men at their devotion, began the military operations. They laid siege to Utica and Hip-

extraordinary efforts were made, not only to repel all the attempts of the mutineers,

\* Polyb. & Diopor. ubi fup. d PolyB. ubi fup. e Idem ibid.

pacra at one and the same time, and pushed on both those sieges with the utmost vigour. a Spendius de-fiege Utica and But as they were carried on by detachments drawn from the army for that pur-Hippacra at pose, they remained with the main body of their forces at Tunes, and thereby cut the same time, off all communication betwixt Cartbage and the continent of Africa. This greatly streightened the Carthaginians, whose capital was thereby held in a kind of blockade. The Africans likewise harassed them by perpetual alarms, advancing to the very walls of Cartbage by day, as well as by night, and treating with the utmost cruelty every

Hanno fent against them, moho behaves very imprudensity.

Carthaginian that fell into their hands f. Hanno, a general more to be esteemed for his diligence in making military preparations, than his conduct in time of action, notwithstanding the reputation he had acquired by the conquest above-mentioned, marched to the relief of Utica with a good body of forces, an hundred elephants, and a large train of battering-engines. b Having taken a view of the enemy, he immediately attacked their entrenchments, and, after an obstinate dispute, by the help of his elephants, forced them, and made himself master of their camp. As the (G) elephants did great execution, the merce-

f POLYB. ubi fup.

(G) If we remember right, no mention is made by the antient historians of the Carthaginians using elephants in war, till the time of the first Punic war. It is certain Plutarch takes no notice of them, when he gives us a description of the arrangement of the Carthaginian forces just before the battle on the banks of the Crimesus; nor Diodorus, when he describes the dispositions of the Carthaginian armies before their various engagements with Dionysius and Agathocles. This countenances Gisbertus Cuperus's opinion, who afferts, that elephants never formed part of an army in Europe, till after the time of Alexander the Great, who took many of those animals from Porus an Indian king; which occasioned their being known and used by his successors afterwards in Greece; for if their military use had been known by the Sicilians before, or even at that period of time, that people would most certainly have joined them with their other forces in some of the earliest wars they were engaged in; which, from the silence of all historians mentioning the Sicilian wars, it is plain they never did. It follows there-fore, that they were not used in Sicily before the interval above-mentioned, which was the most likely part of Europe for them to be known in, by reason of its vicinity to Libys, which produced them. It seems to follow likewise, that the Carthaginians did not intermix them with their troops before that period, fince history could not have omitted taking notice of fo formidable a part of their armies, had they been a part of them; especially as we find afterwards, that almost in all battles wherein they were concerned, they were, in a manner, the fole cause of victory. We cannot help further remarking, that, unless we are greatly deceived, no mention is made of armed chariots after the introduction of elephants into military engagements, nor of elephants before the last time armed chariots are mentioned in any battles the Carthaginians had with their enemies. This, if true, as we persuade ourselves it is, will point out to us the interval, in which chariots were first disused, and elephants introduced amongst the Carthaginians, viz. betwixt the year before Christ 309. When Agashoeles defeated Hanno and Bomilcar, the last time we hear of chariots in the Carthaginian armies, and the year 262. before the christian æra, when the Romans routed Hanno before Agrigentum, the first

time we find elephants mentioned in them; and not only fo, but likewise fully prove, that the custom of fighting with elephants was adopted by the peo-ple under confideration in the room of that which before prevailed of engaging with chariots. What firengthens this is, that those nations, who, it is probable, knew nothing of elephants, as the Britons, Gauls, &c. had chariots in use amongst them, till they were conquered by the Romans, as is evident from Diodorus, Casar, and Dio. Pyrrhus was the first who brought them into Italy; and that the Romans had little or no knowledge of them for a considerable time after that prince's death, appears from the defeat Regular received from Xantippus, occasioned, in a great measure, by the Carthaginian elephants, of which the Romans were so much afraid, that, for two years afterwards, they durst not look the enemy in the face in Sicily. It likewise further appears from the overthrow Cacilius gave Afdrubal near Panormus, when he took most of the enemy's elephants, and fent them to Rome, as a great curiosity. According to Pansanias, the Indians in Asia, and the Libyans in Africa, were the first nations that used elephants in battles, others only esteeming them on account of the ivory they produced. The Persians, Lydians, and neighbouring nations, antiently intermixed camels with their troops, as in after-ages they did elephants. Though from Herodotus, Plato, and others, it is sufficiently evident, that Egyps produced elephants, particularly that part of it bordering upon Ethiopia; yet they were not known in that country as military animals, till the time of the Ptolemies. From Egypt, it is probable, the practice of fighting with them foread into Cyrenaica, the people of which region, in all likelihood, might communicate it to their neighbours the Carthaginians. Neither the Jews, Asyrians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Arabs, Ethiopians, nor even the Medes and Persians, ever brought elephants into the field before the reign of Alexander the Great. King Juba in Philoftratus intimates, that the Moors and Libyans, in very early times, fought with elephants; which notion feems likewise to be countenanced by Ælian. Lucretius affirms the Carthaginians to have invented this method of fighting; but as fuch an opinion runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, we shall pay no regard to it (32).

(32) Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 783, 784. in not. (B). Diod. Sic. l. iv. p. 209. Cas. de bell. Gal. l. iv. Dio Cass. l. lxii. p. 706. in Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov. 1606. Polyb. l. i. Pausan. l. i. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 4. ex. 12. Xenoph. in Cyropad. l. vii. Polyan. strat. l. vii. c. 2. Herodot. l. ii. Plat. in crit. Xenoph. ubi sup. l. vi. pass. Ælian. de animal. l. xvii. c. 36. Exech. c. xxv. ver. 5. Rex Juba apud Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. ii. c. 6. Ælian. var. hist. l. xii. c. 55. Lucret. l. v. Vide Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 26. & Gisbert. Cuper. de elephantis, in num. obv. exercitat. edit. ab Albert. Henric. de Sallengre, in nov. thesaur. antiquitat. Romanar. tom. iii, Haga-Comit. 1719.

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a naries lost a vast number of men in the action, and consequently the advantage gained was so considerable, that it might have proved decisive, had Hanno made a proper use of it. But not entertaining a right idea of these veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of Hamilear in Sicily, to sly before an enemy, sace about, and attack their pursuers, in one and the same day, as occasion should require, he imagined himself to have routed a body of raw, undisciplined Africans and Numidians, who, upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country; and therefore entering the town, lay there in great security, his troops in the mean time, ordered to guard the camp, being every-where off their duty. The mercenaries, who, after Hanno's victory, had rallied their shattered forces upon a neighbouring eminence; b strong by its situation, and covered with a wood, where they had posted themselves;

According to Dr. Hyde, the most usual name of the elephant in India is bari or bri; from whence, it is probable, the Latin words barrus, barritus, ebur, &c. were derived. Isidore adds some weight to this, when he tells us, that, in the Indian language, an elephant is called barro. Martinius makes the elephant to be named in the Chaldee beira; which probably was likewise the Ethiopic name, or nearly related to it, since there is a great affinity betwixt the Ethiopic and the Chaldes; and, in confirmation of this fentiment, Horace's scholiast interprets the word barri of the elephants of Ethiopia. mal under consideration went likewise almost all over the east by the appellation phil or pil, and even in Egypt and Ethiopia; though, in the last country, that animal is now called nage, and by the Copts delphinos. In some parts of India the elephants were named bosare, according to Arrian; in others, if Ælian may be credited, prasii and taxila, from the names of the places where they were produced. The Moors and Carthaginians styled an elephant cafar, as we learn from Spartian and Servius. derive the word elephas or exeque from phil, with the Arabic article al prefixed; others from the Hebrew verb alaph, he learned, the elephant, according to Pliny, Arrian, and others, being an animal of furprifing docility; and lastly, others from the Hebrew aleph or eleph, fignifying an ox, a leader, or indeed any large quadruped. Hesychius uses the words pirissa and elephas as synonymous terms. So much

The Carthaginians generally posted these animals in front, in order to strike the greater terror into the enemy, as we learn from the manner in which Xantippus, Hannibal, Mago, &cc. drew up their armies. This seems a farther proof, that they immediately succeeded armed chariots, which had the same situation assigned them in the Carthaginian armies. Sometimes however they were distributed in both wings, as appears from Livy. The elephants made use of by the Carthaginians in battles were generally, if not always, Indian elephants, which much exceeded the Libyan in strength and magnitude. Each of these had a wooden tower sastened to his back, with twenty-two warriors in it, and an Indian to manage the beast, which he did with the utmost dexterity. The Libyan elephants were not able to carry above six or seven men, as Gesner and Aldrovandus have proved from Livy, Pliny, and Solinus. In the first book of the Maccabees, Antiochus Empator is said to have brought against

the Jews several Indian elephants, with towers on their backs, containing thirty-two men apiece, with an Indian guide. Philostratus says, that an Indian elephant as much exceeded in fize one of Libya, as this last did a Ny/ean horse; and Pliny tells us, that the African elephants were so much afraid of the Indian, that they could not bear the fight of them; which is confirmed by Livy and Polybius, who inti-mate, that the Libyan elephants could neither bear the noise nor smell of the Indian. These last animals, according to Ælian, were nine cubits high, and five broad. The Romans called the elephant bos Luca, or bos Lucana, because they first saw that creature in Lucania, and used the word bos to denote any great animal. That nation first placed elephants in their armies in the year of Rome 555. in the confulate of P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta. As the Carthaginian soldiers were exercised by their officers, so their elephants were trained up and exercised by the *Indian* guides. By their monstrous fize, filthy smell, terrible noise, and prodigious strength, as well as the efforts of the garrisons on their backs, they generally threw the enemy into confusion, and made great havock amongst them. The Indians, that managed them, appeared in a dress the most proper to heighten the consternation of the enemy, and began the fight with the utmost fury. No horses but the Numidian, which were accustomed to them, could approach the Indian elephants; and therefore the enemy's cavalry was foon put to the rout by them. Sometimes, by being piercod with darts, they became so enraged, as to turn upon their own men, treading vast numbers of the foldiers to death, which was their common method of destroying those they attacked; though sometimes with their trunk or probosis they dispatched them. The Romans also sometimes, by firing the castles on their backs, forced them to recoil upon their own troops, which, in such a recoil upon their own troops, which, in such a case, they did not sail of putting into disorder. When this happened, the Carthaginians themselves were obliged to kill them; which they did very expeditiously, by a method Asarabal discovered, and which we find described by Livy. These are the principal points relating to the manner of fighting with elephants, particularly amongst the Carthaginians, as far as we can collect from the authors, who have been the most explicit on this subject. The natural history of the elephant our readers may executed tural history of the elephant our readers may expect from us in another note (34).

(33) Thom. Hyde in lib. de ludis orientalib. p. 93. Isidor. in orig. l. xii. Matth. Martin. lex. philolog. in voce Elephas. Schol. in Hor. epod. xii. Sidon. Apollinar. carm. 23. Pomp. Fest. in voc. Barrire. Arrian. de reb. Indic. Plin. l. viii. c. 7. Cic. epist. fam. 1. l. vii. Schind. pentaglot. p. 1428. Ælian. in bist. animal. l. xiii. c. 12. Spartian. in Æl. Ver. Serv. in Æn. 1. Vide etiam Arrian. in peripl. mar. Erythr. Bochart. bierozoic. part. prior. c. 23, 24, &c. & Gisbert. Cuper. ubi sup. (34) Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. &c. pass. Veget. de re militar. l. iii. c. 24. 1 Maccab. c. viii. ver. 6. Hornius ad Sulpit. Sever. l. iii. Gesner. & Aldrovand. de eleph. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. l. ii. c. 6. Plin. l. viii. c. 9. Liv. l. xxxvii. Polyb. l. v. c. 85. Ælian. de animal. l. xiii. c. 8. Verginius apud Varron. l. vi. Veget. ubi sup. c. 24. Modestus in lib. de vocab. rei militar. Enn. fragment. ed. Amst. 1707. p. 305. Sil. Ital. l. ix. & alib. Appian. in Libyca Curt. l. viii. Hirt. in bell. Afric. Plut. in Pyr. Marcel. & Hamib.

being informed of this, poured down upon them, cut many of them off, forced the a rest to sly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the provisions, military stores, &c. brought from Cartbage to the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; another instance of his military incapacity soon discovered itself. Notwithstanding he lay encamped in the most advantageous manner near a town called Gorza (H), at which place he twice overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve these advantages, and even suffered the mercenaries to possess themselves of the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, on which Cartbage stood, to the continent of Africa 4.

Hamilcar commands the Carthaginians in his room.

Such repeated mistakes, which had almost proved fatal to the republic, highly b displeased the Carthaginians, and induced them once more to place Hamilear Barcas at the head of the forces. This could not but be extremely mortifying to Hanno, who had always been an inveterate enemy to the Barchine faction, and of course insuse new life into Hamiltar, and his adherents, who undoubtedly, during Hanno's influence, were excluded from all posts in the administration. Hamilear, in all respects, answered the high idea his countrymen had entertained of him. He marched against the enemy with an army of about ten thousand men, horse and foot, and seventy elephants, all the troops the Carthaginians could at that time affemble for their defence; which is a full proof of the great extremities to which they were then reduced. As Mathos, after he had made himself master of the isthmus, had posted proper detach- c ments in two passes on two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over the Bagrada, which, through Hanno's neglect, he had taken, Hamilcar saw little probability of engaging him upon equal terms, or indeed of coming at him. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to a stratagem at this critical conjuncture, especially as Mathos lay encamped with his army at a village near the bridge, and watched the enemy's motions with the utmost vigilance. Observing, that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choaked up with fand, which formed a kind of bar, and rendered the river passable, though with no small difficulty, as long as those winds continued, he halted for some time at the river's mouth, without communicating to any person his design. As soon as the wind savoured his d intended project, he passed the river privately by night, without the least opposition, neither his own men, nor the mercenaries, dreaming of any fuch attempt. Immediately after his passage, he drew up the troops in order of battle, and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards Mathos, who was posted at the village near the bridge. This action greatly redounded to Hamilear's glory, being of to daring a nature, that it equally surprised the malecontents and the Carthaginians e.

And defeats the mercenaries. The Africans being informed, that Hamilear succeeded Hanno in the command of the Cartbaginian army, that he had already passed the Bagrada, and was marching at the head of his forces to attack their camp, were thrown into the utmost consternation. They very well knew, that they had now to deal not with a man of Hanno's genius, but with the greatest captain of the age; a captain, from whom they themselves had learned the art of war, and who was infinitely superior to all their generals in every branch of it. However, Spendius, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of ten thousand men out of Mathos's camp, with which he attended Hamilear on one side, and ordered sisteen thousand from Utica to observe him on the other,

d Polyb. ubi fup. e Idem ibid.

(H) It may be collected from Polybius, that the town of Gorza was fituated in the neighbourhood of Utica, and not far from the isthmus or neck of land joining the peninsula on which Carthage stood to the continent of Africa, though the situation of it cannot be precisely determined. It is probable the Punic name was Goza or Gaza, since the Greeks frequently inserted the letter R or P in such proper names, as appears from Bochart; and Gaza or Goza (a permutation of vowels, especially O and A, being very common in the Hebrew and Phanician proper

names, when written and pronounced by the Greeks) was the Carthaginian name of a town in Sicily, as well as the Phoenician name of a fortress in Palestine, or, as the prophet calls it, Peleseth. Be this as it will, that not only Gaza or Goza, but likewise Chorsa or Goza, is the Punic proper name of a place, cannot be denied, after a perusal of Bochart. No author, either antient or modern, if we remember right, except Polybins in this passage, has so much as mentioned it (35).

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a thinking by this means to surround the Carthaginians, and cut off both their army and general at one fingle stroke. Hamilear in the mean time advanced with great intrepidity, his troops being ranged in the following manner: the elephants were posted in front, then came the cavalry, and after them the light-armed infantry, being supported by the targeteers, who brought up the rear. But observing the mercenaries to approach him with great temerity, though at the same time with resolution, and as much confidence as if they had been fure of victory, he changed his order of battle in a precipitate manner, still retiring before the enemy, as though he was afraid of them. This motion answered the end proposed; for the mercenaries, looking upon it as the effect of fear, and confequently as a tacit acknowledgment of their b valour and superiority, fell upon him with great sury, but without any discipline or Hamilear therefore facing about in an instant, and his horse behaving with extraordinary bravery, the enemy were foon put to flight; when meeting a body of their own men coming to their relief, and mistaking them for the Carthaginians, they engaged them; upon which a dreadful flaughter enfued. In fine, Hamilear gave the malecontents a total overthrow, in which they had fix thousand men killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. The rest sled, some to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at Utica. Hamiltar did not give the enemy time to recover from their defeat, as Hanno before had none, but purfued them with great ardour to the village near the bridge before-mentioned; which he entered without opposition, c the mercenaries flying in great confusion to Tunes. Many towns, which had revolted to the enemy, terrified by this defeat, submitted to the Carthaginians; others Hamilear reduced by force. In short, the Carthaginians, finding that Hamilear had feized many of the enemy's advantageous posts, were greatly animated by his conduct, and doubted not but he would soon put a happy conclusion to this destructive war f.

Notwithstanding these disasters, Mathos pushed on the siege of Hippo with Hamilcar of great vigour, and appointed Spendius, and Autaritus commander of the Gauls, with filed to Nataa strong body of troops, to observe the motions of Hamilear, advising them above all things to guard against a surprize; which, considering the abilities of that general, d as well as his superiority in horse and elephants, was a very wholsome admonition.

At the same time he solicited the Numidians and neighbouring Africans to send him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmost efforts at the prefent juncture, which feemed to be the only opportunity left them of recovering their liberty, to affert their independency, and throw off the yoke of the Carthaginians. Spendius and Autaritus therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of fix thousand men, drawn out of the camp at Tunes, and two thousand Gallic horse, attended Hamilcar, approaching him as near as they could with fafety, and keeping close to the skirts of the mountains, as they had been advised. At last Spendius, having received a strong reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, and possessing himself of all the e heights surrounding the plain, in which Hamiltar lay encamped, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking him. Accordingly he placed the Numidians in the rear, and the Africans in front, whilst he himself, with his first detachment, was resolved to charge the enemy in slank; and having made this disposition, boldly advanced towards the Carthaginians. Had a battle ensued, Hamilear and his whole army must, in all human probability, have been totally ruined; but here his good fortune interposing, saved them both. It happened, that at that time one Na-

of the present war, had been a great promoter of the Cartbaginian interest, on account f of the friendship, that had subsisted many years betwire his father and that nation; and being now charmed with the great worth of Hamilear, was determined to renew his former good understanding with Carthage, and not suffer so brave a man to be sacrificed. He therefore, with an hundred Numidian horse, approached the Carthaginian lines, acquainting one of their advanced guards, that he had something of importance to communicate to the general. As the Cartbaginians shewed themselves a little diffident of him, he immediately difmounted, and, leaving his horse and arms with the guard that escorted him, went directly to Hamilear's tent, without the least distrust or suspicion. He then informed Hamilcar, that he was well disposed towards the Cartha-

ravasus, a young Numidian nobleman, eminent for his personal merit, commanded a body of Numidians in the enemy's army. This nobleman, before the breaking out

ginian nation in general, but that to contract a friendship with him, for whom he a had the most prosound veneration and esteem, was the height of his ambition. Hamilear, greatly admiring so generous, polite and gallant an action, made him an equal return of gallantry, politeness and generosity. He made him his absolute confident in all points whatsoever. He took him for his companion, imparting to him his most secret designs; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Upon the same of this event, two thousand Numidians came over in a body to Hamilear, who, strengthened by such a seasonable reinforcement, found himself in a condition to give Spendius and Autaritus battle. The sight was obtinate and bloody, and the victory for a long time in suspense; but the young Numidian most eminently distinguishing himself, and the Carthaginian elephants bearing down b all before them, the mercenaries were at last intirely overthrown. Spendius and Autaritus escaped by slight, but left ten thousand of their men dead upon the spot, besides four thousand taken prisoners. All the prisoners, who were willing to take on in the Carthaginian service, Hamilear received amongst his troops, supplying them with the arms of the soldiers, who had fallen in the engagement. To the rest he gave free liberty to go where-ever they pleased, on condition that they should never for the suture bear arms against the Carthaginians. However, he thought proper to acquaint them, that as many violators of this agreement as should hereafter fall into his hands, must expect to suffer death without mercy s.

The chiefs of the mercenaries guilty of great cruelty.

Mathos, Spendius, and Autaritus, the chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this c affected lenity of Hamiltar might occasion a defection among their troops, thought the only expedient left them to prevent it would be, to put them upon some action fo execrable and shocking in its own nature, as should deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Accordingly, having affembled them in a formal manner, as though something of moment was to have been imparted to them, a messenger, as had been before concerted, appeared with fictitious letters from the mercenaries in Sardinia, who had followed the example of the Africans, giving them advice of a fecret delign formed by some of their comrades, in conjunction with Gifeo, to rescue that general, and all his attendants, out of prison at Tunes, where they had been so long detained. Spendius on this occasion made a speech to the soldiers, d wherein he exhorted them not to be imposed upon by Hamilcar's pretended clemency, fince this was only intended for a bait to decoy their whole body into his hands, that he might take vengeance of them all at once. He further advised them to have a narrow eye upon Gisco, infinuating, that the escape of an officer of such instruction and capacity might be attended with the most satal consequences. He had scarce finished, when another courier arrived, as was given out, from Tunes, intimating, that the plot was upon the point of being carried into execution. Hereupon Autaritus, addressing himself to the soldiery, moved, in support of what Spendius had advanced, that whoever should shew any disposition to repose the least considence in the Carthaginian promises or infinuations, should be deemed a traitor; and in fine gave it as e his opinion, that Gifco, and all the Carthaginians with him, ought immediately to be put to death. Autaritus, being very popular in the army, and supposed to have a perfect knowledge of the Carthaginians, as having refided long amongst them, and being a perfect master of their language, was listened to with great attention. His speech in fine made such an impression, that the whole assembly expressed themselves of the same sentiments, though some of every nation joined in a petition, that as Gisco had been a common friend and benefactor to them all, he might be dispatched without any torture; but the gross of the army being composed of such a variety of nations, and not understanding the matter of the petition, no regard was paid to it. In conformity therefore to that savage brutality so natural to them, the mercenaries \$ first stoned to death all the prisoners they had taken from the Carthaginians in the late engagements, who were foon after interred by their relations; and then, at the command of Spendius, executed Gifeo, and seven hundred Carthaginians with him, as the vilest malefactors. Their heads were cut off, their bodies dismembered, and afterwards thrown breathing into a hole prepared for them. The Carthaginians, being apprifed of these inhuman cruelties, were most sensibly touched with them, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmost severity. In the mean time Hamilear, sending an herald to demand the remains of his country:5 i

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a men, in order to pay them the last sad office, received for answer, that whoever prefumed hereafter to come upon that errand, should meet with Gifco's fate. They moreover came to an immediate resolution to treat all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands with the same barbarity. As for their countrymen in the Cartonginian fervice, who should happen to be taken prisoners, they passed a decree, first to cut off their hands, and then fend them to Carthage; which bloody resolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. Such infernal practices as these, so contrary to the laws of nature and all nations, can never be sufficiently detested. However, as they are on one side sufficient proofs of the more than serine disposition of the Africans, they may on the other likewise be considered as strong intimations of b Carthaginian oppression, since human nature, wicked as it is, seems scarce capable of fuch cruelties, except it be in the highest degree irritated and inflamed. reflection, so naturally occurring to us from what has been just related, we could not avoid. As for others, a large field for which must necessarily open itself to all our curious and intelligent readers, we are obliged to pass them by untouched; at the fame time observing, that a perusal of Polybius, in the point before us, will in a good measure supply our deficiency in this particular h.

Hamilear, being determined to revenge the barbarous treatment of his countrymen, Utica and Hipordered Hanno, who, it seems, at that time commanded a separate body, to join pacra revolt to him, that they might act with the greater vigour against the enemy. In order to deter the mercena-the malecontents from such enormous proceedings for the future, he threw all the ries.

prisoners, that fell into his hands, to wild beasts, to be devoured by them, being convinced, that compassion served only to render them more sierce and untractable. And now, when the Carthaginians were just beginning, as it were, to breath, and recover their spirits, several unlucky accidents concurred again to depress them. By reason of a misunderstanding betwixt the generals, nothing could be undertaken against the enemy; a great supply of provisions and military stores, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them from Emporium by sea, were all cast away in a ftorm; Sardinia, which had always served them as a magazine in their greatest streights, was totally lost, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe; and, to complete all their other misfortunes, they received intelligence of the defection of Utica and Hippacra, the two only cities which, till then, had preserved their allegiance, and always adhered inviolably to the republic, even when Agathocles and the Romans made their descents in Africa. The citizens, not satisfied with entering into an alliance with Mathos and Spendius, massacred the Carthaginian garrison, confifting of five hundred men, throwing their bodies over the walls; nay, to imitate their good allies in all their amiable qualities, they refused them burial, though the Carthaginians, by their embassadors, in most pressing terms desired this favour of them. The mercenaries, animated by such success, advanced to the very walls of

Cartbage, with an intention to lay siege to that city 1.

THE Carthaginians, being apprised of the division betwixt their generals, and seeing Hiero affils the e the fatal effects of it, resolved to separate them, but lest the determination of this Carthaginians. point intirely to the army, who having had long experience of the great merit of Hamilear, continued him in his command; upon which Hanno was recalled a fecond time to Carthage, and Hannibal, an officer more agreeable to Hamilcar, fent to supply his place. Upon Hannibal's arrival in the camp, affairs foon began to take a happy turn. There being now a perfect harmony betwixt the commanders, the operations were not clogged as formerly; they fent out detachments to plunder and lay waste the country, in order to cut off all subsistence from the enemy; which they happily effected, destroying or carrying off all the forage and provisions. This however did not intirely relieve the garrison of Carthage, which was reduced to great f extremities. The Carthaginians therefore were obliged to have recourse to their friends, and particularly to Hiero king of Syracuse; who granted what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole course of this war. That prince, as Polybius observes, acted according to the maxims of true policy on this occasion; since, if Carthage had been now destroyed, Rome would have had no rival to contend with in any future times, and therefore he himself might soon have lain at the mercy of the Romans, without a possibility of being relieved by any neighbouring power k.

h Idem ibid. & Diop. Sic. in excerpt. Vales.

POLYB. ubi fup.

k Idem ibid. & ZONAR.

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THEY also applied to the Romans for affistance at this critical juncture, tho' they a had, fince the conclusion of the last treaty, disobliged them. At the beginning of this war, they seized upon several Roman vessels trading to the coasts of Africa, for supplying the enemy with military stores and provisions, and detained the crews, confishing of five hundred men, in custody. The Romans, being incensed at this treatment, threatened the Carthaginians with their refentment, if they did not release the prisoners, and restore them their ships. The Carthaginians, either out of a principle of fear or generofity, immediately fent both the men and ships to Rome, and that in so handsome a manner, as gave the Romans intire satisfaction. The Romans therefore, not to be behind hand with them in point of politeness, at this time sent them all the prisoners, that still remained in their hands since the late war, without b ransom, ordered their merchants to affift Cartbage with what it wanted, and prohibited all manner of commerce with the Africans. At the same time both the malecontents of Africa and Sardinia offered to submit to them, and to put them into the immediate possession both of Sardinia and the town of Utica; which overture they refused. These instances of success animating the Carthaginians, they bore the satigues of the siege with great alacrity. In fine, Mathos and Spendius, being extremely haraffed by Hamilear, who, by stratagems and rencounters, daily cut off great numbers of their men, and so streightened for want of provisions, that they apprehended a speedy famine, found themselves obliged to abandon the siege!

Notwithstanding this disgrace, the generals of the malecontents took the c sude offortune. field with an army of fifty thousand effective men, having been joined by one Zarxas, the head of an African hord or canton, with all his people capable of bearing They watched Hamilcar's motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, on account of Naravajus's Numidian horse, and the Carthaginian elephants. Hamilear, being much superior to any of their generals in every branch of the military art, frequently outwitted them; fometimes dispossessing them of their advantageous posts; at other times drawing them into ambuscades; and often defeating them in rencounters, by which means he cut off abundance of their men. If any of their foldiers straggled ever so little from the main body of the army, they certainly fell into his hands, and were thrown by him to wild beafts, d that he might, in some measure, retaliate the inhuman cruelty of Spendius. In short, he haraffed them a thousand ways; which as it greatly dejected them, so it inspired his own troops with fresh courage and vigour. At last, he surprised them when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Here he kept them streightly besieged, lying at eale in his camp, and being plentifully supplied with all kinds of necessaries. The mercenaries, not during to venture a battle, and finding themselves not able to get off, began to fortify their camp, and furround it with ditches and entrenchments. Conscious of their enormous guilt, they despaired of mercy, and therefore concluded it would be to no purpose to make any overtures to Hamilear. They were soon so e forely pressed by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus avenging upon themselves the inhumanity they had exercifed on others. As they could not entertain the least thought of peace, or of coming to an accommodation, after having been so deeply concerned in such bloody scenes, and knew what punishments would be inflicted upon them, in case they fell alive into the hands of the enemy, they saw they had no resource lest, and therefore prepared themselves for the measures despair should dictate to them. The forces they looked for from Tunes came not to their aid as was expected, and the famine made daily large strides amongst them. They first found themselves under the necessity of eating their prisoners, then their slaves, and last of all their comrades. Prompted f therefore to it by the extremity of mifery they fuffered, they infifted, that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas, their leaders, should in person make proposals to Hamilear, and to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a fafe conduct from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded, upon the following terms: That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents should be left intirely to the mercy of the Carthaginians; and that the troops should all be disarmed, every man retiring only in a fingle coat. The treaty was no fooner concluded, than Hamilear feized upon the negotiators themselves, by virtue of the first article, which savoured not a little of

a Punic subtlety. The army being informed, that their chiefs were under arrest, and at the same time ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourse to arms, suspecting that they were betrayed; but Hamiltar, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately furrounded them, and either cut them to pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The place, where this bloody tragedy was acted, was called Prion (1). The number of the wretches, who perished, amounted to above forty thousand ...

AFTER this complete victory, Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Naravasus, scoured the Mathos takes country, and many of the revolted towns returned to their obedience. According Hannibal prito the plan of operations, Hamilear immediately invested Tunes, into which place cifes him.

b Mathos (K) retired with all his remaining forces. Hannibal's quarter was on the road leading to Carthage, and Hamilcar's on the opposite side. The army was no sooner encamped, than Hamilear caused Spendius, and the rest of the prisoners, to be led out in view of the besieged, and crucified near the walls. Mathos, by this, was apprifed of the fate he must expect to meet with, and therefore undoubtedly rendered much more attentive to his own defence. Observing, that Hannibal did not keep so good a guard as he ought, he made a fally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took feveral prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plun-Taking the body of Spendius from the cross on which it was fixed, dered his camp

c ction, who all expired in exquisite torture, were crucified round him; fortune, as Polybius expresses it, giving both sides an opportunity of vying with each other in point of cruelty. Hamilear being at some distance from his collegue, it was some time before his misfortune reached him, and the road betwixt them being impassable, had he received earlier intelligence of the situation of affairs on that side, he could not have moved with any expedition to his affistance. He therefore immediately decamped, and posted himself along the sea-coast, near the mouth of the river

he substituted Hannibal there in its place; and thirty Carthaginian prisoners of distin-

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THE Carthaginians were greatly terrified at this last disaster; however, they The Libyan omitted no means necessary for their preservation. They sent thirty senators, with war happily d Hanno at the head of them, to confult with Hamilear about the proper measures to concluded by be taken for speedily terminating this cruel and unnatural war, conjuring in the most Hamilton. pressing manner Hanno to be reconciled to Hamiltar, and to sacrifice his private refertment to the public welfare. This, with fome difficulty, was complied with, and the two generals came to a full refolution to act in concert for the good of the republic. The fenate at the same time ordered all the youth, capable of bearing arms, to be pressed into the service, by which means a strong reinforcement being fent to Hamilcar, he soon found himself in a condition to act offensively; so that the Carthaginian affairs began to have a better aspect. Hamilear defeated the enemy in all his rencounters with them, drew Mathos into frequent ambuscades, and gave him e one notable overthrow near Leptis. This reduced him to the necessity of hazarding a decifive battle with the Carthaginians, which proved fatal to him. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to decide their respective sates; upon which an engagement immediately enfued. Victory was not long in suspense, the merce-

m Polys. ubi fup.

" Idem ibid.

(I) Polybius says this place was called Prion, from the similitude its figure bore to that a of faw, the Greek word mriw, prion, fignifying that instrument. But this notion, at first fight, appears highly improbable, not to say ridiculous; for, to omit the absurdity of supposing this particular spot to resemble a faw, how can it enter into any person's head, that the Carthaginians should give Greek names to their towns and villages? All the other names of towns this author mentions here, are apparently Punic or Phanician; and therefore it is but reasonable, may natural, to conclude, that this must be so too. The word no peri or pri, fruit, is undoubtedly the original from whence Prion is to be deduced, fince Bochart has demonstrated some names of places near Carthage to have been derived from

thence, and fince many antient authors conspire to evince, that this country abounded with spots of ground furpritingly fruitful. Add to this, that the rabbinical word morp prion fignifies a garden; which, no doubt, is so called by the rabbins, on account of its truitfulness or fertility. We cannot take upon us to affirm how near exactly this place was to Carthage; but, according to Polybius, it must have been in the neighbourhood of Tunes (36).

(K) Sir Walter Ralegh, M. Rollin, &c. call this African captain Matho; whereas his true name is Mathos, fince the original word in Polybias is MA- $\Theta\Omega\Sigma$ . So  $A\Theta\Omega\Sigma$ , the proper name of a mountain in Macedonia, in Latin and the modern languages is Athos. Many other examples might be produced to support what is here advanced (37).

(36) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Val. Schind. pentaglot. p. 1475, 1476. Vide Polyb. l. i. c. 82, l. iii. c. 23, em in excerpt. legat. 118. & Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 62. (37) Polyb. in loc. citat.

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naries flying almost upon the first onset. Most of their army fell upon the field of a battle, and in the pursuit, Mathos, with a few, escaping to a neighbouring town, where he was taken, and carried alive to Carthage. All the revolted towns, except Utica and Hippo, which had behaved in such a manner, as to exclude themselves from all hopes of mercy, returned to their duty upon this defeat. Hamilear, fitting down before those cities, soon reduced them, and thereby concluded this war. Mathos, having adorned the public triumph, was led to execution, and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life, that had been polluted with the blackeft treasons, and unparallelled barbarities. From the excesses of cruelty committed in it, Polybius tells us, that this war generally went amongst the Greeks by the name of the inexpiable war. The same excellent author from hence remarks, that those states b must be exposed to the greatest dangers, which hire for their desence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by interest or affection o.

The Romans and a vast Sum from the Cirthaginians.

DURING the Libyan war, the mercenaries in Sardinia declared against the Carthaextore Sardinia ginians, excited thereto by the example of Mathos and Spendius in Africa. They seized upon the person of Bostar, who commanded in the citadel of Olbia, and masfacred both him and the Carthaginian garrison. The senate, apprised of this, sent one Hanno, with a strong reinforcement of troops, to bring the mutineers to reason. Hanno, upon his arrival, was abandoned by his men, who joined the mercenaries, and foon after not only crucified him, but put to the fword all the Carthaginians they could meet with in the island, and possessed themselves of all the strong places there, c though, in a short time, they were expelled from thence by the natives, and forced to take shelter in Italy. The Romans, notwithstanding the friendship they had lately expressed for the Carthaginians, gave countenance and protection to these sugitives, and thereby greatly deviated from those maxims of justice and honour their own writers celebrate them so much for. In fine, they sent the consul Sempronius, on trifling pretences, with a fleet, to reinstate those malecontents, and take possesfion of Sardinia; which the Carthaginians, being now in a manner exhausted, were obliged to cede to them. Not content with this iniquitous act, they obliged the Carthaginians to defray the expence of their armament, and besides extorted from them a fum of twelve hundred talents. Such a perfidious conduct as this could not a fail of heightening the aversion Hamiltar had already conceived to them, and did not a little contribute to the second Punic war, and to those dreadful devastations, which Hannibal afterwards committed in Italy P.

The faithless dealings of Rome with Carthage.

Polybius tells us, that when the Carthaginians made preparations to reduce Sardinia, the Romans pretended to be under terrible apprehensions of their power, as though these preparations had been intended to subvert their republic; and therefore from hence took occasion to declare war against them. This plainly demonstrates, that the Romans at that time were determined to stick at nothing, in order to gratify their ambition, and that they had then a refined genius for villainy. The motives that prompted them to act in a friendly manner towards Carthage, when that state was e in danger of being overturned by its rebellious subjects, were undoubtedly far different from the specious pretext they offered to impose upon the world, viz. a principle They probably confidered, that if the Carthaginians were reduced to the last gasp by the barbarians, with whom they were then engaged in war, they would, by a little kindness, be induced to submit to them at so critical a conjuncture. They likewise, in all probability, were afraid, that the mercenaries would find their way again into Sicily, where they had behaved with fuch bravery, could they have made themselves masters of Carthage, and have dislodged them from thence; both or either of which confiderations were fufficient to determine their conduct as above related. Be this as it will, that the friendly offices the Romans did the Carthaginians f in the time of their great distress were the result of political views, and did not proceed from any noble or generous sentiments, is abundantly evident, not only from their subsequent conduct, but even from several hints given us by their own prejudiced historians q.

Some writers endeavour to palliate this, but in vain.

In order, no doubt, to palliate the conduct of the Romans on this occasion, we are told by some of their writers, that, by the treaty concluded at the end of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians made a cession of Sardinia, as well as Sicily, to the

<sup>·</sup> Idem ibid. Diop Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Vales. P POLYB. ubi sup. Liv. l. xxi. Oros. l. iv. C. 11. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 19. Appian in Iberic. sub init. POLYB. LIV. &c. ubi fip.

a Ramans. But, notwithstanding the authority of these writers, this is utterly improbable; for, if so, why did not the Romans take immediate possession of it, since the Carthaginians were too weak to oppose them, otherwise they would not have made peace upon such disadvantageous terms? And that they did not take possession of it, is evident from Polybius, an author infinitely superior to those here hinted at, when he affures us, that the mercenary troops in that island rebelled against their masters the Carthaginians. But what serves sufficiently to explain the disposition of the Romans towards the Carthaginians, is an incident that happened foon after, viz. the rebellion of the Corfi, Sardi, and Ligurians, which the Romans pretended to have been fomented by the Carthaginians, in order to have an opportunity of picking a b quarrel with that nation, though Hanno, a young Carthaginian lord, by his great spirit and vivacity, parried the blow. However, some time after, without any tolerable colour or pretext, they affumed to themselves the power of prescribing limits to the Carthaginian conquests in Spain, obliging Asdrubal to engage himself by treaty not to pass the Iberus. Such points of conduct need no comment; they render moit

glaring the motives the just and upright Romans acted upon r.

Hamilear, by the happy conclusion of the Libyan war, did not only restore tran-Hamilear quillity to the republic, but greatly extended the Carthaginian conquests in Africa. marches into Finding his country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with Rome, he Spain. formed a scheme to put it upon a level with that imperious republic, which was, to c make an intire conquest of Spain, that the Carthaginians might have troops capable of coping with the Romans. In order to facilitate the execution of this scheme, he inspired both his fon-in-law Afdrubal and his fon Hannibal with an implacable aversion to the Romans, the great blasters of his and his country's grandeur. Asdrubal did not live to be a feourge to the Romans; but Hannibal brought that proud nation to the very brink of destruction. Immediately after the troubles in Africa were appealed, the fenate fent Hamilcar upon an expedition against the Numidians, notwithstanding his fon-in-law Naravasus was of that nation; which renders it probable, that the Carthaginians had an intention to punish them for joining their discontented mercenaries. Be that as it will, Hamilear gave fresh proofs of his courage and abilid ties in this expedition, fince, by his valour and conduct, he finished it so much to the satisfaction of the republic, that the command of the army destined to act against Spain was given him. Hannibal his fon, at that time but nine years of age, begged, with the utmost importunity, to attend him on this occasion, for that purpose employing all the foothing arts fo common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a loving father. Hamilear therefore granted his request; but ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and swear, that he would be an irreconcileable enemy to the Romans, and act as such as soon as his age would permit him. He likewise took with him Ajdrubal, after he had bestowed his daughter in marriage upon him. Nepos intimates, that he was obliged to this step, because the censor e took Asdrubal from him, upon a report, that he was more familiar with that youth than was confistent with modesty. However, that biographer at the same time insinuates this report to have been a calumny, and tells us, that, by the Carthaginian laws, it was not permitted any person to separate the son-in-law from the father-inlaw. The military preparations being completed, Hamilear advanced with a powerful army to Abyla (L), and croffing the streights of Hercules, landed in Spain without opposition. He began the operations by incursions into the enemy's country, fixing his head-quarters at Gades, now Cadiz, the capital of the Carthaginian acquisitions in

F LIV. & OROS. ubi sup. EUTROP. I. iii. c. 2. POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi sup. Appian. in Iberic. Aurel. Vict. in C. Lutat. Cat. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 687.

Spain. According to Appian and Polybius, he had two views in this war: first, to put Carthage in a situation to revenge the indignities received from the Romans; and f fecondly, to have an opportunity of being absent from home, the Carthaginian state being at that time miserably distracted by two potent factions, over one of which

Herculeum, the flreights of Hercules, but, by the moderns, the streights of Gibraltar. Marcianus Heraelecta, Silius Italicus, and others, take particular notice of them (38).

(38) Marcian. Heracleot. p. 36. Sil. Ital. l. i. ver. 199. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. 6. 7. p. 930. Vol. VI. 10 L

<sup>(</sup>L) Abyla, the pillar of Hercules on the African fite, is opposite to the other in Spain called Calpe. They are both confiderable mountains, and have a narrow fea betwixt them, called antiently Fretum

prefided Hanno, Hamilcar's inveterate enemy. However, by the great success he a met with, and the vast reputation he had already acquired, he animated his friends at home, enabling them to carry every point there, and would undoubtedly have come soon to blows with the Romans, had not death prevented his design from taking effect '(M).

And, after many gallant actions, is killed there.

Our hero commanded in Spain nine years, and, during that interval, subdued many warlike nations there. In the course of so long a war, considering how rich a country Spain was, an immense quantity of treasure must necessarily fall into his This he distributed in the most politic manner, partly amongst the troops, and partly amongst the great men at Carthage; by which means he secured his interest with both those powerful bodies. We have received no particular detail of b the actions he was concerned in during the term above-mentioned to be depended upon, only an account of that wherein he fell. The Vettones or Vectones, a nation of Lusitania, being incenfed at the devastations committed in their country by the Carthaginians, drew out all their forces, with an intention to give Hamilear battle. They were joined by many other petty nations, with their reguli at the head of them, who had been plundered and laid under contribution in the same manner. To compass their end, they made use of the following stratagem: they sent before them a vast number of waggons filled with fascines, pitch, sulphur, and other such-like combustible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle-array. The Carthaginians at first ridiculed this seemingly coarse c stratagem; but at last the Spaniards, upon their approaching Hamilear, set fire to these vehicles, driving the beasts amongst the enemy, who soon found themselves obliged to quit their ranks. The Vettones and their allies, observing this, charged

9 APPIAN. in Iberic. Polyb. I. iii. & Liv. ubi fup. Vide Corn. Nep. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. &c. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 3. Flor. l. ii. c. 6.

(M) According to Diodorus Siculus, after his landing in Spain, he reduced the city of Tartesfus, and gave a memorable defeat to Istolatius, general of the Celtes and Iberians, putting a great number of his men, together with himself and his brother, to the sword. Many of the Celtie nobility likewise perished in the action. Out of the prifoners Hamilear selected three thousand, whom he incorporated with his own troops. But Indortes, one of the Celtic or Iberian general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a confiderable reinforcement, affembled a body of fifty thousand men, with which he intended to give Hamilear battle. However, his men, consisting partly of veterans terrified by the last overthrow, and partly of new-raised levies, fled, upon the first appearance of the enemy, to a neighbouring eminence, where the Carthaginians surrounded them, and for some time closely befieged them. Indortes, by a stratagem, and by the favour of the night, found means to make his escape; but the greatest part of his army was either cut off, or obliged to furrender at discretion. At last Indortes himself fell into Hamilcar's hands, who, according to the fame author, first put out his eyes, and then, after many insults, crucified him. But this we can scarcely give credit to, fince it is so inconsistent with the character of that general, as given us by Polybius, except we will suppose, that this Indortes had been guilty of some monstrous piece of cruelty towards the Carthaginians. Ten thousand Celtic and Iberian prisoners, that would not take on in the Carthaginian service, Diodorus likewise tells us, Hamilear fet at liberty without ranfom; which countenances the supposition just hinted at. Many cities he also reduced, partly by force, and partly by composition; and had probably made a vast progress, had he not received an express from Carthage, with advice, that a part of Numidia had rebelled against the Cartha-ginians. This obliged him to weaken his army, by lending a strong detachment, under his son-in-law

Asdrubal, to reduce the rebels. Asdrubal soon obliged them to return to their duty, after having put eight thousand of them to the sword, and taken two thousand prisoners. In the mean time Hamilear made himself master of several towns, and built a large city, from its fituation called by the Greeks Acra Leuca, or the White citadel. Some time afterwards he laid fiege to Helice with part of his army, putting the rest into winter-quarters at Acra Leuca. Orisson, prince of the country, being informed, that Hamilear had fent the best part of his army, and all his elephants, to Acra Leuca, advanced with his forces towards the Carthaginians, pretending, that he came with a defign to join them, and thereby facilitate the conquest of the remaining part of the country. Hamilear, giving too much credit to him, was surprised, his body of troops before the town utterly ruined, himself obliged to fly one way, and his sons Astrubal and Hannibal another, that they might not all fall into the enemy's hands. The two last arrived at Acra Leuca, Hamiltar only being pursued by Orisson; but the pursuit was so hot, that he was obliged to attempt passing a rapid river, in the midst of which, by the violence of the stream, he was forced from his horse, and drowned. This is the account given by Diodorus Siculus, which abounds with fo many improbable particulars, and is fo contradictory to the character of that excellent general, as given us even by that author himself, that no great stress is to be laid upon it. However, we must desire our readers to observe, that the fragments of this useful and excellent author are not, for the most part, of equal authority with that part of the body of his history preserved to us, being much more corrupted, and consequently standing in need of many more emendations. That this is true of the fragment we have here given our readers a translation of, will appear from an attentive perufal of it, fince its parts do not hang together in a proper manner (39).

a them with fuch bravery, that they foon put them to flight, killing many upon the the spot, amongst whom was the general himself. This relation we have extracted from Appian, Nepos, Frontinus, and Zonaras; but must own, that most, if not all, the circumstances of it are omitted by Polybius. That excellent historian only tells us in general, that Hamiltar came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying gloriously in the field of battle at the head of his troops. And indeed was not Polybius's authority sufficient to support him in the point before us, yet the nature of the thing plainly enough confutes the other writers; for is it possible to imagine, that so expert and famed a general as Hamilear, a general who was so perfect a master of the military art, who, by an infinity of the most refined stratagems, had so frequently b outwitted the greatest captains of the age, should at last be over-reached by so mean an artifice? This, we fay, is incompatible with the character of that commander, as given us by Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and even these very authors themselves; for which reason we must caution our readers not to be over-hasty in giving their affent to it. Upon Hamilear's death, the army elected his fon in-law Ajdrubal, then the Carthaginian admiral, to succeed him: (N).

THE senate, being apprised of the choice the army had made, after they had Asdrubal choconfirmed it, fent a throng reinforcement of troops to Afdrubal, to enable him not fen to succeed only to preserve, but to extend their conquests. As the new general had been him. trained up in the art of war by Hamilear, under whom he had ferved fo many cam-

c paigns, the people in general entertained a high idea of him, though Hanno, and his adherents, did their utmost to depreciate his merit. Afdrubal answered their expectations, behaving with fuch wisdom and address, as enabled him to support Hamilear's friends both at Carthage and in the army. To secure his predecessor's acquisitions, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbours, its fortifications, and flow of wealth, which its great commerce produced, became afterwards one of the most considerable cities in the world. Some people, at that time, called it the New city, others Carthage, nothing being more common in that age, as well as many of the preceding, than to denominate new-built cities after the names of those to which their founders belonged. It is known at this day d by the name of Carthagena, from whence one of the principal fortresses of the Spa-

niards in the West-Indies at present is so called ".

THE Romans, receiving intelligence of the great progress the Carthaginians made The great proin Spain, began to have a watchful eye over them. They could not but imagine, gress of Aidrustal that both Hamilear and Asarubal had something more grand in view than the redu-checked by the ction of Spain, and had formed a remote design, vast in its nature, which they pro-Romans. posed gradually putting in execution. They were not long at a loss to find out whom this must be levelled at, as easily discovering, that their republic was, of all other states, the most diametrically opposite in point of views and interest to that of the Carthaginians. As they took for granted, that their rivals never lost fight of their e grand scheme, though the execution of it might be at a great distance, they began to reproach themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, especially as the Carthaginians now, with the utmost rapidity, pushed on their conquests in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They however, at this juncture, feemed afraid of coming to an open rupture with them,

LIV. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. APPIAN. CORN. NEP. EUTROP. FRONTIN. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi fup. Lucius Ampelius in lib. memor. c. 36. Aurel. Cassiod. in chron. Vide & in cum Joan. Cuspinian. comment. p. 217. edit. Bas. 1553.

"LIV. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. & Appian. ubi sup.

(N) Diodorus Siculus says, that Asarubal built two cities in Spain, and endeavoured to make a greater figure than even his father-in-law Hamiltar had done. Upon the first advice of that general's death, continues our author, he advanced with an army of fifty thousand foot, all veteran troops, six thousand horse, and two hundred elephants, to attack Orisson, whom, after a bloody contest, he intirely defeated, cutting to pieces a great part of his forces. Twelve cities, in consequence of this victory, immediately surrendered to him, and soon after all the others in Spain, that remained unsubdued. Having had such a happy run of fuccess, to crown all, he married a

Spanish prince's daughter; which secured his conquests to him. The fame author adds, that, after he had commanded nine years in Spain, he was affassinated by one of his own servants; and intimates, that at, or near, the time of his death, the Carthaginian army confifted of fixty thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and two hundred elephants. As this fragment is a continuation of the preceding, some particulars in it are of a very dubious authority; and indeed our readers themselves will easily perceive this, upon their perusal of it, tho' others, that agree with the most approved authors, will, without any scruple, be admitted (40).

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on account of the apprehensions they were under of an invasion from the Gauls, who, a according to common fame, were advancing with a formidable army to the very gates of Rome. At present therefore they judged it expedient to have recourse to milder methods; and, in conformity to their plan, partly by menaces, and partly by persuasion, prevailed upon Asdrubal to conclude a new treaty with them. The articles of it were, 1. That the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus. 2. That Saguntum, a colony of Zacynthians, and a city between the Iberus and that part of Spain subject to the Carthaginians, as well as the other Greek colonies there, should enjoy their antient rights and privileges. The Saguntines afforded the Romans something of a pretext for this unjustifiable procedure, since they implored the protection of Rome; which republic, they heard, was superior in power to that of Carthage, and kept a curb upon it. Zonaras intimates, that about this time the Carthaginians b had formed a design of attacking the Romans, but were by that people terrified into a pacific disposition. Asarubal took care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty, though he still pushed on his conquests, and made himself master of all that part of Spain extending from the western ocean to the Iberus, within five days journey of the Pyrenees. He made it his endeavour to render himself popular amongst the reguli of Spain, by his engaging address, and affable deportment. His endeavours were not unfuccefsful; for, by his perfualive methods, he brought over more effectually those reguli to the interest of Carthage, than he could have done by torce of arms. He did not fail however exerting himself sometimes in a military way, tho' the other was, in the main, the most effectual. Having governed the Carthaginian c dominions in Spain eight years, he was treacheroufly murdered by a Gaul, whose master he had put to death. The murder was perpetrated in public; and the assaffin, being feized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a fatisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge so successfully, that he feemed to infult all the terror of his torments. This however, notwithstanding the youth of Hannibal, occasioned no revolution in the state of affairs w.

Afdrubal fends for Hannibal.

Asdrubal, three years before his death, had written to Carthage, to defire, that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be fent to him. Hanno, the inveterate enemy of the Barchine family, opposed this with all his might, representing, in a most ill-natured speech to the senate, handed down to us by Livy, that this was d intirely improper. The substance of it was, that though Asdrubal's request seemed in itself reasonable, yet he could, by no means, give his consent to it. Asdrubal, faid he, accompanied Hamilear in his expeditions, spent the flower of his youth with him, and was abused by him; and now he would have young Hannibal in the same manner subservient to him, This ought not to be granted. Besides, added he, this young man has all the pride and thrift after arbitrary power of the Barchine family transfused into him. Instead therefore of putting him at the head of the army, where he will be, in a manner, master of all our properties, he ought to be kept under the eye of the magistrates, and the power of the laws, that he may learn obedience, and a modesty, which should teach him to look upon himself as on a level with other c men. He concluded with observing, that this spark might one day rise to a conflagration, which would occasion the ruin of the republic. However the Barchine faction prevailed, and Hannibal was fent to the army in Spain x.

Hannibal very popular amongst the eroops.

Hannibal, upon his first arrival in the camp, discovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatness of mind. He drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fansied they saw Hamilear his father survive in him. From his first appearance in the army, every one perceived, that he meditated a war against the Romans, which was considered as the effect of his father's disposition. The great resemblance he bore to Hamilear rendered him extremely agreeable to the army; but his personal good qualities endeared him still more to them. Every talent and qualification he seemed to posses, that can contribute towards constituting the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his disposition equally suited to command or obey. This could not but render him the darling both of the officers and soldiers. Under Astrubal he made three campaigns, that general always employing him in enterprizes of the greatest importance, as thinking him the best qualified for the execution of them. The soldiers likewise

a reposed the utmost considence in him, esteeming him superior to all the other commanders in conduct and personal bravery, though he was then but in the twenty-third year of his age. In short, after Afdrubal's death, the army immediately saluted him general, with the highest demonstrations of joy, and the sincerest attachment to his person; and the senate, as well as people of Carthage, confirmed this election, in a manner that shewed them to have been intirely at his devotion; though it must be owned, Hanno and his faction were secretly averse to him. He had no sooner taken upon him the command of the troops, being then in the twenty fixth year of his age, than he made the proper dispositions to prosecute the war with vigour, having the pleasure to find all the officers approve of the plan of operations he proposed to

As the fuffrages, both of the army and republic, concurred to raise Hannibal to Elected general the supreme command upon the death of Asdrubal, he must, of course, have been after the death extremely popular at Carthage. It is therefore probable, that about the time of his of Aldrubal. being elected general, or foon after, to heighten his credit and authority, he was advanced to the first dignity of the state, that of one of the sufferes, which was sometimes conferred upon generals. In support of this notion, Cornelius Nepos informs us, that Hannibal was chosen prætor of Cartbage, upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, twenty-two years after he had been nominated king there; which brings that

event pretty near the period we are now upon 2.

Hannibal had no fooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put Hannibal conhimself in motion. As though Italy had been the province allotted him, and he quers the Olhad been appointed to make war upon the Romans, he turned fecretly his whole cades. views to that country, and lost no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. Though he was determined to attack Saguntum, he thought it at present more expedient not to seem to have an eye directly upon that place, but to reduce some provinces, that would facilitate the conquest of it, believing the Romans could not from thence penetrate his defigns. Accordingly he marched against the Olcades, a nation not far distant from the Iberus, and soon made himself master of Althaa, their capital; upon which all their other towns immedid ately submitted. All the plunder taken in this expedition he distributed amongst the troops, which greatly animated them, and then retired to new Carthage, where he put them into winter-quarters. Here he foon after paid the army all their arrears; by which the foldiers became in such a manner attached to him, that they were absolutely at his devotion. This first instance of success rendered his name terrible to the

neighbouring nations of Spain, who were not in a state of amity with Carthage 2. THE next campaign he opened with the siege of Salmantica, and soon possessed And the Vachimself of it. Then he advanced to Arbucala, which, being a place of great strength, cai. very populous, and defended by a numerous garrison, made a vigorous resistance; but was at last forced to furrender. Soon after this event, some fugitives, who e had made their escape out of Salmantica, before it was obliged to capitulate, joining a body of the Olcades, excited the Carpetani, one of the most powerful nations in Spain, to declare against the Carthaginians. Their army amounted to an hundred thousand fighting men, with which they proposed to attack Hannibal in his return from the country of the Vaccai, which, it feems, he subdued this campaign, draw-

ing gradually nearer the point he had in view b

Hannibal, being informed of the enemies design, and knowing himself to be He gives the much inferior to them, was determined to avoid a battle, which he had great rea-Spaniards # fon to imagine would prove fatal to him. In order to this, he moved with the utmost great overprudence and circumspection, covering himself with the Tagus in such a manner, that subdues the f the Spaniards could not come at him. At last he passed it in the dead-time of the Carpetani. night with his whole army, the enemy not entertaining the least suspicion of such an attempt. The Spaniards interpreted this as a flight, and therefore, looking upon themselves as invincible, they immediately resolved to pursue him, and, in consequence of this resolution, passed the river without any order or discipline. This was what Hannibal wanted; and, as he had foreseen it, he disposed his army in a proper manner to fall upon them when in the midst of the river. Forty elephants he posted on the bank, and ordered his horse to charge the Spanish infantry, as soon as they were

y Liv. Polyb. Aurel. Vict. & Corn. Nep. ubi sup. & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 690. ide & Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 691. \* Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. sub init. 3 lidem ibid. Vide & Univer L bift. ubi fup. p. 691. b Iidem ibid.

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advanced into the middle of the stream. The Carthaginian cavalry, being well 2 mounted, kept their post firm, notwithstanding the rapidity of the torrent; whereas the enemy's foot were born down by it, and besides, entering the water in a straggling disorderly manner, they were incapable of making any resistance. Great numbers of them therefore were cut to pieces in the water, without opposition, by Hannibal's horse, and others, that landed, trod to death by his elephants. Most of those who collected themselves into a body upon this disaster, and strove to gain the opposite bank, were charged by Hannibal himself, at the head of his Carthaginian phalanx, with which he had entered the water for that purpose, and, for the most part, either cut to pieces, or drowned. Hannibal, after this, laid waste the whole country of the Carpetani, who, terrified by so great a defeat, thought proper to submit to the b conqueror. Nothing now remained but Saguntum to give any obstruction to the Carthaginian arms c.

And meditates gantum.

THE Carthaginian general however thought the season was not yet come for him the fiege of Sa- to lay fiege to that city, and therefore did not, for some time, approach it, carefully avoiding every thing that might occasion a rupture with the Romans. His intention was to furnish himself with all things necessary for so important an enterprize before he entered upon it, according to the advice he had received from his brother-in-law Asarubal. In consequence of which, he pushed on his conquests, in a manner, to the very gates of Saguntum, and, by his fingular address, took care to fecure these conquests, before he gave the Romans an opportunity of declaring war e against the Carthaginians d.

The Saguntines apply to the Romans for relief.

In the mean time the Saguntines, being greatly alarmed at the continued successes of Hannibal, did not know how to avoid the impending form any otherwise than by apprifing the Romans of what had happened in Spain, and applying to them for speedy relief. They therefore dispatched deputies in all haste to Rome, to inform the senate of the great progress made by Hannibal in Spain, and to desire immediate fuccours against him. What induced them chiefly to take this step, was an attempt Hannibal made to embroil them with their neighbours the Turdetani, or, according to Appian, the Torboletæ, that, by espousing the interest of that people, he might be enabled to pick a quarrel with them. Appian intimates, that the Torboletæ made d excursions upon the Saguntine territories, where they committed great depredations. As foon as the Saguntine deputies arrived at Rome, and communicated their message to the senate, all the members of that illustrious assembly expressed a prodigious concern for their Spanish allies, and came to a resolution to send embassadors to Hannibal, to expostulate with him about his conduct, with orders, in case he did not give ear to their complaints, to proceed directly to Carthage, and infift upon that republic's withdrawing its troops from the territories of their confederates in Spain. But this resolution not being presently executed, whilst the Romans were amusing themselves with frivolous confultations, advice was brought, that Hannibal had not only passed the Iberus, but actually invested Saguntum. The senators were divided in their sentiments on this occasion: some were for coming to a vigorous resolution, and sending one of the confuls, with a powerful army, to Africa, and the other to Spain; others were for employing the whole force of the republic in driving Hannibal out of Spain; and lastly, others gave it as their opinion, that nothing should be undertaken against Carthage, till all pacific methods had been tried, and no redress could be had but by force of arms. This motion, being the most safe, as well as rational and equitable, prevailed; and accordingly P. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Babius Tampbilus were dispatched with all possible expedition to the Carthaginian camp before Sa-

Hannibal bepeges Siguntum.

In the mean time Hannibal pushed on the siege of Saguntum, promising himself f great advantages from the reduction of that place. He was convinced, that this would enable him to put his favourite scheme in execution, and even accomplish it; that he should deprive the Remans of all means of carrying the war into Spain; that this new conquest would serve as a barrier to the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumstance which would render him much more secure and unmolested; that he should there find treasure sufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the Romans; that the plunder of the city would inspire his foldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with the utmost alacrity;

e lidem ib'd. d lidem ibid. \* LIV. ubi sup. Appean, in Iberic. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. 42.

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a and that, lastly, thereby he should win the people of Carthage over to his interest. These considerations had such an effect upon him, that he was present at all the works, conducted every particular measure in the siege, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, as much as the meanest soldier. With the commencement of this siege we shall conclude this section and volume, and begin our next with an account of the reduction of Saguntum, which was the immediate cause of the second Punic war f.

f Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup. OROS. ubi sup. c. 14. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 7.

The end of the fixth volume.

## ERRATA.

E. R. R. A. T. A.

Page 675. 1. 33. for was equal, read was equally. p. 685. 1. 2. for shemain, r. shemaim. p. 687. 1. 9. for Dis majorum gentium. p. 717. 1. 14. for siland Ægssla, r. islands Ægssla. p. 717. 1. 1. 26. for nine different mations, r. many nations there. p. 717. 1. 34, 35. for expossulate with Hannibal upon his taking of Saguntum, r. demand Hannibal of the Cartbuginiant, for taking Saguntum. p. 717. 1. 40. for at Ticinum, now called Pavis, r. near the Ticinus, now called the Tosino. p. 718. 1. 41. for demolish, r. abandon. p. 723. 1. 13. for Carthage, r. Tyre. p. 724. 1. 24. for through, r. notwithstanding. p. 724. 1. 43. for Cyaxeres. p. 727. 1. 44. expunge that is to the southward of it. p. 732. 1. 41. expunge some. p. 776. 1. 47. in the beginning of the adculum of the mote (D), for both these donations were, r. the cell or apartment, in which these donations were deposited, was. And in 1. 49. ibid. for done, r. make. And in 1. 54, 55. ibid. for Phanias, Eressus, and Theopompus, r. Phanias Eressus, and Theopompus. p. 104. 1. 22. for their march, r. his march. And for harass them, r. harass him. p. 836. for consul, r. consuls, p. 719. remove the letter (B) from the word advantage, l. 8, to the word Usber, l. 12. p. 854.01. 2. note (R), expunge the whole last period, beginning at the words, We must, &c.

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## SIXTH VOLUME.

The Numbers direct to the Page, the small Letters to the Line of the Page, and the great Letters to the Notes.

Acius St. the church of, at Constantinople, 268, c. Aaron martyred in Devonshire, 216, d.

and Abaddires at Carthage, whence worflupped, 693, a, b.

Abdelmelek the Saracen makes peace with Justinian

II. 546, f. & feq.

Abgarus's embaffy to Trajan, 17, d. Reception of him, 18, e. Submittion to Severus, 114, 2. Ablavivus's treachery to Sopater, 274, sub not. Murdered by the soldiers, 275, 2.

, a king of the Thervingi, heads them towards Thrace, 380, d. Outwits and surprises the

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